Selected Writings of Matti Moosa

Studies in Syriac Literature, in 44 searchable and bookmarked pdf pages. This concise and well-written history of Syriac literature appeared in three parts in the journal *The Muslim World*: LVIII, No.2 (1968), 105-119; LVIII, No. 3 (1968), 194-217; and LVIII, No. 4 (1968), 317-333. The author begins with a discussion of the historiography of the subject, evaluating the writings of 19-20th century European and Middle Eastern writers on this topic. This is followed by an in-depth study of pre-Christian and Christian Syriac literature, with special sections on Syriac literature after the Muslim conquest, and Syriac literature after Barhebraeus. The great importance of Syriac authors, their original works and translations, their role as conduits of Greek knowledge to the Arabs also are discussed in this excellent monograph. Also available at Internet Archive, here.

Chapters from *Extremist Shiites: the Ghulat Sects* (Syracuse, 1988), all searchable and bookmarked. At Internet Archive:

The Shabak, Bektashis, Safawis, and Kizilbash, chapters 1-4, in 97 pdf pages. This is probably the best English-language study of several important confessional groups in the Middle East. Written by the renowned historian and Syriac scholar, Dr. Matti Moosa, it provides material otherwise unavailable or unknown in the West, written in a variety of languages, and describes the cultural and religious interaction between heterodox Christianity and heterodox Islam in parts of Asia Minor, northern Mesopotamia, and Persia/Iran.

Ghulat Beliefs, chapters 5-15, in 196 pdf pages. Described are the religious practises, beliefs, and literature of several important heterodox Islamic confessional groups in parts of Asia Minor, northern Mesopotamia, and western Persia/Iran. Contents: 5. The Ghulat's "Trinity"; 6. The Miraculous Attributes of Ali; 7. The Family of the Prophet; 8. Religious Hierarchy; 9. The Twelve Imams; 10. The Abdal; 11. Rituals and Ceremonies; 12. Social Customs; 13. Religious Books; 14. The Bajwan and Ibrahimiyya; and 15. The Sarliyya-Kakaiyya.

The Ahl-i Haqq, 16-21, in 119 pdf pages. This important confessional group, known from parts of Asia Minor, northern Mesopotamia, and Persia/Iran, reveres 'Ali to the point of deification. Contents: 16. The Ahl-i Haqq (Ali Ilahis): Origin and Identity; 17. Cosmology and Cosmogony; 18. Sultan Sahak: Founder of the Ahl-i Haqq; 19. The Cult of Dawud; 20. The Jam; and 21. The Role of Ali.

The Nusayris (Alawis), chapters 22-36, in 227 pdf pages, Contents: The Nusayris (Alawis): Ancient Period; The Middle Period; Under the French Mandate; Rise to Political Power; The Concept of God; The Apotheosis of Ali; The Nusayri Concept of Light: Shamsis and Qatnaris; The Nusayri "Trinity": Ali, Muhammad and Salman al-Farisi; The Twelve Imams; Role of the Aytam and Spiritual Hierarchies; Metempsychosis; Initiation; Nusayri Ceremonies: Festivals; The Nusayri Mass; The Nusayris, Sunnites, and Twelver Shiites.

Pagan, Christian, and Islamic Elements in the Beliefs of the Ghulat, chapter 37, pp. 419-431.

Armenian Elements in the Beliefs of the Kizilbash Kurds, chapter 38, pp. 432-447.

The Crusades: An Eastern Perspective with Emphasis on Syriac Sources, from the journal *The Muslim World*, Vol. 93 (April, 2003), pp. 249-289. This article treats events of the Crusades as recorded by Syriac and other Eastern writers, putting special emphasis on the relations of Syrians (and to a lesser extent Armenians), their churches and communities, with the Greeks, Franks (Latins), and Turks. The Syrians and Armenians were ill

treated by the Byzantine church and state and by the Church of Rome, to which the Crusaders belonged. Most Western writers on the Crusades make little mention of the Syrians and Armenians or the Maronites (a part of the Syrian Church of Antioch), except for a few comments by the twelfth century historian William of Tyre. Also available at Internet Archive, here.

Selected chapters from Matti Moosa's *Crusades: Conflict between Christendom and Islam* (Piscataway, NJ., 2008):

Islam and Christianity: *Jihad* and Holy War, chapter 2 pp. 33-53.

The East Before the Crusaders' Arrival, chapter 3 pp. 55-96.

The Crusaders Take the Offensive, chapter 10 pp. 299-339.

Antioch, chapter 11 pp. 341-380.

The Franks as Rulers, chapter 14 pp. 477-532.

The Rise of the Zangids and the Fall of Edessa, chapter 15 pp. 533-574.

The Franks and the Syrian Christians, chapter 18 pp. 657-679.

The Christians under Turkish rule, chapter 19 pp. 681-711.

Bibliography

Al-Kindi's Role in the Transmission of Greek Knowledge to the Arabs, from the *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society* (January, 1967).

Origins of the Christian Minorities in the Middle East, from *Bibliophilos* Vol. 1 No. 2 (Spring 1982).

The Druze and Other Shiite Ghulat Sects: A Comparative Perspective. Published on the Internet, October, 2011. Dr. Moosa read this paper at the Second International Conference of the Druze Heritage Foundation held in collaboration with the Middle East Centre at Saint Antony's College Oxford, October 1-3, 2004. Also available at Internet Archive, here.

Florentine MS 299, a New Source on Ahmad ibn al-Tayyib al-Sarakhsi, from *Journal of the American Oriental Society* Vol. 92 No. 1 (January-March, 1972), pp. 19-24.

History of the Saint James Liturgy, from Bishop Athanasius Samuel's *Anaphora: The Divine Liturgy of Saint James the First Bishop of Jerusalem According to the Rite of the Syrian Orthodox Church of Antioch*, Syrian Orthodox Church, 1967, pp. 87-91. Dr. Moosa wrote this at Bishop Samuel's request. The title appears variously.

Political Zionism and Palestine, published on the Internet, August, 2011. This article was written by Dr. Moosa in 1969.

A Tribute to Bishop Mor Gregorius Bulus Behnam (1914-1969), published on the Internet, March, 2014. This article was written in 1969 and rewritten in 2014.

Dr. Moosa also has made numerous translations of invaluable sources and reference works. Of particular interest to students of Middle Eastern history and culture is his English translation (Pueblo, CO., 2000) of Mor Ignatius Aphram I. Barsoum's (1887-1957) important study (1943; repr. 1956), which is subtitled:

> History of Syriac Literature and Sciences, at www.syriacstudies.com in HTML format.

For a critical evaluation of the strengths and weaknesses of this remarkable work, see Moosa's comments in *Studies in Syriac Literature*, Part I (especially the paragraphs in the section beginning here). Despite certain drawbacks, Patriarch Barsoum's work contains such an astounding wealth of material otherwise unavailable to Western scholars, that it almost ranks as a primary source in its own right.

> At Internet Archive: The History of Syriac Literature and Sciences, by Patriarch Ignatius Aphram I Barsoum (Pueblo, CO., 2000), translated into English, edited, and with an introduction by Matti Moosa, in 266 searchable pdf pages.

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In 2014 Dr. Moosa published the first and only full English translation of *The Syriac Chronicle of Michael Rabo (the Great)*. This enormous universal history begins with Creation and extends to Michael's own day (late 12th century). It is based on numerous sources, some of which have not survived, and on Michael's astute observations of his own era.

> The following extracts from the above volume, which include the book's bibliography, are available at Internet Archive for reading online and/or downloading in various formats. Event by event, Moosa provides a discussion of alternate sources (if they exist) in his invaluable footnotes:

> Alexander the Great to Emperor Diocletian (B.C. 356 to A.D. 285), pp. 90-147, in 75 searchable pdf pages. Includes several wonderful color maps from Heinrich Kiepert's *Atlas Antiquus* (Berlin, 1869). A group of additional maps by cartographers Ramsey Muir, Keith Johnston, and George Adam Smith is an attachment to the document.

> The 4th through 6th Centuries from Michael Rabo's *Chronicle*, pp. 148-444, in 317 searchable pdf pages. The major events of this perod include the reigns of Byzantine emperors Constantine I (305-337) through the early years of Heraclius (610-641); Church councils; affairs of the Syriac, Armenian, and Coptic churches and communities. The period covered in the extract corresponds to the period covered in the works of Armenian historical sources attributed to Agat'angeghos, Pawstos Buzand, Ghazar Parpets'i, as well as the early parts of Sebeos and Movses Dasxurants'i, which describe 4th-6th century events. Includes several wonderful color maps from Heinrich Kiepert's *Atlas Antiquus* (Berlin, 1869).

> The 7th through Mid-9th Centuries from Michael Rabo's *Chronicle*, pp. 445-579, in 148 searchable pdf pages. The major events of this period include the Byzantine-Sasanian wars, the end of the Sasanian dynasty in Iran, the birth and spread of Islam, as well as Church controversies and doctrines. The period covered in the extract corresponds to the period covered in the works of the Armenian historians Sebeos, Ghewond, T'ovma Artsruni, and *Kat'oghikos* Yovhanne's Drasxanakerts'i, authors of the 7th-10th centuries.

> The 10th-12th Centuries from Michael Rabo's *Chronicle*, pp. 584-696, in 126 searchable pdf pages. The period covered in the extract corresponds to the period covered in Matthew of Edessa's *Chronicle* and its continuation by Gregory the Priest.

The Late 12th Century from Michael Rabo's *Chronicle*, pp. 692-785, in 108 searchable pdf pages. An attachment to this file contains 16 maps by cartographers William R. Shepherd, Ramsey Muir, and H. W. Hazard.

For our book review of *The Maronites in History* by Matti Moosa (Piscataway, NJ., 2005), click here (at Amazon.com).

Syriac material at Internet Archive. Some invaluable reference works for the study of Syrian history and culture are available at Internet Archive. To download any of the items on that page, click on the item you want, then on the right side of the page that invokes (part-way down), chose the type of download you want (PDF is a preferred format). Sometimes the result (downloading versus opening) depends on your browser's settings. If you position your mouse on the desired link (such as PDF) and click the right mouse button, you will get a context menu and can specify the action manually.

Roger Pearse's Encyclopedia of Syriac Literature. This is an outstanding resource which provides material about Syriac authors and their works by century, Vatican Syriac manuscripts, catalogues of Syriac manuscripts, Syriac grammar, and other topics.

Site Searches

The sites below contain a large amount of scholarly information on Syrian history and culture from all periods. Clicking the links displays information on the topics Syrian OR Syrians OR Syriac OR Syria, retrieved via Google's search facility.

Encyclopaedia Iranica Online

American Foundation for Syriac Studies

Tertullian.org

Hugoye, Catholic University

Journal of Assyrian Academic Studies

Dumbarton Oaks

The Ancient World Online (AWOL)

Sacred Texts

U. Penn. Online Books

Encyclopaedia Britannica (1911)

Google Books

Wikipedia

Invaluable Chronicles and Accounts for Ancient and Medieval Syrian History and Culture:

Herodotus' History (5th century B.C.)
The Writings of Flavius Josephus (1st century A.D.)

The Chronicle of Eusebius [**Eusebius' *Chronicle*, Part 1**] and
The Canons of Eusebius (or Jerome's Chronicle) [**Eusebius' *Chronicle*, Part 2**]
(4th century A.D.)

The Chronicle of Michael the Great, Patriarch of the Syrians (12th century)
English translation of two 13th-century Armenian abridgements of Michael's *Chronicle*.

The Chronography of Bar Hebraeus (13th century)

Another page of this site contains Assyrian/Syrian sources for the study of **Eastern Asia Minor and the Caucasus in Remote and Classical Antiquity:** Assyrian Page.

Two volumes from the important series **Օտար աղբյուրները Հայաստանի և հայերի մասին** *O'tar aghbyurnere" Hayastani ev hayeri masin [Foreign Sources on Armenia and the Armenians]* contain modern Armenian translations of relevant passages from Syriac sources, together with invaluable introductory studies and scholarly notes.

At Internet Archive:

Ասորական աղբյուրներ Asorakan aghbyurner [Syriac Sources] I (Erevan, 1976), in 479 pdf pages. Translation, study, and notes by H. G. Melkonyan. Translated selections from the sixth-century historians Mshikha Zekha, Joshua the Stylite, Zakaria Rhetor, and John of Ephesus.

Ասորական աղբյուրներ Asorakan aghbyurner [Syriac Sources] II. Ananun Edesats'i zhamanakagrut'yun [Chronicle of the Anonymous Edessan] (Erevan, 1982), in 269 pdf pages. This a 13th-century chronicle of importance for the Saljuq domination, the Crusades, the Armenian principalities of Northern Syria, and other topics. Translation, study, and notes by L. H. Ter-Petrosyan.

Prepared by Robert Bedrosian, 2020.

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*Studies in Syriac Literature**

by Matti Moosa

Available at Internet Archive, for reading online and/or downloading in various formats:
Studies in Syriac Literature

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Part I.

Introduction and Historiography of the Subject
Syriac Literature of the Pre-Christian Era

Part II.

Syriac Literature of the Christian Era

Part III.

Syriac Literature Following the Muslim Conquest
Syriac Literature After Bar Hebraeus

Footnotes.

Prepared by Robert Bedrosian, 2011

Matti Moosa's

Studies in Syriac Literature

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Introduction and Historiography of the Subject

The systematic study of Syriac Literature and sciences and related subjects began in Europe at the close of the seventeenth century. Eastern writers, whether of early or recent periods, whether Syrians or not, did not concern themselves with the scholarly study of Syriac Literature until recently, when the Syrian Patriarch of Antioch, Mar Ignatius Aphram Barsoum, published his comprehensive work entitled *Kitab al-Lu'Lu' al-Manthur (The Unstrung Pearls)*, or, as he gives the title in French, *Histoire des Sciences et de la Litterature Syriaque*, in 1943. This work was republished in 1956. An evaluation of this book will be given later.

Even concerning the art of poetry, which is considered one of the Syrians' foremost literary achievements, there is no evidence that Syrian writers have done any systematic work. The oldest work on Syriac poetry, however, was first composed by Severus Bar Shabbo, metropolitan of the Monastery of Mar Matta, near Mosul, Iraq, who lived in the beginning of the thirteenth century. Unfortunately, this work has been lost, and we know about it only from the author's reference to it in the fourth chapter of the second part of *The Book of Treasures*. From this treatise we know that this bishop gave a summary of the principles of Syriac religious poetry, its authors, and the dates of its introduction into church rituals. Another treatise on Syriac poetry, composed in Arabic by P. D. Gabrielem Cardahi the Maronite, appeared in Rome in 1875, under the title *al-Kanz al-Thamin (Liber Thesauri De Arte Poetica Syrorum*). In this treatise Cardahi explained the meters of Syriac poetry, adding short biographies of Syrian poets with specimens of their poetry. But he did not discuss the development of Syriac poetry or even give a historical account of its development.

In 1896, the Syrian Roman Catholic bishop of Damascus, Monsignor Dawud (David), published his two volume work in Arabic, *al-Lum'a al-Shahiya (Grammaire de la Langue Arameenne*); at the end of the second volume he devoted a chapter to Syriac poetry and prosody, mentioning the names and works of the most famous Syrian poets. Although the writer had attempted to fill a gap in the studies of Syriac poetry and made a good start in this direction, yet his attempt is far from being complete or perfect. The most recent attempt to study the different aspects of Syriac literature, however, was initiated by Rev. Paulos Behnam, the present Syrian Orthodox Archbishop of Iraq, who wrote in his Arabic magazine *al-Mashriq* (published in Mosul, 1946-1953) a series of articles on Syrian culture. In these as well as many other articles, Archbishop Behnam studied critically the origins and the development of the Syriac language and literature, and evaluated the opinions of Western scholars who had written on the subject. Unfortunately, he did not continue this commendable endeavor. In 1949, two Egyptian professors issued *Syriac Literature* from its beginning to the Muslim conquest; but it is

merely an uncritical summary of Western works on the subject. Moreover, the fact that the work is unannotated makes it difficult for the reader to evaluate the opinions of the authors. In fact, the two writers frequently reach faulty conclusions and commit many errors.

In the West the learned French scholar, Eusebius Renaudot (1646-1720) was first to realize the significance of the study of Syriac literature. He must be credited with introducing the study of the Syriac church, its fathers, and its liturgies to the Western world. Thirty years before the learned Maronite prelate Joseph Assemani published the first volume of his *Bibliotheca Orientalis* in 1719, Renaudot had finished his translation and annotation of a great number of Syriac liturgies, but this work, unfortunately was never published. Until his death in 1720, Renaudot waited patiently for the Syriac characters which the French Minister of Finance, Colbert, promised to furnish for the publication of his work. Assemani would probably not have achieved such wide fame if the work of Renaudot had been published. According to J. B. Chabot, the works of Renaudot are more comprehensive and informative than the works of Assemani (1).

In spite of his fame as an eminent scholar and his popularity among Western students of Syriac literature, and in spite of the fact that four volumes of his *Bibliotheca Orientalis* are the most exhaustive works ever written on Syriac studies, Assemani may be considered a biased source, unreliable in his translation of some Syriac texts. According to William Wright, Assemani tried hard in the first volume of the *Bibliotheca Orientalis* to prove that Jacob of Edessa (d. 708) was not a "Monophysite"—that is, he did not believe in the "one incarnate nature" of Jesus Christ—but in the second volume he gave up this attempt in despair (2). But if we realize that Jacob of Edessa was obviously an adherent of the dogma of the "one incarnate nature" as is unanimously affirmed by Eastern as well as Western writers, we may reach the conclusion that Assemani attempted to depict the works and belief of Jacob of Edessa with a Chalcedonian coloring.

Assemani's prejudice against the Syrian Orthodox writers is not hard to explain. His unjustified hatred of the celebrated Philoxenus of Mabug is but an example. We have it on the authority of William Wright that "Assemani never misses an opportunity of reviling him" (3). He called him "*Scelestissimus haereticus*" (*B.O.*, ii. II) ("a most wicked heretic"); "*flagitiosissimus home*" (p. 12) ("a thoroughly shameful man"); and added "*ecclesiam Dei tanquam ferus aper devastavert*" (p. l8) ("he devastated the church of God like a wild boar"). But he was obliged at the end to own (*B.O.*, II, 20) "*scripsit Syriace, si quis alius, elegantissime, atque adec inter optimos hujusce linguae scriptores a Jacobo Edesseno collocari meruit*" (" he wrote Syriac as elegantly as any other man, and so deserved to be classified by Jacob of Edessa among the finest writers of this language").

Furthermore, Assemani’s infidelity in translating has been proven by Rev. Henry Burgess in *The Repentance of Nineveh by Ephraim Syrus* (London, 1853). Assemani apparently twisted parts of the text of St. Ephraim on the repentance of Nineveh in accordance with his Roman Catholic prejudice. In this regard, Rev. Burgess relates that "the sentiment of Ephraem is simple enough, and quite scriptural, but Assemani gives it a turn purely papistical, by as gross an abuse of words as perhaps was ever perpetrated in controversy" (4). Burgess adds that "This specimen of infidelity will justify the animadversion we have often felt it our duty to make on the Latin translation of Ephraem and to show how impossible it is to get at his (Ephraem's) real opinions by any Catholic medium" (5).

Following the work of Assemani, we have Gustav Bickell's *Conspectus rei Litterariae Syrorum* (Munster, 1871), which is a brief analysis of the *Bibliotheca Orientalis* with some editing. William Wright's *Syriac Literature* (London, 1894) originally appeared in the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (1887); a few brief additions were made for its posthumous publication in book form.

La Litterature Syriaque by Rubens Duval (Paris, 1889), covers in detail the history of Syriac Literature down to the thirteenth century. Its organization, comprehensiveness, and ease of style afford the reader an excellent insight into the subject.

Early Eastern Christianity, by F. C. Burkitt (London, 1904), consists mainly of lectures on the early Syrian Church of Edessa, but touches upon some aspects of Syriac literature. The author seems to be confused about the true history of Edessa and the Syriac names of its Kings, which he erroneously makes Arabic.

Theodor Noldeke's *Aramaische Literatur* (Leipzig, 1906) and Brockelmann' s *Die Syrische und die Christliche Aratische Literatur* (Leipzig, 1907) are rather brief accounts of Syriac literature.

Still another major work is *Geschichte der Syrischen Literatur* by Anton Baumstark (Bonn, 1922). The author has meticulously provided comprehensive, copious references and notes. The information given by the author, however, is so condensed that it would be difficult for the non-specialist to find his way through it. Moreover, the book is more factual than analytical.

J.B. Chabot, in addition to *Les Langues et la Litterature Arameenne* (see notes) also wrote a short book, without notes, entitled *La Litterature Syriaque* (Paris, 1935), in which he discussed the development of Syriac Literature until the thirteenth century.

Mention should also be made here of George Graf's *Geschichte der Christliclien Arabischen Literatur*, published in the Vatican City, 1944. The second volume of this work contains most of the writings of the Syrians, as well as Coptic writers who wrote in Arabic or translated Syriac works into that language. This volume also includes the manuscripts containing the Arabic writings of Syrian writers, with copious description and commentaries on each of them. This work is most comprehensive, and highly valuable for the study of the Christian literature of the Syrian Church after the Arab conquest.

The study of Syriac literature, then, originated in the East but was brought to its fullest development by Western writers. As Assemani, an Easterner by birth and tradition, used his important knowledge to shape Western ideas on Syriac literature, so today it is the Westerners following his lead who have formulated the views generally accepted in the East.

It is against this rather tenuous, uncertain background, that Patriarch Barsoum projects his *al-Lu'Lu' al-Manthur*. We can justly appraise the author's historical account only by acknowledging its indebtedness to earlier scholarship, yet recognizing its uniqueness in an exaggerated nationalistic tone and in an unremitting accumulation of compendious, detailed information.

Patriarch Barsoum (1887-1957) came to prominence in 1918 when he was designated Bishop of Syria, and after World War I he achieved recognition not only as a man of religion, but also as a scholar and as a representative of the Syrians' national interests. In 1933, he was formally elected Patriarch of Antioch, and showed himself an active head of the Church until his death. Despite his numerous responsibilities within the Church, Barsoum devoted much of his time to writing on the religion, languages and history of his people. *Al-Lu'Lu' al-Manthur*, then, was not the solitary work of an unlearned Eastern Patriarch, but part of the considerable output of a man thoroughly conversant with his subject.

What purpose did Barsoum have in writing this book? We may begin to answer such a question by considering its title. The French title is quite misleading: *Histoire des Sciences et de La Litterature Syriaque* clearly suggests that the book resembles the Western studies of Syriac literature. We should prefer the Arabic title, *Kitab al-Lu'lu' al-Manthur fi Tarikh al-'Ulum wa al-'Adab al-Suryaniya (The Unstrung Pearls of the History of Syriac Sciences and Literature*). The metaphorical implication of this title is evident: the work aims to present information which lies outside the scope of Western studies. The Introduction, written not only in Arabic but also in French and Syriac, indicates more precisely the nature of the work. Barsoum states that he hopes to fill the existing gaps in the knowledge of Syriac literature, and to pay tribute to the language of his church. He notes that at the beginning of the present century there commenced a revival of interest in the history of science and literature,

but adds that "Aramean science and literature" have received insufficient treatment from Western writers. Duval, Wright, Baumstark, and Chabot have, he says, "devoted their attention to what they recognize as science and literature" in the general sense (but, it is implied, they have passed over the extensive body of sacred literature in Syriac). Also, Barsoum notes, of these writers only Baunstark gives any consideration to Syriac Literature after the end of the thirteenth century.

Barsoum proposes to treat here several subjects omitted by earlier writers, including calligraphy, versification, the rites of the church, geographical sketches of Syrian cities, historical documents, the history of literature from 1290 to the present, and works and manuscripts previously unknown. In another chapter he summarizes the works of those Orientalists who have preserved Syrian culture, and criticizes writers who have sought to lessen the influence of the Syrians' knowledge.

The immediate audience for which Barsoum wrote includes two groups: historiographers and philologists, who may seek more knowledge of Syriac literature; and the faithful members of the Syrian church, whose national feeling he hopes "may be reinvigorated in their ancestral spirit." Additional evidence of the restricted audience to which the book appeals lies in the assertion that it "treats only Western Syrian scholars and writers, to the exclusion of the Eastern Syrians (Nestorians) and what is known of the meager culture of the Malkites and the Maronites." For Barsoum, the prospect of a fruitful and beneficial "social result," the resurrection of the cultural heritage of the Syriac-speaking community, is full recompense for the difficulties and material expenses of preparing this work, which represents the "fruit of our untiring labor over a period covering nearly a third of a century of our Episcopal and patriarchal life." Structurally, the book may be divided into three distinct sections. The first, containing thirty-one chapters, concerns the religious literature and other related writings extant in Syriac. After introductory chapters on the Syriac language and literature, the expositions on Syrian centers of learning and libraries, Barsoum treats in detail the Christian literature which has survived, including liturgies, the books of rituals used in the church, and the lives of great men of the Church. The second part presents biographies of 292 prominent Syrian writers; fifty-six of these have not previously been cited by Western writers. In the third part are appendices giving the names of Syrian calligraphers, meanings of foreign terms in the book, geographical names, lists of monasteries, an index of biographical references, and lists of saints.

Judged in terms of its author's stated purpose, *al-Lu'Lu' al-Manthur* must be considered highly successful. In fact, it was received enthusiastically not only by those members of the Syriac-speaking community for whom it was written, but also by Nestorian and Muslim scholars. Viscount Philip de Tarrazi, a Roman Catholic writer, offered this judgment:

> *al-Lu'Lu' al-Manthur* is indeed a very valuable work which deserves respect and consideration. Its learned author has enumerated the compositions of the famous writers and scientists from ancient times down to the present, in greater detail than any author before his time. His opening chapters demonstrate his thorough knowledge of his subject and his precision... he has filled a great gap in the history of our literature and sciences, which have adorned the Christian East for many centuries... (6)

The widespread appeal of *al-Lu'Lu' al-Manthur* for Eastern readers may readily be understood, for in approach and method it closely resembles other Eastern scholarly works on similar subjects. Especially, we may compare the work of Barsoum with the four-volume history of Arabic literature of Jurji Zaydan, *Kitab Tarikh 'Adab al-Lugha al-'Aratiya* (Cairo, 1911), and with K. L. Istarjian's *Tarikh al-thaqafa wa al-adab al-armani (History of Armenian Culture and Literature)* (Mosul, 1954).

Zaydan, observing that no Eastern writer before him has undertaken such a task, seeks to relate the Arabs' literature to their political history; to depict the growth and decline of their sciences; to give biographies of the leading figures of Arabic sciences and literature, together with pertinent bibliographical material; and to

categorize the books extant in Arabic according to their subjects. While Zaydan presents his material largely within a chronological framework, Barsoum focuses on the types of Syriac literature, particularly compositions of a religious character. Yet both works draw extensively on biographical material, and both are primarily encyclopedic in nature, though Zaydan's is wider in scope. In general, the straightforward style in which Zaydan writes is more fluent than that of Barsoum, whose syntax is sometimes involved, and whose language is often metaphorical.

Istarjian seems in his history of Armenian literature to have a purpose rather like that expressed by Barsoum in the Introduction to *al-Lu' Lu' al-Manthur*. Like Barsoum, Istarjian is intensely proud of the cultural traditions of his people. The periods which the two men cover are nearly identical, but while Barsoum limits his discussion to religious literature, Istarjian also deals with secular literature, approaching his subject through a consideration of literary genres. Nevertheless Istarjian, too, is concerned primarily with presenting biographical material and his work, like *al-Lu'Lu' al-Manthur*, is factual rather than analytical.

Thus, the work of Patriarch Barsoum is wholly consistent with the prevailing tradition of Eastern scholarship. This is not to say, however, that Eastern scholars concern themselves solely with the accumulation of factual evidence. Indeed, an excellent contemporary work of 'Anis al-Makdisi, *al-Ittijahat al-'Adabiya fi al-'Alam al-'Arabi al-Hadith (Literary Trends in the Modern Arab World*) (Beirut, 1963), reflects their growing interest in interpretative literary scholarship. Al-Makdisi discusses Arabic literature of the twentieth century not in terms of its types, but in terms of its political, social, and aesthetic significance. From a Western viewpoint, it may be argued that Barsoum writes in an unscholarly manner. Perhaps we can more readily comprehend the merits and defects of his work by comparing it with that of Rubens Duval, *La Litterature Syriaque*.

Duval provides a historical account of the origins, development, and decline of Syriac literature, and adds brief biographical sketches of the leading Syrian writers. He takes his account only to the end of the thirteenth century, while Barsoum offers much information on the writers from that time to the present. Duval, by adopting a chronological approach, and by considering within the scope of his work the literary activity of both Eastern and Western Syrians, succeeds more fully in placing Syriac literature in its historical context. Neither writer attempts genuine criticism of Syriac literature; Duval turns his attention to its subjects and external forms, while Barsoum enumerates but does not evaluate the works of Syrian writers. Finally, we may note, Duval quotes at length, but carefully, from the work of earlier scholars; Barsoum too frequently presents evidence without identifying its source. It is evident, then, that the Western reader must accept *al-Lu'Lu' al-Manthur* on its own terms, as the work of an Eastern scholar writing for an Eastern audience. He must also bear in mind that Barsoum is the Patriarch of Antioch, the head of the Syrian Church, and that his dominant attitude is one of pride in the literary achievements of the Church Fathers; indeed, this must be his attitude if he is to fulfill his purpose.

To be sure, this pride often leads to undue exaggeration, particularly of the antiquity of the Syrians' language and the greatness of their literature. Barsoum does not document convincingly his identification of Syriac with Aramaic nor does he furnish sufficient proof that Christ and the Apostles spoke Syriac. His dogmatic assertion that Syriac Literature rivals that of the Greeks seems all the more unpalatable because it is made without reference to any clear standard of judgment. One finds it difficult to accept the statement that the Syriac books now extant are the oldest in the world, and impossible to believe that the library of the monastery of the Syrians in Egypt is the most ancient in the world. In other instances Barsoum gives us good reason to call into question his reliability both as a scholar and as a judge of literature. His declaration that the *Pshitto* was produced by Christianized Jews in the first century, for example, may be sound, but the author does not offer substantiation. In his discussion of early Syriac literature, he quite erroneously assigns the composition of the *Book of Tobit* to the fifth century B.C., and again offers no evidence to support his contention. He praises St. Ephraim, Jacob of Edessa, and Bar Hebraeus, often excessively, at the expense of other important writers such as Bar Daysan and

Aphrahat. His treatment of the main themes of Syriac poetry is somewhat marred by his vague definition of satire. Finally, by centering his attention largely upon the Christian literature which the Syrians produced, Barsoum minimizes the importance of their role as translators.

Despite these faults, the work of Patriarch Barsoum has significant value for student of Syriac literature. Unlike his Western predecessors, he does not depend heavily on the work of Assemani, but draws much information from the Syriac manuscripts surviving in churches and monasteries throughout the Middle East, and from other original sources. The wider range of first-hand material available to Barsoum generally does not lead him to conclusions at odds with those drawn by Western scholars, but frequently enriches his presentation of factual information. Wright, for example, in his biographical sketch of Bar Hebraeus, cites only the *Bibliotheca Orientalis* and Bar Hebraeus' own writings; Barsoum furnishes additional evidence from the metrical biography of Bar Hebraeus and his brother, by Gabriel of Bartali.

The chief significance of *al-Lu'Lu' al-Manthur*, however, lies not in its additions to our knowledge concerning major figures in Syriac literature, but in its treatment of topics which Western writers have not considered. Barsoum has given us here a thorough and illuminating exposition of the art of calligraphy. His discussion of the rites of the Church takes us into an area which has not been explored in other studies of Syriac literature. The consideration of the various types of church music gives us an all too brief insight into what may quite properly be regarded as one of the highest forms of literary expression sought by the Syrians. This part of the work is clearly derived in part from ancient sources, about which Barsoum is unfortunately not explicit. The informative discussion of Syriac liturgies appears to be original, rather than derivative; Barsoum indicates in this section that he has read both Renaudot and Michael the Great, but because of his life in the Church he is thoroughly familiar with the practice of the liturgy, and in fact has even read seventy-four of these liturgies himself. His catalogue of liturgies is far more extensive than any compiled by Western scholars; to Philoxenus of Mabug, for example, he attributes certainly two liturgies, and tentatively another, whereas Wright cites only one, and that on the authority of Renaudot and Assemani (7).

Western writers seem accustomed to remark disparagingly that the Syrians devoted themselves largely to the writing of Christian literature, and to pass over this literature rather quickly; as a result, their view of Syriac Literature is incomplete. It is equally true, however, that *al-Lu'Lu' al-Manthur*, on account of its preoccupation with the Christian writings, presents an inaccurate picture of the whole of Syrian literature. Those who wish general knowledge of the Syriac language and literature will no doubt profit most from the treatments of these subjects by Duval and Baumstark. Those who seek more detailed knowledge should find the work of Patriarch Barsoum of immeasurable importance.

The development of Syriac Literature may be divided, in terms of its general characteristics and literary merit, into three stages. The first period, extending from the pre-Christian era to the eighth century A.D., is represented both by the few surviving pagan works and by the far more extensive Christian literature. The latter half of this period may be regarded as the golden age of Syriac literature. The production of native religious literature by the luminaries of the Syrian church was carried on side by side with the translation of Greek philosophy into Syriac.

The second period, lasting from the eighth to the close of the thirteenth century, coincides largely with the time of the Arabs' domination of Syria and Iraq. Although the Syrians of this period created many original works in a wide range of fields, their most important literary activity was the transmission of Greek philosophy and medicine into Arabic, without which the retransmission of much of ancient learning into Europe, between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, could not have been accomplished.

The third period, which extends from the thirteenth century to the present time, is commonly considered the age of the decline of Syriac literature. After many centuries of Arab rule, the Syrians saw their native language replaced to a considerable extent by Arabic. Nevertheless, despite their limited range of themes and the

restricted nature of their audience, Syrian writers have continued to produce a sizable body of indigenous literature, in the same beautiful language used by their predecessors for two thousand years or more.

Syriac Literature of the Pre-Christian Era

Western scholars have generally assumed that Syriac Literature first came into existence with the beginning of the great Christian movement of the Syrian church, about the start of the third century. This is rather a dangerous assumption, however, in view not only of the highly polished state of development which the Syriac language had attained at that time, but also of the non-Christian literature which has come down to us from the same period. Indeed, we shall shortly adduce evidence that the Syriac language served as the vehicle for literature quite some time before the birth of Christ. Rubens Duval has argued that, in its entirety, Syriac Literature ensued from the great religious movement in the East, and that it is therefore a wholly Christian literature. In accounting for its origin, Duval is careful to deny the existence of any connection between this literature and the writing which preceded the Christian movement. Duval acknowledges Mesopotamia as the birthplace of Syrian literature, but denies that the nation possessed any genuine national literature of its own. If there had been any national culture in Mesopotamia, he argues, either it would have been preserved by tradition or it would have left some trace in the Christian era. The alternative possibility that Syriac Literature was an indigenous product is dismissed with the assertion that it "was not the genius creation of a nation which developed progressively, or which possessed continuous tradition" (8). In correlating the rise of Syriac Literature with the beginning of the Christian movement in the East, Duval expresses the same opinion as Ernest Renan more than half a century earlier. Renan, however, while conceding the importance of the Mesopotamian religious movement to the development of Syriac literature, suggests the possibility of a connection between this literature and Chaldean learning:

> It has been previously established that Chaldea possessed an indigenous pagan literature before the time of Christianity. Syria proper and the northern part of Mesopotamia do not appear, it is true, to have participated actively in the movement of Chaldean studies; but one cannot imagine that they remained totally dissociated from it. It is remarkable that the most ancient writings whose titles have come down to us were all produced by the Chaldeans living under the Sassanid rule. The idea of writing in the Aramaic language on Christian themes would have occurred naturally to a people who already possessed works in their native tongue on all sorts of subjects (9).

These men and others who have followed their lead may be correct in maintaining that Syriac literature, as we know it today, is the product of the great religious movement of the Syrian church. This judgment, however, does not eliminate the fact that the Syrians had a national literature before they were Christianized. Indeed, it is inconceivable that a nation like Syria, which had a highly polished language centuries before the Christian era, should have been barren of literature for so long a time. If we are to accept the views of these authorities, we must find a rational and plausible explanation for the sudden eruption of the Syrians' religious literature. Such literary ability must have had its origins in the past, quite possibly in Chaldea or Babylon, as has been affirmed by Bar Daysan in his *Laws of the Countries* (10). Surely, too, there must have been a link between the Syrians' pagan literature and that of the Christian era, a link which now is probably lost. The most logical explanation for this loss is that, after becoming Christians, the Syrians destroyed the literary works of their forefathers, condemning them as worthless in comparison with the salvation they received from their new faith. The continuity of Syriac Literature from the pagan era is also demonstrated by the pagan literature developed in the city of Harran, south of Edessa, which remained the center of pagan religion and culture even after the Islamic conquest of Syria and Iraq. The famous Thabit ibn Qurrah of Harran, in his private Syriac writings (now lost)

related how paganism in Harran was particularly distinguished by its resistance to Christianity. Thanks to Bar Hebraeus, who cites Thabit in his *Ecclesiastical History*, this statement of his is preserved for us: "By God's help our fathers remained firm in their belief despite persecution, while many others surrendered. This blessed city has heroically stood firm against the teachings of the Nazarene" (11).

Antiquity has preserved for us the most remarkable literary work in the Aramaic language, the famous story of 'Ahiqar. 'Ahiqar, the minister of the Assyrian King Sennacherib, was reputed for his wisdom and ethics. Several versions of this legend in Aramaic, Arabic, Armenian, Ethiopian, Old Turkish, Greek and Slavonic were edited, translated into English, and published jointly by F. C. Conybeare, J. Rendel Harris and Agnes Smith Lewis in 1913 (12).

In his exhaustive introduction to this work, Rendel Harris has brilliantly discussed the origin of the legend and its parallels in the tales of the "Thousand and One Nights," the Qur'an (in the person of Luqman), the apocryphal Book of Tobit, the proverbs of Solomon and the legends of Aesop. He also analyzed and compared the different versions of this legend; here we shall be concerned with the Aramaic version, which is of great importance to this subject.

According to Harris, some Aramaic papyri whose extraordinary antiquity ranks them with the oldest known Biblical documents were discovered on the island of the Elephantine, just below the first Cataract of the Nile. Among these ancient documents was a series of papyrus fragments which related to the literature of 'Ahiqar. These papyri were edited and published by Professor Sachau (13).

After thorough study of the papyri, Professor Sachau was inclined to date this work back to the new-Babylonian Kingdom, which followed the fall of Assyria in 603 B.C. His final suggestion that the legend of Ahiqar was written between 550 and 450 B.C. does not eliminate the possibility that it is of much earlier date. The importance of the legend, however, is that it may be considered the oldest literary monument of the Aramaic language. This Aramaic, which is the same as that of the Books of Ezra and Nehemia of the Old Testament, must not be very different from the Syriac of Edessa, except perhaps in certain terms and idiomatic expressions. Some Eastern Syrian writers are of the opinion that the language of 'Ahiqar, represented in these Aramaic papyri is the same as the language use by Bar Daysan, Mara Bar Saraphion, Aphrahat and St. Ephraim (14).

Another piece of Syriac literature, interesting because of its antiquity, is the surviving poem of the Aramean Wafa. This poet was first mentioned by Antonius Rhetor in the tenth chapter of the fifth treatise of his book *The Knowledge of Rhetoric*. Antonius states, "The fifth meter of poetry is usually composed of six or seven strophes although the number may sometimes increase or decrease. This meter belongs to a man named Wafa, an Aramean philosopher. The composition of poetry by this man, whose name has been unknown for many generations, is evidence that this art (poetry) is old with us" (15). Antonius also cites a few lines in which this ancient poet expresses his joy for having driven grief and worry from his heart. Antonius concludes that "this type of poetry resembles the amorous songs usually composed for occasions such as weddings, or the lyrics commemorating wars" (16). Martin Sprengling, in his dissertation entitled "Antonius Rhetor on Versification," is incorrect in assuming that the "Earliest extant Syriac verse was the few lines by Bar Daysan and the Acts of Thomas, which had been preserved for us" (17). These lines of poetry have been preceded by those of Wafa.

For our information on the surviving Syriac pagan literature, mainly of Baba of Harran, we are indebted to Dionysius Bar Salibi (d. 1171). In his "Discourse Against the Jews and Muhammadans," preserved in MS. 4019 (p. 50) at Harvard University; Bar Salibi calls Baba "the Harranian philosopher." He also cites two works by Baba, "The First Book" and "The Second Book," both of which were published by Monsignor Rahmani in his *Studia Syriaca* in 1904. Bar Salibi appears to have made use of the "Second Book" in his earlier discourse against the Muslims. (18)

In his writing Baba follows the style of pagan priests, which is characterized with the use of short sentences, each bearing a different meaning, and whose expression may give rise to different interpretations. It is worth noting that these two books of Baba contain prophecies about the coming of Jesus Christ. These prophecies probably convinced the Christianized Syrians to preserve these two books, in order to use them in inducing the pagans of Harran to embrace Christianity on the ground that Baba was a prophet. But a closer study of the prophecies indicates that it is not unlikely that Christian scribes interpolated them. Indeed, this is quite obvious, since the Syrians of Harran (commonly called Sabians) rivaled each other in assuming the role of intermediary between the ancient and Islamic civilizations.

Another surviving piece of ancient Syriac Literature is the letter of Mara Bar Saraphion, or Serapion, to his son. The Syriac text of this letter, with an English translation, was published by William Cureton in his *Spicilegium Syriacum* (London, 1855). Nothing much is known about this Mara Bar Saraphion except the scanty information derived from his letter. In this letter Mara mentions that his city (he does not give the name) was destroyed by the Romans, and he and many others were taken captives and treated tyrannically. Mara's companions apparently came from Samosata. He also mentions the destruction of Jerusalem and the dispersion of the Jews as a punishment for having murdered Jesus, whom he calls "the wise King." He adds that, although this "wise King" is dead, yet he lives in the wise laws which He promulgated." Judging from the events mentioned in this letter, the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, in A.D. 70 and the persecution under Domitian, which began in A.D. 95, Cureton is inclined to place the date of its composition at the close of the first century A.D. However, he recognizes the possibility that the calamities which the writer of this letter mentions are those inflicted by the Romans upon the countries situated on the Tigris and the Euphrates (which had been inflamed against the Romans by Vologesses) in the Parthian Wars under the command of Lucius Verus in A.D. 162-165. If such is the case, then it is more likely that the letter was written at the end of the second century (19).

The author of this letter was undoubtedly a pagan Syrian who had some knowledge about Greek philosophers and learned men, for he mentions Socrates, Archimedes, Pythagoras and Palamedes. This important letter may well be considered the last trace of pagan Syriac literature, which thrived before the emergence of the great Syriac literary movement in the first half of the third century. It also provides evidence that Syriac Literature in the Christian era was not totally cut off from its past.

The surviving Syriac literary writings of the pagan era demonstrate that the ancient nation of Mesopotamia possessed a highly developed literature, as well as literary initiative. They also illustrate that Syriac was, from ancient times, a flexible and expressive language, suitable to be the vehicle of literature and philosophy. Contrary to the opinion held by Rubens Duval and other Western writers, Syriac Literature had a continuous tradition down to the Christian era. The legend of 'Ahiqar, the poem of Wafa, the writings of Baba of Harran, and the letter of Mara Bar Saraphion leave us no choice but to admit that the Syriac of Edessa represents the highest degree of development of the Syriac-Aramaic language used by these earlier writers.

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Matti Moosa's

Studies in Syriac Literature

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Syriac Literature of the Christian Era

We come now to an important part of our subject, the extensive body of Christian Syriac literature. As this literature commences with the Bible, we think it appropriate to discuss the origin of the Syriac versions of the Bible, particularly the translation of the Old Testament commonly called the *Pshitto*, ("simple"), because of its uncomplicated and readable style. The *Pshitto*, which is the Syriac version of canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, occupies a prominent place in the history of the Syrian Church (20). It throws light on the beginnings of Christianity in Mesopotamia, mainly in Edessa, as well as on the history of the early Syrian Church.

The oldest available manuscript of the Old Testament according to the *Pshitto* version is the British Museum Add. 14425, transcribed at Amid by a deacon named John in A.D. 464. The canonical books of the Old Testament in this version are essentially those of the Hebrew Bible, except for the books of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah, which are excluded by both Eastern and Western Syrian manuscripts. Eastern Syrian manuscripts, however, exclude the book of Esther, too. Nevertheless, all of these books, whether included in the *Pshitto* or not, were cited by Syrian Fathers like Afraates (Aphrahat) (21), in the middle of the fourth century, and St. Ephraim (22). Other extant copies of the Syriac Old Testament such as the Florentine MS. Laurent. Or. 58, date back to the ninth century.

According to the Syrian Bishop Yeshu Dad (d. 852), the *Pshitto* was translated into Syriac in the time of Solomon at the request of Hiram, King of Tyre. Another tradition credits the priest Asa or Ezra with this translation (23). Burkitt maintains that the Syriac translations of the Old and New Testaments date back to the time of Abgar V, King of Edessa, who was converted to Christianity by the apostle 'Addai (Thaddeus) (24). According to Nestle, Bar Hebraeus makes the strange statement that, according to Eusebius (cf. *Hist. Eccles.*, VI, xvi, 4, and VI, xii), Origen found the Syriac version in the keeping of a widow at Jericho (25). Eusebius, to be sure, mentions that one of the translations used by Origen includes the remark that it was discovered at Jericho, in a tub, in the time of Antonius the son of Severus (26). Why and how Bar Hebraeus got the idea that the version was Syriac is not known. Still other writers are of the opinion that no information is available about the *Pshitto*, and that even Theodore of Mopsuestia (d. 428) did not know anything about it (27). Likewise, he seems to have known nothing about the person who translated some of the Scriptural books, mainly the Psalms, from Palestinian-Aramaic into Hebrew, and thence into Greek and Syriac (28). However, Paul B. Kahle, in his book *The Cairo Geniza*, is inclined to agree with other writers that the *Pshitto* was a translation made by Jews

for a Jewish community. This community can only be that of what is now Arbela, or 'Arbil, in Iraq (29). Reference should be made also to the theory advanced by F. Crawford Burkitt, that "the Church in Edessa at the earliest period of its existence took over from the Synagogue a vernacular rendering of the Old Testament (30). As will be seen later, the substantiation of these two theories will depend ultimately upon whether Christianity was first established in Edessa or in Adiabene, and it is to that dispute that we now turn.

In a special chapter on the origin of the *Pshitto* and its relation to the establishment of Christianity in Edessa, Kahle gives an analysis of the different opinions on the subject. Kahle states positively at the outset that "we have no information whatsoever about the origin of the *Pshitto*, the Syriac translation of the Old Testament. Even Theodore of Mopsuestia (d. 428) did not know by whom or where it was made" (31). Kahle accepts the British Museum MS. Add. 14425 as the oldest Syriac manuscript containing the canonical books of the Old Testament. While it differs from other manuscripts, he notes that it seems to be in harmony with the Hebrew Bible. The studies made of the different manuscripts of the Syriac Old Testament have, however, led to uncertain conclusions.

Professor W. S. Barnes, who edited the Pentateuch in Syriac for the British and Foreign Bible Society (London, 1914), finds the Florentine MS. Or. 58 (9th century) of "seriously lessened" value in fixing the text of the *Pshitto*. John Pinkerton, on the other hand, considers that MS and the British Museum MS. Add. 14427 as important and reliable as MS. 14425 (32).

Pinkerton observes that although this MS. presents a literal translation, its style is smoother and freer than that of the two other manuscripts. He remarks that since St. Ephraim (d. 373) was familiar with the text type represented in the British Museum MS. Add. 14425, it should be regarded as the oldest text of the Syriac Pentateuch, and cannot be the result of any later revision of the Hebrew text (33). Pinkerton concludes that a text of the type of the British Museum Add. 14425 must have been the work of a Jewish community. This Jewish translation, later taken by the Christian Church, was gradually improved and amplified, and finally became the standard text. Kahle seems to be convinced by Pinkerton's conclusion (34).

The question which seems to be Pinkerton's main concern, as to the identity and location of this Jewish community, is partially answered by Burkitt. Like Pinkerton, Burkitt is of the opinion that the Old Testament in Syriac is a direct translation from the Hebrew. Throughout the Old Testament, particularly the Pentateuch, the *Pshitto* appears to be the work of one who was well versed in Hebrew and fully acquainted with Jewish translations. The *Pshitto* may have undergone revision at a later period, probably by Christians; yet, judging from its elements, which are essentially Hebrew, we are certain that it is not the work of Christian Syrians. Therefore, the *Pshitto* was the work of masterful and learned Jews, and was meant to be used by the convert Jews in Edessa (35).

To illustrate this point, Burkitt refers to the traditional story which maintains that the apostle 'Addai (Thaddeus) first preached the Gospel in Edessa. Eusebius first related the story that Abgar, King of Edessa, heard of the miracles of Jesus and wished He could come to his city and heal his incurable disease. Abgar wrote to Jesus, inviting Him to Edessa, and offered to share with Him his small principality, and also to protect Him from the Jews' antagonism. Jesus, we are further told, answered Abgar that after His ascent to heaven, He would send one of the disciples to cure him. Consequently, Thomas, one of the Twelve, by a divine impulse sent 'Addai, one of the Seventy, to Edessa, where he healed Abgar and preached the Gospel in that city. This in brief, is the story which has been rejected by some Western writers as strictly a legend, while historians of the Eastern churches believe it to be authentic. Their position is supported by Eusebius, who relates with confidence that "The epistles themselves were taken by us from the archives of Edessa and then literally translated by us from the Syriac language" (36). Coming back to our subject, Burkitt observes that, according to this story, Addai, while in Edessa, remained with one Tobit, son of Tobia(s), a Jew from Palestine. Furthermore, 'Addai's preaching was

successful among Jews. This indicates that Edessa was a center of Jewish life before it became a center of Christianity. Burkitt's conclusion may be cited here in full:

> Thus we may infer that the Old Testament in Syriac was originally a vernacular rendering of the Hebrew Scriptures made by Jews for Jews resident at Edessa and speaking the language of the country (37).

It has been mentioned previously that John Pinkerton presented the ideas that the *Pshitto* was made by Jews for a Jewish community, but without identifying this community. Kahle tries to solve the problem of identifying this community by citing the opinion of Joseph Marquart, who points out that the home of this Jewish community is Adiabene, a kingdom situated between the two rivers Zabs (the present site of 'Arbil in Iraq) (38). For information on this Jewish community, Kahle refers to Josephus, who relates in his *Antiquities of the Jews* the chronicle of the small Jewish community and the Jewish dynasty of Adiabene (39). This Jewish community is believed to have become influential by the conversion of the royal family and a great number of prominent families, who naturally needed a Bible written in the Syriac language of Adiabene. Kahle seems quite certain that at least the Pentateuch, and perhaps more of the Syriac Old Testament, was introduced into Adiabene in the middle of the first century B.C. The text of the Bible, he believes, was translated into the Syriac of Adiabene by some of the Palestinian Jews who had settled there. Kahle also assumes that the presence of a Jewish community in Adiabene must have helped to pave the way for the Christian mission. He seems to agree with Joseph Marquart's conclusion that "the Christian mission did not start among the pagan population of Edessa, the later center of Christianity, in the East, but among the Jewish population of Adiabene" (40).

Kahle also states that this suggestion has been proved to be correct by the *Chronicle of Arbela*, written by the sixth-century Nestorian Mshiha Zkha. This work was discovered, edited, translated into French and published by Alphonse Mingana in 1907. The text of this chronicle has also been carefully investigated by Sachau, who translated it into German and published it in 1915. Kahle, remarking on the great value and authenticity of this chronicle, cites Adolph Harnack's statement, "We have here a very valuable document from the provinces of the Roman Empire" (41).

The main theme of the *Chronicle of Arbela*, which Kahle and other writers have cited, is that the missionary activities of the apostle 'Addai started in Adiabene some years before A.D. 100, and that about this time 'Addai baptized a certain Phkidha and sent him to Arbela, where, for the next ten years, he served as the first bishop of the Christian converts from Judaism (42). This new Christian community obviously used the same Old Testament which they had possessed before their conversion. Furthermore, the *Chronicle* describes the missionary activities of 'Addai in other parts of Mesopotamia, but does not particularly mention Edessa. Although Harnack assigns the missionary activities of 'Addai in Edessa to the year A.D. 100, yet he admits that in reality nothing is known about him. This leaves Kahle with no doubt that Christianity began in Adiabene, not Edessa.

According to the *Doctrine of 'Addai*, an apocryphal Syriac document of the late fourth century, 'Addai went to Edessa and healed King Abgar in fulfillment of the promise of Jesus. As a result of the healing of Abgar and the preaching of 'Addai, the Edessan royal family and many citizens were converted to Christianity. By the order of Abgar, 'Addai built a church in Edessa. Day by day, a large multitude of people assembled and attended the prayers and listened to the reading of the Old Testament and the "Ditonron," believed by William Cureton to be the *Diatessaron* (43). The death of 'Addai occurred shortly before that of Abgar, in A.D. 45, so that the ministry of 'Addai in Edessa covered a period of about ten or eleven years.

The *Doctrine of 'Addai* seems to be in complete opposition to the *Chronicle of Arbela*. Kahle, however, thinks that the legend of 'Addai was imported into Edessa and developed there to substantiate the conversion to Christianity of Abgar IX (A.D. 179-217), with whom Bar Daysan had friendship. He also believes that the

earliest evidence of Christianity in Edessa is the mention of the destruction of a church there by a great flood (A. D. 201). For this and other reasons, Kahle dismisses the *Doctrine of 'Addai* as bearing no historical relation to the beginning of Christianity in Edessa (44).

His argument, however, appears unconvincing because of his failure to identify the "'Addai" of the *Chronicle of Arbela*. Furthermore, neither he nor Harnack provides any information about this 'Addai, except that he was mentioned by Mshiha Zkha, the writer of the *Chronicle*, as the apostle who preached the Gospel in Adiabene. If the chronicler of Arbela regards 'Addai who ordained Phkidha as a bishop of Adiabene about A.D. 100 as the same 'Addai who was one of the Seventy Evangelists, it is most unlikely that this apostle lived long enough to carry out such activity. Even if we assume that the writer of the *Chronicle of Arbela* confused the name of 'Addai with that of his disciple 'Aggai, it is also unlikely that 'Aggai lived to the end of the first century. There is, however, an extensive body of evidence which appears to contradict the assertions made by the chronicler of Arbela. Bar-hadh-Bshabba, a Nestorian chronicler of the sixth century and most probably a contemporary of Mshiha Zkha, states positively that "the establishers of the church of Edessa are 'Addai and his disciples." Although he does not mention the name of this disciple, we know definitely that he was named Man (45).

We also have it on the authority of Jacob of Edessa (d. 708) that when Abgar V, King of Edessa (d. 50 A.D.) was converted by 'Addai, he sent to Jerusalem a group of transcribers who translated the Old Testament from Hebrew into Syriac and brought it back to Edessa (46). This copy seems to have been collated with the Greek version in the fourth century and was later revised, together with the New Testament, by Rabula, bishop of Edessa (d. 435). This is also confirmed by Bar Hebraeus, who, according to Assemani, states that "some Books of the Old and New Testaments were translated at Edessa in the time of Abgar and 'Addai" (47). Assemani also mentions that "there is a record preserved of a very ancient copy of a Gospel written in the hand of Aggaeus ('Aggai), himself the disciple and successor of Addaeus ('Addai), in the year of the Greeks 389, or A.D. 78" (48).

Another Syrian chronicler, commonly known as the Anonymous Edessan (ca. twelfth century), relates that "'Addai performed his first service in the eastern part of a large pagan temple in Edessa. This temple was built in the time of Seleucus near a water spring in the Western section of the city. This temple was decorated and also stood on pillars made of marble. Abgar the King, as well as the citizens of Edessa, attended the services held by 'Addai and received the holy communion. Afterwards, this temple was called the Temple of the Savior" (49). Another Nestorian writer, Bishop Solomon of Basra (c. 1222), states in his *Book of the Bee* that "'Addai was from Paneas and he preached in Edessa in Mesopotamia in the days of Abgar" (50).

Michael the Great (d. 1199), Syrian Patriarch of Antioch, even provides us with a list of the bishops who succeeded 'Addai in Edessa. Although Burkitt cites this list to support his view, yet "because of confusions and imperfections," especially in the order of the list, he is doubtful whether Michael himself composed it (51). Kahle seems to agree with Burkitt's view on this matter (52). But closer study shows that Burkitt, not Michael, is the one who is confused, apparently due to his misreading of some of the names mentioned in the list.

Michael gives the names of the Edessan bishops in this order. 'Addai, 'Aggai, Palut, 'Abshlama, Barsmayya, Tiridit, Bozni, Shalula, 'Abda, Guriya, 'Abda, Ezni, Oshtasab and 'Aggi (53). Burkitt reads the names of the two bishops called 'Abda as "slave" and "another slave." Then he complains, "What Michael means by 'another slave' I do not know." For this and other reasons he thinks that the whole list is extremely confused (54). To be sure, 'Abda in Syriac does mean "slave," but in this list of the bishops of Edessa it is used as a proper name, analogous with the name 'Abd in Arabic. Michael must surely have known the *Doctrine of 'Addai*, which is assigned to the latter half of the fourth century, and quite possibly used it in compiling his list. Yet he does not mention the ordination of Palut, a disciple of 'Addai, who, according to the *Doctrine of 'Addai*, received the Hands of Priesthood by Serapion, patriarch of Antioch (191-211), and the omission suggests that he regarded the account of this incident as spurious. Furthermore, he lists the names of three bishops not cited in the order of bishops

given by the *Doctrine of 'Addai*. These names may have come from other sources, about which, unfortunately, we have no information.

Despite these differences, the list compiled by Michael provides further evidence of the early establishment of Christianity in Edessa. In view of these facts, we may conclude that Christianity began in Edessa, not Adiabene, in the first half of the first century. Also, the Christian community of Edessa used a version of the Old Testament which had been translated from Hebrew and which was apparently the source of the Syriac *Pshitto*. It is not unlikely that this version survives in the copy of British Museum Add. 14425, which dates back to the fifth century. As for the preaching of 'Addai in Adiabene, it seems more acceptable to assume that after he healed Abgar and preached the Gospel in Edessa, 'Addai also made a wide journey of the neighboring areas, including Adiabene, where he preached the Gospel before his return to Edessa, where he died in 45.

The preceding pages show that the *Doctrine of 'Addai* places the use of the Old as well as the New Testaments, which it calls the "Ditonron," in the middle of the first century. William Cureton suggests that this "Ditonron" must be the *Diatessaron* which had been compiled by Tatian. Cureton cannot be quite correct, since the evidence that Tatian compiled the *Diatessaron* between A.D. 152-172 does not accord with our knowledge of the *Doctrine of 'Addai*, which has historical if not canonical validity (55). Burkitt suggests that the "'Addai" of the Syriac tradition, who evangelized Edessa and used the *Diatessaron*, and Tatian, who (according to Eusebius and Epiphanius) compiled the *Diatessaron*, probably in Rome, and returned to Mesopotamia before A.D. 170, are one and the same, 'Addai being Tatian's native Semitic name as Saul was the native name of St. Paul (56).

This assumption is hardly credible if the element of time is taken into consideration, for at least sixty years elapsed between the death of 'Addai and the birth of Tatian. Even if 'Addai might be identified with Tatian, still it is inconceivable that the Christian community in Edessa in the first half of the first century possessed a complete version of the Gospels which this alleged "'Addai-Tatian" used as the basis for his *Diatessaron*. Therefore, 'Addai and Tatian are two different persons.

Tatian, who calls himself "the Assyrian," was born about 110 A. D., probably in Adiabene. He was raised a heathen and studied the sciences of the Greeks. After a long journey into many countries he reached Rome, where Justin the martyr converted him to Christianity. Tatian returned to Mesopotamia, probably to Edessa, about A.D. 172 and began to promulgate his heretical teachings (57). He is said to have died in A.D. 180 or shortly thereafter (58).

It is most probable that the word "Ditonron," mentioned in the *Doctrine of 'Addai*, is a later interpolation. However, the fact remains that the early church of Edessa must have relied on the oral tradition of the Gospel, or probably used a single Gospel at least until the middle of the first century.

William Wright is of the opinion that a Syriac version of the Gospels, along with other parts of the New Testament, must have existed in the second century, and that it was probably the source from which Tatian compiled his *Diatessaron* (59). Even if such a version existed and was in use before the *Diatessaron*, it was forced into the background when the *Diatessaron* gained great popularity in the early Syrian church. Aphrahat quoted it, and St. Ephraim wrote a commentary upon it which until recently survived only in an Armenian version (60). Other sources erroneously attribute a translation of the separate Gospels to Palut, an early bishop of Edessa (61). The *Diatessaron*, however, remained in use until Rabula, bishop of Edessa (411-435) ordered that versions of the separate Gospels should be used in its place.

Theodore of Cyrrhus (423-457), we are told, subsequently destroyed more than two hundred copies of the *Diatessaron*. As a result, no Syriac version of the *Diatessaron* has survived, except for a few passages cited by Yeshu' Dad, bishop of Haditha, in his commentary on the Gospels (62).

Besides the fragments of the *Diatessaron*, we have later Syriac versions of the separate Gospels which were closely associated with it. Of these Gospels, which were probably translated into Syriac about A.D. 200, only two survive. The first of these is the Curetonian (early fifth century), so called after William Cureton, who discovered it and published it in 1858 (63). The other one is the Sinaitic palimpsest (fourth century), discovered by Agnes Smith Lewis in the Convent of St. Catherine in Mount Sinai in 1892, and published in 1894 (64). Although the readings of the two versions differ, both were influenced by the *Diatessaron*.

In the first quarter of the fifth century, Rabula undertook the revision of the text of the Separate Gospels according to the original Greek. Soon this revised version was authorized by the church and began to supersede the *Diatessaron*. This version contained the four Gospels, the Acts, three general epistles (James I, Peter I, John I) and fourteen epistles of St. Paul (65).

This version of the New Testament underwent a series of later revisions. The first one was made by Philoxenus of Mabug, assisted by the chorepiscopus Polycarp. According to William Wright, Philoxenus and Polycarp produced a "literal translation of the whole Bible in the year 502" (66), and soon this version became the standard work of the day. In the year 616-617 Paul, bishop of Tal Mawzalt, translated into Syriac the Hexapla text of Origen by order of the Patriarch Athanasius I. This version was highly esteemed by the Syrian writers, especially Bar Hebraeus, who quoted it and preferred it to the *Pshitto* of the New Testament (67). In 616 the New Testament of Philoxenus of Mabug was revised by Thomas of Harolea (Tuma al-Harqali) at Alexandria. In addition to the Canonical Books of the *Pshitto*, the Hardean version contained the four shorter epistles (68). Finally, Jacob of Edessa, while in retirement at the monastery of Tal 'Adda (704-705) undertook the revision of the text of the *Pshitto* with the help of the Greek version. Of this version five copies survive, some of which were transcribed in the year 719-720. This translation, however, never gained popularity in church circles (69).

Christianity, as we saw, began not in Adiabene, but in Edessa, and the Christian community there was the first to use the Syriac version of the Old Testament translated from the Hebrew. As the capital of the small Syrian principality, called by the natives "'Urhoi" or "Callirrhoe" ("She with the beautiful waters"), Edessa was destined to become not only the center of Christianity, but the center of literature in Mesopotamia (70). Being part of the Church of Antioch, under the jurisdiction of its Patriarchal See, the famous school of Edessa was the place where the Syriac-speaking Fathers of the fifth century initiated the great task of translating the theological writings of the Greek Fathers as well as works of Peripatetic philosophy, into Syriac. This period boasted great writers, poets, and philosophers, including Bar Daysan, Aphrahat (the Persian Sage), St. Ephraim and many others.

Perhaps the most celebrated of those men whose literary works and religious views had great impact on Syriac Literature were Bar Daysan (154-222) (71) and St. Ephraim (d. 373), "the Prophet of the Syrians." Although they had in common an unsurpassed knowledge of their native Syriac tongue, their religious views were diametrically opposed.

From the same period as the oldest Syriac text of the Holy Bible, we have the dialogue *On Fate* between Bar Daysan and his disciples. This Syriac philosophical treatise, which was discovered, translated into English, and published by William Cureton in 1855 presents a profane attitude rather than the religious outlook characteristic of Syriac literature. According to Eusebius, Jerome, Theodoretus and Epiphanius the title of this dialogue was *On Fate*, but the Syriac manuscript edited by Cureton gives the title as "*The Book of the Laws of the Countries*" (72). To be sure, the dialogue contains a discussion of destiny, as well as of the different customs and laws of the nations known at that time. Yet in all probability the Syriac title is more correct, since it was presumably the author's original title. Although the title *On Fate* may well have been appended by the later Greek writers who alluded to this dialogue, this writer accepts that title as better known to Western scholars. We should also note

here the opinion of some critics, that the dialogue *On Fate* was not written by Bar Daysan, but was retold by one of his disciples, Philip. Bar Daysan, however, is the main speaker and takes a leading part in the conversation.

For our information on Bar Daysan we are indebted to Eusebius, the celebrated church historian of the fourth century, and to Michael the Great, the Syrian Patriarch of Antioch (d. 1199). Both authors give different accounts about Bar Daysan, but they agree on one point: he was a heretic. Burkitt, who regards the *Chronicle* of Michael the Great as "a serious source of historical information in those passages where there is a good reason to believe that Michael and his predecessors have all copied faithfully from a much older source," accuses him of being ignorant and prejudiced in his account of Bar Daysan (73). His main argument is that the philosophy of a free thinker like Bar Daysan could not be easily packed into the compendiums of annallists, and that in later ages Bar Daysan was considered a great heretic and schismatic (74).

But this argument can hardly be justified. If Michael has copied faithfully from a much older source, then there is no reason to discredit his account concerning Bar Daysan. As a matter of fact, non-Syrian writers since the beginning of the fourth century recognized Bar Daysan as a heretic. According to Eusebius, he was a man of great abilities and a powerful disputant in the Syriac tongue. He also composed treatises against Marcion and others who had heretical ideas, among them his treatise *On Fate*, addressed to a certain Antonius (75). These treatises were translated into Greek by one of Bar Daysan's friends. Bar Daysan was also a powerful speaker, and therefore capable of attracting many followers. Yet, as Eusebius relates, although Bar Daysan was a disciple of the heretic Valentinus, he afterwards rejected most of his fiction and apparently returned to his own correct opinion. But he did not entirely wipe away the filth of his old heresy (76).

In the dialogue *On Fate*, the disciples of Bar Daysan inquire about the cause of evil, particularly moral evil, in this world, and ask, "Why did not God create us so that we should not sin and be guilty?" Bar Daysan begins by defending the free will of man, asserting that God meant him to be free and even made him equal with the angels. Man, therefore, is not like the moon, the stars, and other spheres, which have no free will of their own, but are subjected to fixed rules and ordinances which they must follow. For the sun, he argues, cannot defy the laws of nature by refusing to rise, or the stars by refusing to shine. However, the greater goodness of God to man has manifested itself in the gift of free will, which is not possessed by these elements, and by which man can justify and govern himself. God, therefore, did not mean to create man as an instrument without will or freedom.

Bar Daysan goes on to explain that the moral commandments or principles given to man are not hard to execute, as one of his disciples, Awida, had thought. He remarks that men are not asked to do anything which they are unable to do.

For the moral principles contained in the commandments, such as not to steal or to commit adultery, are subject to the mind of man, and are associated not with the power of the body, but with the will of the soul. Bar Daysan also explains that to do good is easier than to avoid evil, for good is man's own, and hence man feels happy when he does good. Furthermore, by doing good, man pleases his conscience. Evil, on the other hand, is a disturbance of the sound nature of man. Those who do wrong are agitated and troubled. Thus, men are different because they act differently. If all men acted or thought the same way, then they would be governed by a same nature; they would have no free will. Because men are free, they are to be held responsible for their acts.

Bar Daysan also discusses the ideas of astronomers, whom he calls 'Chaldeans,' concerning the decree of Fortune by which men are governed. These Chaldeans attributed to the influence of the stars all the actions of men, good or bad, as well as all the circumstances that befell them, such as sickness or health, and wealth or poverty. Other people, Bar Daysan maintains, think that this belief of the Chaldeans is fallacious. For these people, Fortune does not exist, but is merely an empty name. In the opinion of these people, things great or small, as well as physical defects and human faults, happen to man by chance. Still others maintain that all bad things that happen to men are nothing but punishments inflicted upon them by God.

After discussing these beliefs, Bar Daysan presents his own opinion. He acknowledges that men are influenced by nature equally, by Fortune differently, and by their free will each as he wishes. Many things in life are subject to the laws of nature, including physical growth, generation, old age, eating, drinking, etc. These things are not influenced by Fortune. When the operations of nature are fulfilled, however, then Fortune interferes to influence things. Therefore, both physical perfection and deformity are products of Fortune. Similarly, all abominations, filth, indecency, and extravagance, and the like, are influenced by Fortune. Whenever the cause of nature or that of the stars becomes disturbed, Fortune, to be sure, causes this disturbance. As Fortune influences nature, it is in turn influenced by the free will of men. Behind these elements stands God, who ordained how life was to be and who alone determined the perfection of all His creation. But Fortune influences only part of the lives of men, since they are enabled by the gift of free will to act as they find fitting. As a result of this free will, men in different places have established different laws of their governance. Bar Daysan then proceeds to discuss these laws.

Taken with the ideas in the second part of the dialogue, this summary of his philosophy presents Bar Daysan as agnostic, believing in one Almighty God who has created the world and who is the support of all His creatures. God first created the four basic elements, fire, water, light and darkness, and determined for each of them a certain amount of freedom. Each of these elements is endowed with generative and destructive powers. Acting in His own wisdom, then, God allowed evil in this world, but will create a new world free from evil. He created not only man, but the angels to whom He granted an equally free will. Man is composed of mind, soul, and body; all things concerning his life, death, happiness, unhappiness, richness, poverty, are influenced by the stars.

The dialogue *On Fate* reveals Bar Daysan as a man of exceptional talents, very well-read, especially in the science of the Chaldeans. Likewise, we see that Bar Daysan knew how to think for himself, unhampered by the religious restrictions of his time. He did not follow the idea of any established school of his time, but rather established his own school. We are informed that he headed a school in Edessa, and that some of the Greek scholars who visited this school observed that the young Bar Daysan represented most appropriately the Christian culture (77). Bar Daysan's teaching and poetry, which were very popular in Edessa, must have had a great influence on the Syrians.

In fact, this surviving treatise *On Fate* and the life of its author attest to the fact that the Syrian mind was no less imaginative or competent than the Greek mind. As a philosopher and a free thinker, Bar Daysan may be judged on his merits. To the Syrians of the third century, however, his philosophy did not serve to advocate the cause of Christianity or that of the Church. His ideas must have threatened the well-being of the Church, which St. Ephraim later felt constrained to defend. At the tine of Bar Daysan, the Church, more concerned with salvation, had no use for his philosophy.

The Syrian Church, then, knew Bar Daysan as a heretic following Valentinus, who preached Dualism, while in the dialogue On Fate he appears as a believer in Christ. He may have expressed his belief in Christ after rejecting his heresy. Yet the Syrian Church in the fourth century made every effort to suppress his heretical ideas, and, as we shall see, St. Ephraim was the bitterest opponent of Bar Daysan's heresy.

According to St. Ephraim, "Bar Daysan wrote *madrashe* (metrical hymns) and provided them with tunes. He composed Psalms and put them into metrical forms, arranging the words by means of measures and balances. In these songs, Bar Daysan offered to the guileless, bitter things in sweet guise, in order that, though feeble, they might not choose wholesome food. He sought to emulate David, to deck himself out in his graces, that, like him, he might be exalted; one hundred and fifty Psalms did he likewise compose. His truth he forsook, my brethren, while imitating his number" (78).

This statement provides little information about the specific nature of his heresy. Likewise, St. Ephraim's fifty-fifth hymn against heresies, does not quote from Bar Daysan's verse extensively enough to give us an insight as

to the nature of his beliefs. St. Ephraim did not refute the ideas of Bar Daysan one by one, but merely extracted certain passages and formulated metrical refutations of them.

Bar Daysan, a powerful poet, masterful in his choice of words, used his metrical talents to propagate false doctrines. By setting his metrical compositions to charming tunes, he made them a more powerful instrument for moulding the popular mind, which was thoroughly amenable to musical verse. These songs remained popular until the fourth century, when St. Ephraim, intending to fight Bar Daysan's heresy, drew upon his own poetic ability to defend the truth, employing the same meters as Bar Daysan. Thus the songs of Bar Daysan lost their popularity, were neglected, and finally were lost (79).

Michael the Great (d. 1199) gives us a clearer picture of Bar Daysan's heresy. He relates that "Bar Daysan says that there are three chief Natures and four Existences, which are reason, power, understanding and knowledge. The four powers are Fire and Water and Light and Spirit (Wind), and from these come the other existences of the world, 360 in number. Bar Daysan also says that He who spoke with Moses and the prophets was the Chief of Angels, and not God himself; and that our Lord was clothed with the body of an angel, and from Mary was clothed the shining Soul, which thus took form and body. Furthermore, the Upper Powers gave man his soul, the Lower Powers gave him the limbs, the Sun gave him the brain and the Moon and Planets gave him the other parts" (80).

According to Bar Hebraeus, Bar Daysan called the Sun the "Father of Life," and the Moon the "Mother of Life" and declared that at the beginning of each month the Mother of Life takes off her dress, which is light, and cohabits with the Father of Life and gives birth to children to increase and enrich the population of the Lower World" (81). Whether the ideas contained in these teachings are heretical or not, the fact remains that Bar Daysan confused many pagan teachings with his Christian belief, and the Church could not tolerate this confusion. If Bar Daysan had been an Orthodox Christian, the early Fathers of the Syrian Church would never have branded him as a heretic. Rubens Duval is correct in concluding that it is difficult to deny the heresy of Bar Daysan, according to the testimonies of the ancient fathers of the church and their refutation of it (82).

In addition to the dialogue *On Fate*, Bar Daysan composed many other works, which Ibn al-Nadim lists in his *Kitab al-Fihrist*, and he may have written the history of Armenia, which he intended to evangelize (83). The complete loss of these books is to be regretted.

The teachings of Bar Daysan carried on by his disciples after his death in 222, were popular even after the emergence of Islam and influenced the theological doctrine of al-Rafida sect. Some Muslim learned men even used the name of Bar Daysan as a nickname, as did Abu Shakir al-Daysani, and some also wrote under the name al-Daysaniyya, derived from Bar Daysan (84).

Probably the most celebrated of all the Syrian learned men and Fathers of the church is St. Ephraim, commonly known as Ephraim Syrus (The Syrian). St. Ephraim was born at Nisibin about 303 A. D., to Christian parents. There he studied under the pious bishop Jacob, who is said to have taken young Ephraim with him to the Council of Nicaea (325). About this year, Bishop Jacob appointed Ephraim a teacher at the school of Nisibin, which he had established.

Ephraim served in this school under its succeeding principals, among them Baboy, Walgash and Abraham, whom he praised in his early poetry. He remained in his teaching position here for thirty-eight years, until 363, when the city of Nisibin was occupied by the Persians. With the demise of the school of Nisibin in this year, Ephraim and other members of the faculty withdrew and established the school of Edessa, also called the "Persian school" because its teachers had come from the area under Persian domination (85). Ephraim died in 373 A.D.

St. Ephraim, the most prolific figure in Syriac literature, achieved greater distinction as a poet than as a prose writer. The sheer bulk of his poetic output, the variety of topics he treated, the different meters he used with apparent facility, and above all, the sincerity and unpretentious spirit which pervade his compositions make him indisputably the Syrian poet *par excellence*.

St. Ephraim must have composed poetry at an early age when he lived at Nisibin, probably after reading the poetry of Bar Daysan and his son Harmonius, who, like his father, was a great poet. He is said have composed twenty-one poems on Nisibin and the calamities which befell that city after its occupation by the Persians. After he moved Edessa, he added many other lines to these compositions, bringing the total to seventy-three poems. These poems were edited and published by Gustav Bickell in 1866, under the title *Carmina Nisibena* (86).

Most of Ephraim's poems were composed in his favorite seven-syllabic meter, which later carried his name (the "Ephraimite" meter). A great number of his *madrashe* were also composed in this meter, although he used a variety of other meters as well. These *madrashe* generally are songs of variable strophic structure, usually followed by an *'Unith* (refrain), and intended to be sung by an alternating choir. St. Ephraim composed *madrashe* against the heresies of Marcion, Mani, Bar Daysan and the Arians. Other *madrashe* dealt with a variety of religious and polemical themes.

Another type of hymn composed by St. Ephraim is the *'maymar*, which is sharply distinguished from the *madrashe*. In effect, the *'maymar* is a homily, much more limited in strophic structure, most often containing four or six verses of equal length, to be recited by a single performer.

The prose writing of St. Ephraim consists of his commentaries on Genesis and part of Exodus. His commentaries on the *Diatessaron* and on the Pauline epistles survive only in the Armenian language. Other major prose works are his two discourses against early heresies (addressed to Hyppatius and Domnus), two tracts on the Most High, and an epistle to the monks who dwelt in the mountains (87). Many other prose writings have been erroneously attributed to him.

St. Ephraim represents an age in which the Syrians wielded tremendous spiritual influence as the propagators and defenders of Christianity against pagan and heretical ideas. Early Church Fathers, whether Greeks, Syrians, or Romans, shared the common cause of preserving their Christian faith. To this end they began to write history, compose religious hymns, and interpret the Holy Scriptures; to this end, too, St. Ephraim directed his voluminous poetical writings. To his countrymen, St. Ephraim was the exemplar of Christian zeal, wisdom and eloquence. To the contemporary Greek Fathers of the church, he was the "Mental Euphrates of the Church, from whom the whole company of believers, being watered, produced a hundredfold the fruit of faith; and the fertile vine of God, putting forth the fruits of the sweet clusters of doctrine, and refreshing the children of the church with the fullness of divine love" (88).

St. Ephraim and his works reflect the struggles of a spiritual being against a predominantly pagan world. He was more than a poet portraying the events of his time, or trying to make a living by praising men. He was, as his fellow-men called him, "the Prophet of the Syrians," "the Sun of the Syrians," "the Harp of the Holy Spirit" and "Ephraim the Great" (89). In fact, his poems were so much loved and venerated that most of them became part of the church rituals in his lifetime. It is in this particular function that the works of St. Ephraim should be studied and evaluated.

St. Ephraim and his works have become the target of much criticism by some contemporary Western writers. Burkitt, who gives a rather loose paraphrase of Bar Daysan's treatise *On Fate* in his *Early Eastern Christianity*, attempts to present St. Ephraim as "spiteful" toward Bar Daysan. While praising Bar Daysan's ideas, he states that they "give a true picture of Bar Daysan and his disciples more than the spiteful polemics of St. Ephraim or the unintelligently repeated catchwords" (90). Burkitt also expresses his regret that the church considered Bar

Daysan a heretic. Martin Sprengling goes a step further: "clearly and flagrantly, now wilfully, more often stupidly, Ephraim misunderstood Bardaisan" (91).

St. Ephraim need not be defended against such groundless accusations and severe judgments. The long heroic spiritual record of the celebrated Father of the early church sufficiently justifies the defense of his faith and church against heresies. These writers more appropriately should have investigated the causes which motivated St. Ephraim to retaliate against the heretical hymns of Bar Daysan by composing hymns embodying the true Christian belief. In this regard we may ask why St. Ephraim took so much pain and effort to refute the teachings of Bar Daysan. Surely St. Ephraim who followed Bar Daysan by more than a century, was bitter not against the person of Bar Daysan, but against his teachings, which must have contained heretical views. It must also be remembered that the treatise *On Fate*, which contains pagan ideas, does not alone constitute a criterion for Bar Daysan's orthodoxy or heterodoxy; his numerous songs, which have been lost, would be a better basis for judgment.

The poetry of St. Ephraim also has been criticized. Burkitt thinks that St. Ephraim is repetitious, and that his style is allusive and unnatural. He also maintains that while St. Ephraim's thought may seem deep and subtle, when unraveled it is generally seen to be commonplace (92). Commenting on an excerpt from St. Ephraim's lengthy poem on Nisibin as characteristic of his poetry, Burkitt states, "I can see no merit either of simplicity or of subtlety in the choice of words; the main thought... is set forth in the most unattractive fashion" (93). Burkitt questions not only St. Ephraim's poetical faculty, but also his theology and Christology. In brief, he depicts St. Ephraim in the most unfavorable manner.

Rubens Duval seems to be more fair and understanding of St. Ephraim's poetical achievement. After stating that St. Ephraim's prolixity may be found annoying, he adds that "we should not condemn it without taking into account the taste of the Syrians, who loved to repeat and develop the same thought. The Syrians saw excellence where we find fault" (94).

Western commentators are at some disadvantage in assessing the literature of the early Syrian church. Extreme opinions are likely to reflect a certain cultural remoteness which would likely render the conclusions of these writers vulnerable. Indeed, it requires more than the ability to read Syriac in order to understand and appreciate the spirit, style, and themes of works by men of the stature of St. Ephraim. One must be in tune with the spirit of the age before he is in a position to praise or condemn the poetry or the ideas it contains.

The patristic literature of the early Syrian church reflects the spirit and the circumstances of the time in which it was composed. The fact that this literature was written in Syriac heightened its appeal to the people who spoke that language. While it is true that much of the literary production of the Fathers of the church was recondite, yet their works will always remain a monument of sanctified genius and a source of the history of the early church.

Unlike most of this patristic literature, the writings of St. Ephraim were composed for a popular audience. The metrical form of the homilies of St. Ephraim proves that they were meant to be more pleasant to the ear and closer to the heart. The Syrian audience of the fourth century undoubtedly had a strong liking for poetry, and it is therefore not difficult to understand how Ephraim captured the attention of the people, as Bar Daysan had done a century earlier. Indeed, poetry was the sharpest weapon St. Ephraim could have used to fight the heretical teachings of Bar Daysan. His prolixity seems to have enchanted, rather than annoyed his audience, for the Syrian mind was receptive and attentive to religious poetry. Even in the present time, when Syriac is neither spoken nor understood by the Arabic-speaking Syrians (mainly concentrated in Iraq), Syrian worshippers delightedly listen for hours to the hymns composed by St. Ephraim.

St. Ephraim was first and foremost a poet, not a theologian. The very few treatises where he expresses some theological ideas are no sufficient basis for regarding him as a theologian, much less for attempting to derive

from his teachings some kind of systematic theology. Perhaps the highest qualities of this "Prophet of the Syrians" are his close union with mankind and his deep understanding of the sentiment of his audience, who acknowledged his spiritual control over them. "His poems," writes Henry Burgess, "come home to the heart by their recognition of the events of everyday life, and by their constant reference to the joys and sorrows which are identified with our humanity. Many of them indeed are polemical, but even those abound with literary qualities which can make controversy pleasing. We are mistaken if his poems are not found to vibrate in unison with some of the most concealed and delicate chords of the heart" (95).

The next phase of Syriac Literature was distinguished by the translation of Greek philosophy and religious writings into Syriac. This translation movement, which began in the middle of the fifth century and extended into the tenth century, is of the highest importance in the intellectual history of the ancient Middle East. The Syrians, who, through their trade with the West, had served as agents of civilization, now assumed a similar role in spreading the Greek philosophy and sciences (96). Translations were first made from Greek into Syriac, but after the Arab conquest of Syria and Persia, a great deal of translation was done from Syrian and the original Greek into Arabic. Thus the Syrians became the masters of the Arabs. Indeed, asserts Renan, "The Arabs saw nothing in philosophy except through the Syrians" (97).

According to Jurji Zaydan, the Syrians were an active and intelligent people who devoted themselves to learning whenever they were left unharassed by conquerors and persecutors (98). In Mesopotamia they had more than fifty schools, of which the school of Edessa was most famous. It was here that the Syrians initiated the translation and study of Peripatetic philosophy (99).

The influence of Greek culture on Syria should not be ignored, but it has been greatly exaggerated by some writers. Ernest Renan, for example, attempts to depict Syria from the time of Alexander the Great as a province completely Hellenized in its ways of life and thought. He regards the literature of Syria as more Greek than Syriac and even defends the theory that Jesus and His disciples spoke Greek rather than Aramaic (100). With respect to Peripatetic philosophy, Renan observes that the Syrians did not choose Aristotle, but rather received him from the Greeks. He is thus led to believe that "there is an unbroken succession from the Alexandrian School to the Syrians, and from the Syrians to the Arabs" (101).

The fallacy in Renan's theory is that he overestimates the influence of Greek centers of learning such as Alexandria and Antioch on Syrian society, civilization and culture in the fifth century. While Alexandria and Antioch were truly Greek-speaking cities, their influence was predominant only in the coastal towns of Syria. Their effect on the thinking and way of life of the inhabitants of the interior regions was insignificant. This is demonstrated by the fact that when the Arabs occupied Syria, they did not find a Greek-speaking or even grecized population, but a Syriac-speaking population with Syrian customs.

It is true that some of the Syrian and Palestinian intellectuals of this period, such as Zacharias of Mytilene and others, studied at Beirut. Antioch or Alexandria and wrote in Greek; yet there was also a host of writers whose only literary medium was Syriac. Indeed, the Syrians seem to have had for some time a bilingual culture. Renan appears not to recognize that they had long been acquainted with the Greeks' language and learning, not from their studies at Alexandria, but through the direct influence of Hellenistic colonization during the Seleucid period (102).

For example, the letter of Mara Bar Saraphion to his son, which dates back to the second century, is obviously of a Stoic character, and its author appears to be quite familiar with Greek knowledge as well as with the Greek philosophers. Mara writes that "man should rejoice in his prosperity like Polycrates, or in his valor like Achilles...or in his skill like Archimedes, or in his wisdom like Socrates, or in his learning like Pythagoras" (103). Mara also questions the death of Socrates and the burning of Pythagoras by the people of Samos. He

states that "Socrates is not dead because of Plato; neither Pythagoras because of the statue of Juno" (104). Additional traces of direct Greek influence are evident in the dialogue *On Fate* of Bar Daysan.

At the same time, Renan's theory of an unbroken succession from the Alexandrians to the Syrians and from the Syrians to the Arabs appears doubtful, or at least not quite clear. Dr. Max Meyerhof, who has brilliantly analyzed the transmission of Greek knowledge from Alexandria to Baghdad, thinks that the evidence of direct transmission has been lacking to scholars until this day (105). After explaining that the school of Alexandria was still in existence when the Arabs conquered Egypt, and that it may well have played a role in transmitting science to the Arabs, Meyerhof rightly observes that "our knowledge of the intellectual life at the school of Alexandria after the fifth century A.D. is, generally speaking, little and worthless" (106). Meyerhof also discusses the Arabic historical sources which provide information about the school of Alexandria, but cautions that they contain numerous errors and often confuse historical events. Even Hunayn b. Ishaq and his son Ishaq knew little, if anything, of what had been at Alexandria two or three centuries earlier. The only information Hunayn gives is that there were study rings at Alexandria, where a group of pupils might attend the "school" of a tutor to study medicine. So more than one of these private schools existed at Alexandria before the Arab conquest, but there is no evidence that Peripatetic philosophy was taught at Alexandria at that time. All that is certain is that, after embracing Christianity, the Alexandrian Greeks began to apply philosophy to religion, with the result that neo-Platonic and neo-Pythagorean ideas arose and became predominant (107). For the translation and transmission of Greek philosophy and science, one must look not to Alexandria and Antioch, but to Edessa, Nisibin, Ras'Ayn and Qinnesrin.

The school of Edessa was no doubt the center of study of Syriac and Greek. Virtually nothing is known about the most ancient Syrian translators, but the oldest of the Edessene manuscripts, which have survived in the British Museum MS. 12150 (dated towards the end of A.D. 412), provide information about some translations from Greek into Syriac. This MS contains the *Recognitions* of Clement, the *Discourses* of Titus of Bosra against the Manichees, the *Theophania* ("Divine Manifestation of our Lord") by Eusebius, and his *History of the Confessors in Palestine* (108). The first Syrian translator known to us is Mana of Beth Hardasher in Persia, a resident at Edessa in the earlier part of the fifth century. Mana, whom Simon of Beth Arsham sarcastically nicknames "The Drinker of Ashes," devoted much of his time to translating the Greek commentaries of Theodore of Mopsuestia (d. 428), and also translated a number of books from Persian into Syriac. Mana's work was later carried on by Nestorian members of the school of Edessa, like Kumi, who translated other works by Theodore of Mopsuestia (109). Other Greek commentaries by Gregorius Nazianzen, Gregorius of Nyssa, John Chrysostom and Basilius were translated into Syriac by the students of the school of Edessa.

It was in the first half of the fifth century that Peripatetic philosophy was revived because of the development of a new dogma which split the Syrian church forever into two hostile camps. This was the heresy of Nestorius, Patriarch of Constantinople (428-431), himself a Syrian from Marash (Germanicia) . This heresy, which ascribed to Christ two separate natures as well as two wills and persons, was not, to be sure, first propagated by Nestorius. In fact, he was preceded by Theodore of Tarsus and his disciple Theodore of Mopsuestia, who held the same heretical views, and who both taught at the school of Antioch (110). Nestorius, however, was the one who adopted and promoted this heresy, adding to it his rejection of the epithet "Theotokos," applied to the Virgin Mary. Nestorius was condemned at the Council of Ephesus (431), but his heresy found supporters among the students of the school of Edessa, who seem to have been fascinated by his teaching. This would explain why Nestorius' adherents endeavored to translate the writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia into Syriac, and why they devoted themselves to the study of Aristotle. According to Renan, these Nestorians, who were "seduced from the Orthodox faith, strove to apply indiscriminately the logic of Aristotle in elucidating the teachings of Christ" (111). The Nestorians, however, are to be regarded as a division of the Syrian church, and Renan is incorrect in terming them "the descendants of the Peripatetic school" (112).

The Nestorians in Edessa were bitterly opposed by Rabula, bishop of Edessa (d. 435), who in defense of the Orthodox faith expelled the Nestorians (432) and ordered the writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia burned (113). After his death, Rabula was succeeded by the Nestorian Bishop Hiba (Ibas), who, as a follower and translator of Theodore of Mopsuestia, had gained the title of "The Interpreter" (114). At the second Council of Ephesus (449), Hiba was condemned for espousing the Nestorian heresy, but he was reinstated at the Council of Chalcedon two years later and occupied the episcopal see of Edessa until October, 457 (115). The school of Edessa, however, never recovered from the great Nestorian schism and was finally closed down by the order of the emperor Zeno in 459 A.D.

The Nestorians, then, were first to begin translating the writings of Aristotle. Prominent among them was Probus (in Syriac, Prophas), who is said to have been the archiater [chief physician] and archdeacon of Antioch (116).

Probus' exact dates are not known, although Abd Yeshu, a prominent Nestorian historian, makes him contemporary with Hiba and Kuma (Cumas) and names him as their collaborator in translating the works of Theodore of Mopsuestia and some of the writings of Aristotle. The British Museum MS. 14660 contains the commentary of Probus on Aristotle's *De Interpretatione*, in five sections, imperfect at the beginning. He is also credited with having translated and commented upon other parts of the *Organon* and the *Isagoge* of Porphyry (117). Renan asserts that Probus does not merely restate Aristotle's ideas, but actually explains them. In general, however, very little is known about the Nestorians' translations of Peripatetic philosophy during this period. Following the great division of the Syrian Church the Nestorians found refuge in Persia, where Narsay and other learned men established the great school of Nisibin.

Better known during this period is Sergius of Ras 'Ayn, who died at Constantinople about 536 A.D. Sergius, who is said to have studied at Alexandria, achieved great fame among the Eastern and Western Syrians as a physician and a student of Aristotle. His translations covered the whole range of theology, ethics, mysticism, physics, medicine, and philosophy. Although Renan seeks to prove that the Nestorians preceded the Orthodox Syrians in translating Aristotle, he admits that among the "Jacobites," Sergius of Ras 'Ayn "is unanimously called the one who first brought Aristotle into the Syriac language" (118), and describes him as the best of all the Syriac translators (119). Victor Ryssel, who has carefully studied the various versions of Sergius' translation of Aristotle's *Peri Kosmou*, and compared them with the Greek texts, thinks that Sergius expresses faithfully the thought of the author. He also considers this translation particularly skillful, concluding that Sergius knew how to render the sense as well as the details of the original Greek (120). This judgment seems to refute the statement of Ibn Abi Usaybia that Sergius' translation was mediocre, and that Hunayn b. Ishaq corrected him (121).

Another well-known Syrian philosopher is Ahudeme (d. 575), metropolitan of the East. He wrote seven philosophical books the most important of which are *The Book of Definitions*, *Religious Liberty*, and two short treatises entitled *Man as a Microcosm* and *Refutation of the Ideas of Philosophers*. In most of his writings Ahudeme appears as a critical and original writer. The vast knowledge which he acquired while fulfilling his many responsibilities as an indefatigable missionary is most surprising, according to Behnam (122).

The study of philosophy was further carried on by the school of the monastery of Qinnesrin (The Eagles Nest), located on the Euphrates opposite Europos (Jerabis). This monastery was founded by John of Aphtonya (d. 538), who had escaped the persecution of the emperor Justinian. Among the prominent students of Quinesrin were Thomas of Harclea (d. 627); his disciple Athanasius of Balad (d. 686) who translated the *Isagoge* and many Greek religious writings; Severus Sabukht (d. 667); and the celebrated divine poet and writer, Jacob of Edessa (d. 708).

Of Sabukht's writings there survive a treatise on the syllogisms in the *Analytics Priora* of Aristotle, and a commentary on the *De Interpretatione*. In addition, we possess his letters to Ithalaha of Mosul on certain terms

in the *De Interpretatione*, and those addressed to the periodeutes Yunan on some points in the logic of Aristotle. Sabukht also composed a treatise on the astrolabe (123).

In addition to the writing and translation of books of philosophy, Syriac Literature during this period covered a wide range of topics. Theology, religious poetry, and commenaries on the Scriptures were perhaps the most extensively treated subjects. Jacob of Saruj (d. 521), Philoxenus of Mabug (d. 523), Paul of Callinicus (d. 528), Mara of Amid (d. 529), Paul of Talla (d. 617), John of the Sedras (d. 648), and Marutha of Takrit (d. 649), stand as the most eminent Syrian writers and poets.

The Syrians also concerned themselves with the study and practice of medicine. Sergius of Ras 'Ayn has already been mentioned as an outstanding translator of medical as well as philosophical books. Indeed, medicine was taught along with philosophy in the Syrian schools. Famous among these was the school of Gundishapor, established in the time of Khosru Anushirwan (521-579), which became the main center of the study of medicine and philosophy on Persian territory. It was, moreover, the primary source of court physicians for Caliphs of Baghdad in a later age.

The Syrians did not write much about natural history, for their interest was directed to religious studies. However, they translated a book on physiology from Greek. The anonymous writer of this book, probably composed at Alexandria in the first half of the second century appears to have relied on the knowledge of natural history in the pre-Christian era. Many additions were made to this book, which may have some relationship with the *Hexameron* of St. Basil. Bar Bahlul [10th century] is said to have used a Nestorian version which, in addition to the original chapters, contained a section on geography and natural objects, such as trees and stones (124).

The Syrians also translated a book on agriculture (*Geoponica*), a copy of which survives in the British Museum MS. 14662. The original copy of this treatise contained fourteen chapters, to which were later added two more, dealing with animal husbandry and the cultivation of different plants (125).

The writing of history constitutes an essential part of Syriac Literature during this period. Syrian historians should be considered trustworthy for having mainly restricted themselves to events that they themselves witnessed. Early writings, such as the *Doctrine of 'Addai* and the story of King Abgar, shed light on the beginnings of Christianity in Edessa, even though many interpolations in their texts were made afterwards. However, since these documents were preserved at the royal archives of Edessa (as has been attested by Eusebius, who had personally examined and translated them), they should in all probability be regarded as authentic historical evidence.

One of the earliest of these Syriac historical writings, which contained chronicles of the Persian and Byzantine empires, was the *Acts of Martyrs*. As these martyrs lived in both Persian and Byzantine territory, the chronicles of their martyrdom contain valuable descriptions of the political and administrative conditions of the two empires. Furthermore, these chronicles specify the exact dates on which the historical events they record took place. Of these writings, there survive the acts of Sharbil, who had been a high priest of idols and was converted to Christianity; the martyrdom of Barsmayya, bishop of Edessa; and the martyrdoms of Habib the deacon, Shamuna and Guriyya (126).

Besides the *Acts of Martyrs*, Syrian writers composed biographies of their eminent men, including Rabula, bishop of Edessa; Alexius the man of God; Simon, the Stylite; John of Talla; Dioscorus, patriarch of Alexandria; and the Nestorian Catholici Mar 'Abba and Sabr Yeshu' (127).

In the writing of general history, which did not begin until the sixth century or shortly earlier, the Syrians were influenced by their Greek contemporaries. In this period appeared the history of Yeshu [Joshua] the Stylite; the famous history of John of Ephesus, who combined biography with church history in a magnificent literary style;

and the history of Qura, a priest of Edessa, who gives a detailed account of the church in the time of Justinian II (565-582) (128).

Michael the Great probably relied on the last two of these in writing his *Chronicle* (129). Famous among the Nestorian chroniclers of this period are Mshiha Zkha and Bar-hadh-Bshabba Arbaya, who have been previously cited. Apart from these original Syriac writings, Greek histories like those of Eusebius and Zacharias Rhetor were translated into Syriac.

This era also witnessed the beginning of Syrian mysticism and mystical writings. Available evidence indicates that the earliest work on mysticism was the *Book of Hierotheos* commonly attributed to the Syrian writer Stephen Bar Sudayli (d. 510). This work spread widely in Syria and continued to influence Syrian mystical ideas through the Middle Ages. The impact of this important work on Syrian writers of succeeding generations, especially on Bar Hebraeus, the most renowned Syrian mystic, was tremendous. Perhaps the most elaborate treatment of the *Book of Hierotheos* and the mysticism of Bar Sudayli is A. L. Forthingham, Jr's work titled *Stephen Bar Sudaili The Syrian Mystic and The Book of Hierotheos* (Leyden, 1886).

This period may rightly be considered the golden age of Syriac literature, filled as it is with the names of great writers, poets, theologians, historians, and translators. It was also a period in which the Syrian church was split into two hostile camps, never to meet again. Despite its obvious disadvantages of weakening the church, this rift served as an impetus to the translation of the logic of Aristotle, in which both sides found grounds for defending their doctrinal disputes. It also facilitated the conquest of Syria and Persia by the Arabs, whose domination diverted the Syrians from their destructive hostility to the beneficial and constructive task of translating the knowledge of the Greeks into Arabic. However much Renan and Wright may disdain the Syrians as a mediocre people, the Syrians made many original contributions to the culture of the Middle East, and their role as translators was absolutely essential to the preservation of ancient Greek knowledge.

Although the church was exposed to tyrannical persecution by the Byzantines and the Persians, the Syrians not only continued their literary production, but also carried the torch of the Gospel as far as Arabia in the south, and to Turkistan and China in the east.

The literature of the Nestorians in this period, unlike that of the Western Syrians, is known to us only in general terms. After the great schism of the Syrian church in the fifth century, the Nestorians lived mostly in Persian territory, far from Syria; hence, almost nothing is known about their literature. Still, the literature of the Nestorian Syrians did not surpass that of the Western Syrians. In this regard, Duval correctly observes that the Nestorians did not have prose writers or poets of as high caliber as Jacob of Saruj, Philoxenus of Mabug, Sergius of Ras 'Ayn and John of Asia (130).

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Matti Moosa's

Studies in Syriac Literature

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Syriac Literature Following the Muslim Conquest

The Arab conquest of Syria and Persia in the first half of the seventh century opened a new chapter in the history of Syriac literature. Apart from their language and new faith, the Arabs had nothing to offer the newly conquered countries. But they had the desire and the ability to learn, and soon proved themselves good students of the Syrians. The Arabic language did not immediately replace Syriac, but the Syrians were obviously inclined to learn the tongue of their conquerors. Still, as might be expected of any people facing a national crisis, the Syrians fought to preserve their unity and identity. So they continued to produce Christian literature, but concerned themselves with theology, grammar and philosophy rather than the divisive arguments on dogma of the preceding era.

Besides the many native theological, ascetical, philological and poetical writings, Greek philosophy and medical studies still formed a moderate part of Syriac literature. An entirely new phenomenon, however, was the movement of translation from Syriac and Greek into Arabic, sponsored and encouraged by the 'Abbasids.

In this period shines the name of Jacob of Edessa (d. 708), the pre-eminent writer and poet who devoted much of his time to the study of peripatetic philosophy. His reputation and teachings, observes Renan, are "second to those of no other figure in Syriac literature" (131). At the monastery of Qinnesrin, Jacob studied Greek thoroughly and distinguished himself as the "interpreter of books" by translating many Greek theological works. He was the first Syrian to use the Greek vowel points in the Syriac language, which he sought to restore to its natural purity. According to Bar Hebraeus, he was also well versed in Hebrew (132). To Jacob belongs the credit for pronouncing the first juristic opinion among the Syrians which made it lawful for Christian ecclesiastics to impart advanced instruction to children of Muslims (133).

Of Jacob's philosophical works, we have the translation of the *Categories*, which Renan observes is customarily joined with Athanasius of Balad's translation of the *Isagoge* of Porphyry. Jacob also is said to have translated the *De Interpretatione*, the *Analytica* and a short tract on the life of Aristotle (134). The best known of his own philosophical writings is the *Enchiridion* a treatise on the meaning of theological and philosophical terms such as "essence," "nature," "person," etc. (135).

Philosophy was further advanced by another distinguished student of Qinnesrin, George, Bishop of the Arabs (d. 725). In 686 George was ordained a bishop for the Arab tribes of the Tay, the Tanukh, the 'Uqayl, the Taghlibite, the Tha'labites and the Arabs of Mesopotamia, with his episcopal seat at 'Aqula (al-Kufa). His philosophical translations are preserved in the British Museum MS. 14659, written in the eighth or ninth century, not in the

seventh century as claimed by Renan (136). This MS. contains the *Categories*, the *De Interpretatione*, and the *Analytica Priora* with introductions, notes, and commentaries on each of them. Renan seemed to be greatly fascinated by these works of Bishop George, and rightly calls them an "extraordinary monument of his expertness in logic" (137). The commentary, in Renan's opinion, is unequaled among those produced by the Syrians, if one considers the magnitude of the task and the painstaking method of exposition followed by the commentator. He adds that "no other commentary could be preferred to this one, no matter what part of the Syrians' philosophy other scholars may ever have considered worthy of publication" (138). However, one of the most noteworthy works of Bishop George is his disputation with the Arabs about the excellence of their poetry. When an Arab contended with Bishop George that poets of other nations could not be compared with Arab poets, the Bishop presented the Syrian poets as far greater (139).

In the period from the eighth to the thirteenth century, Aristotle was less widely translated and studied by Syrian scholars, because during the greater part of this period, and especially in the time of the Abbasid Caliph al-Mamun, they were engaged in translating books from Syriac and Greek into Arabic. Nevertheless, some Syrian writers continued to translate Greek works into Syriac. Famous among them is Moses bar Kipha (d. 903), Bishop of Baremman and Mosul, whose commentary on the *Dialectics of Aristotle* is cited by Bar Hebraeus (140). Another illustrious Syrian writer was Dionysius bar Salibi, Bishop of Amid (d. 1171), who has to his credit the writing of extensive commentaries on many works of Aristotle. The philosophical works of Bar Salibi are extant in the Cambridge MS. 2061, which contains his commentaries on logic, covering the *Isagoge*, the *Categories*, the *De Interpretatione* and the *Analytica*. He also wrote commentaries on other treatises of Aristotle, including the *Physiology* and the *Theology* (141).

In the thirteenth century, which saw the end of this period in Syriac literature, Bar Hebraeus was the luminary not only of his own age, but of all ages. His most extensive knowledge and the wide range of topics on which he wrote give him a rightful reputation as an encyclopedic scholar. Furthermore, no one would ever imagine that a high-ranking church dignitary of the thirteenth century would write such entertaining and amusing stories as did Bar Hebraeus.

The theory held mostly by Western writers that Bar Hebraeus was of Jewish descent lacks historical justification. Apparently, these writers are deceived by the form "Bar Hebraeus" (son of the Hebrew) which made them maintain that this Primate of the East was of a Hebrew origin. This, as shall be seen later, is groundless.

The first eastern writer to reject this theory was Rev. Louis Cheikho. In his lengthy biography of Bar Hebraeus which appeared in *Al-Mashriq* (Beirut, 1898), Cheikho criticizes the orientalists for their views on this subject and argues that the name itself is not convincing evidence that Bar Hebraeus was of Jewish origin. But he erroneously makes Bar Hebraeus the nephew of Michael the Great (d.1199), Patriarch of Antioch. He probably confused Bar Hebraeus—whose ordination name was Gregorius and who by rank was a Maphrian—with the Maphrian Gregorius Jacob Qandasi (1189-1215), nephew of the Patriarch Michael the Great.

The first eastern writer who shed light on the origin of Bar Hebraeus was the Syrian Bishop Severus Aphram Barsoum (d. 1957), later Patriarch of Antioch. In his article "Hal Kana Gregorius ibn al-'Ibri min Jins Yahudi," *Al-Hikma* (Jerusalem, 1927), XI, 92-6 Barsoum rejects the interpretation of orientalists regarding the origin of Bar Hebraeus. He refers to Bar Hebraeus' lengthy autobiography in his *Ecclesiastical History* and notes that the author mentioned nothing about his "Jewish origin." Barsoum also refers to a metrical biography of Bar Hebraeus in the dodecasyllabic meter by his disciple Mar Disocorus Gabriel of Bartali (d. 1299), Metropolitan of Jazirat ibn Cumar. Two manuscripts of this biography survive, one in the village of Bartali near Mosul, Iraq, and the other one at the Bodleian Library MS. Marsh 74. In this latter MS.—a microfilm of which the present author acquired from the Bodleian Library—Bar Hebraeus' biographer states that "Bar Hebraeus was raised in a noble family; his father's name was the physician Deacon Aaron." According to Barsoum, if Bar Hebraeus'

father was a Jew converted to Christianity, his biographer would at least have alluded to his conversion. But we may conjecture that the theory that Bar Hebraeus was of Jewish descent dates back to Bar Hebraeus' lifetime. We read in Bar Hebraeus' *Anthology*, published by Michael Shababi in Rome, 1877, and republished by Rev. Yuhanna Dulabani in Jerusalem in 1929 the following two lines of verse (on p. 152)

> If our Lord (Christ) called himself a Samaritan, Do not be ashamed if people call you Bar Hebraeus (son of a Jew). For the origin of this appelation is the river Euphrates and not a disgraceful doctrine or the Hebrew language.

We have it on the authority of Barsoum that he read in a commentary on Bar Hebraeus' *Anthology* in the private library of Abd al-Nur, Metropolitan of Diyarbakr, that Bar Hebraeus was born while his mother was crossing the river Euphrates on one of her journeys. Thus, he came to be called the son of *al-'Ibri* that is, of the one who crossed the Euphrates (the verb *I'bar* meaning "to cross").

Another explanation of the name of Bar Hebraeus is given by Mar Gregorius Paulos Behnam, Syrian Archbishop of Baghdad and lower Iraq. In his article titled " Ta 'qib Tarikhi fi Nasab al-'Allama Mar Gregorius ibn al-'Ibri" (Historical Investigation about the Descent of the Most learned Bar Hebraeus), *Al-Majalla al-Patriarchiyya* (Damascus, November 1963) XIII, 146-148, he refers to the aforementioned article of Barsoum as well as to the *Anthology* of Bar Hebraeus and to his biography by Gabriel al-Bartali. But he adds that Bar Hebraeus was called by this name after a big village called 'Ibra in the province of Jubas not very far from Malatiya (Melitene). This village has been frequently mentioned by Bar Hebraeus in his *Ecclesiastical History*. Behnam tends to believe (basing his assumption on the two lines of verse in Bar Hebraeus' *Anthology*) that Bar Hebraeus' grandfather probably immigrated from his village 'Ibra to Malatiya and that the nickname "Son of the 'Ibri") or Bar Hebraeus was attached to the family.

Be that as it may, decisive proof is certainly lacking that Bar Hebraeus was of Jewish descent. That this nickname was known in Bar Hebraeus' lifetime is certain from the apologetic verse in his anthology. What makes the issue more puzzling is that no writer since Bar Hebraeus' time has produced any evidence that Bar Hebraeus was of Jewish descent. On the other hand deciding the origin of Bar Hebraeus solely on the basis of the name of his father "Aaron" or on his nickname "Bar Hebraeus is untenable. The name Aaron is popular among Christians and Muslims, while the nickname Bar Hebraeus does not necessarily mean "Son of a Jew." For the word *'Ibri* derives from the verb *I'bar* meaning "to cross" and Bar Hebraeus' explanation of the origin of his name is validated.

Bar Hebraeus' philosophical works are numerous. The famous *Book of the Pupil of the Eye* is a compendium of writings about logic or dialectics, with an introduction on the benefit of logic and seven chapters dealing with the *Isagoge* of Porphyry, the *Categories*, *De Interpretatione*, *Analytica Priora*, *Topica*, *Analytica Posteriora* and *De Sophisticis Elenchis*. Another monumental work of Bar Hebraeus is the *Book of the Speech of Wisdom*, a compendium of dialectics, physics, and theology.

In addition, his large encyclopedia entitled *The Cream of Wisdom* contains the whole Aristotelian discipline. The first volume contains the *Isagoge*, the *Categories*, the *De Interpretatione*, the *Analytica Priora* and *Analytica Posteriora*, *Dialectics*, *De Sophistics Elenchis*, *Rhetoric and Art of Poetry*. The second volume contains the eight treatises which comprise the *Physics: De Auscultatione Physica, De Caelo et Mundo, De Meteoris, De Generatione et Corruptione, De Fossilibus, De Plantis, De Animalibus*, and *De Anima*. In the two treatises of the third volume appear treatments of metaphysics, the origin of philosophy and philosophers, theology, ethics, economics, and politics (142).

Bar Hebraeus also translated into Syriac Ibn Sina's *Kitab al Isharat wa'l-Tanbihat (The Book of Indications and Prognostications*). In addition, he translated many medical books and wrote an Arabic commentary on the

Aphorisms of Hippocrates. He also translated an abridgment of Dioscorides' treatise *De Medicamentis Simplicibus*, and commented in Syriac upon the *Medical Questions of Hunayn b. Ishaq*. Furthermore, he is said to have written commentaries in Arabic on Galen's treatises *De Elernentis and De Temperamentis*. He also abridged in Arabic al-Ghafiqi's *Book of the Simples (al-Adwiya al-Mutrada*) and left unfinished the Syriac translation of Ibn Sina's *al-Qanun fi 'l-Tibb* (143).

Another writer of renown is Severus Jacob bar Shakko, Metropolitan of the monastery of Mar Matta, near Mosul. In his major work, *The Dialogue*, in two books, he discussed logic, the syllogism, the types and divisions of philosophy, and the philosophical life and conduct. He also devoted attention to metaphysics and theology (144).

A considerable part of the Syrians' philosophical study and writing concerned the soul. Their knowledge of this subject was derived largely from Aristotle, but tempered by their own Christian views. Sergius of Ras 'Ayn is credited with having translated into Syriac *The Book of Aristotle On the Soul*. This title is misleading, however, and the work is entirely different from Aristotle's treatise *De Anima* (145). Yet the Syrians had their own writings about the soul, of which the treatise *Man as a Microcosm*, by Ahudeme (see p. 217), is an example. About the end of the seventh century, John of Dara (d. 738) wrote a treatise on the soul, later incorporated into a similar work by another John of Dara (d. 860). Both these works are extant in MS. 3973 of the Houghton Library at Harvard University.

It is interesting to speculate on the work of another author from the same period, the Maronite Syrian Theophilus Bar Thomas of Edessa, who, according to Bar Hebraeus, translated from Greek into Syriac "the two books of the poet Homer on the Conquest of the City of Ilion" (146). These two books are apparently the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, though some writers believe the reference is to the first two books of the *Iliad*. No clear explanation of Theophilus' translation has yet been given, however, and some scholars reject Bar Hebraeus' testimony altogether (147).

The writing of history continued during this period, following the same chronological approach which had originated in the preceding period. Two important histories stand out. The first, that of Dionysius of Tal Mahre (d. 845), covers the whole period from the creation to his own time. The other one is the previously mentioned *Chronicle* of Michael the Great, Patriarch of Antioch, which likewise describes events from the creation to the lifetime of the author. This history, the product of careful and impartial research, was later completed by Bar Hebraeus.

Bar Hebraeus, the last major Syrian historian of far-reaching fame, wrote a universal history, the *Chronicon Syriacum* in three parts. The first part contains the history of the world from the creation to Bar Hebraeus' time. The second records the history of the patriarchs of the church of Antioch, to the year 1285. The last part of the work covers the history of the Eastern Church and the acts of its Catholici and Maphrians. This third part originally ended with the year 1286, but was continued by Bar Hebraeus' brother Barsoum al-Safi to the year 1288, and later by another writer to 1496 (148). During the last year of his life, Bar Hebraeus, at the request of some Muslim friends, produced an Arabic abridgment of his political history, titled *Tarikh Mukhtasar al-Duwal*. This version contains useful information on Christian and Muslim men of letters, philosophers, physicians, etc., which is not included in the original Syriac work.

Finally, Bar Hebraeus was the last great Syrian mystic. His mystical ideas are contained in his *Book of the Ethikon* and the *Book of the Dove*. Professor A. J. Wensinck in his *Bar Hebraeus' Book of the Dove Together with Some Chapters from His Ethikon* (Leyden, 1919) has produced an English translation of the *Book of the Dove* and some chapters of the *Book of the Ethikon* and thoroughly studied Bar Hebraeus' mysticism. He also showed the influence of the Muslim philosopher and mystic Abu Hamid al-Ghazali (d. 1111) on Bar Hebraeus. However, Wensinck says nothing about the influence of Ibn Sina's mystical ideas on Bar Hebraeus which are

very conspicuous in his mystical ode *The Perfection* consisting of 305 lines which he composed in Baghdad in the year A.D. 1277 as well as in his ode *The Divine Wisdom*. Both of these odes are contained in Bar Hebraeus' Anthology published by Yuhanna Dulabani in 1929 at Jerusalem (149).

The discerning student of this period will perceive that the Syrians to some extent preserved their unity in the face of six centuries of Muslim domination, and even became, in philosophy, the masters of their conquerors. The gradual process by which Arabic replaced Syriac as the dominant spoken language, however, severely and irreparably reduced the audience to which Syrian authors might address themselves.

Although the translation of different books from Syriac and Greek into Arabic under the 'Abbasid Caliphs does not belong to Syriac literature, it throws light on the intellectual contribution of the Syrians to Islamic civilization. Without these translations, Muslim scholars from the ninth to the twelfth century would have had no access to Greek philosophy and sciences, and therefore the scholarly achievements of men like al-Kindi (d. 870) and al-Farabi (d. 951) would have been unlikely. Ya'qub b. Ishag al-Kindi was, to he sure, the first Arab philosopher and the most prolific of all philosophers of his time. Yet his knowledge of Syriac and Greek was extremely limited, and his studies were based mainly on Arabic translations from these languages. His role as interpreter is even more uncertain (150). Al-Farabi, too, owed his knowledge and training to two Syrian tutors, Yuhanna b. Haylan and Abu Yahya al-Marwazi (151).

It is not our intention to present every detail about the translation movement and its leaders, for this subject has been thoroughly discussed by other writers. Let it suffice to stress here some aspects of the translations made under the 'Abbasids, noting especially their value and their impact on Islamic civilization.

The Arabs' contact with the Syrians, which dates back to the pre-Islamic era, began in the two Arab kingdoms of Ghassan in Syria and the Lakhmites in al-Hira, in present day Iraq. Moreover, many Syrian physicians practiced medicine in Arabia before Islam, while Syrian missionaries carried the Gospel to different Arab tribes. Ahudeme (d. 575), who was first ordained bishop of Beth 'Arbaya, a district between Nisibin and Sinjar, converted a great number of Bedouin Arabs to Christianity. As a matter of fact, there were Syrian communities in Najran, Yemen and al-Madina (Yathrib). The Syrian church until this day has commemorated the first Church built in Yathrib, named for the Virgin Mary (152).

Although this Arab-Syrian relationship was not primarily an interchange of culture, it shows that the Arabs in their *Jahiliyya* [Pre-Islamic period] were not completely cut off from their Syrian neighbors. However, these two peoples became more closely linked after the Arab conquest of Syria and Persia in the first half of the seventh century. The new conquerors not only admired the civilization in Syria, but later applied themselves and made great use of it.

The first known translation from Syriac into Arabic was that of the four Gospels, made in 643, when John of the Sedras was Patriarch of Antioch. According to Bar Hebraeus, this translation was made by experts in both Arabic and Syriac from the Arab tribes of the banu Tay, Tanukh, and 'Uqayl, by order of 'Umayr b. Sa'd b. Abi Waqqas al-Ansari, governor of the Jazira under the Umayyads (153). Another translation of the Gospels was made by Hunayn b. Ishaq, working from the Syriac Septuagint version (154). Moreover, the *Kitab al-Din wa'l-Dawla*, by 'Ali b. Rabban al-Tabari (ca. 850), a Nestorian Christian convert to Islam, which has been published by Alphonse Mingana in Egypt in 1923, contains portions of the Old Testament in Arabic, but does not indicate by whom they were translated (155). In the period immediately following the Arab conquest of Syria and Persia, the conquerors were not concerned about knowledge or the translation of books into their tongue. They were fully engaged in establishing themselves in the vanquished countries. But the contact of the Arabs with the intellectual elements in Syria greatly stimulated the Arabs curiosity and desire for learning. It also opened for them new vistas of knowledge, mainly in the area of Greek philosophy and sciences, which had been studied and absorbed by the Syrians.

Under the Umayyads, the translation movement was insignificant; only a few medical books were translated from Greek and Coptic into Arabic at the order of Khalid b. Yazid b. Mu'awiya, who we are told was interested in medicine and alchemy. It was not until the time of the 'Abbasid Caliph al-Mansur (753-775) that the activity of translation from Syriac and Greek into Arabic received momentum. Al-Mansur, who complained of a chronic stomach disorder, looked for a physician to treat him. Georgius (George) Bakhtyeshu, the chief physician of Gundishapor, was recommended, and the ailing Caliph immediately sent after him. Through Georgius' care, the Caliph regained his health and became greatly interested in having medical books translated into Arabic, to insure more proper treatment of himself and the people. Georgius at once undertook the task of making such translations (156), thus starting the tremendous activity which lasted until the twelfth century.

The succeeding 'Abbasid Caliphs followed the steps of al-Mansur by encouraging the translation of books. This work reached its peak under al-Ma'mun, who in 832 established the *Bayt aI-Hikma*, a translation bureau, as well as a library where scholars could pursue their translations. This *Bayt al-Hikma* was headed by Yuhanna b. Masawayh (d. 857), under whom young Hunayn b. Ishag was the most active translator. Twenty-five years later, when the Caliph al-Mutawakkil revived this school, he appointed Hunayn as its principal. During the first half of the ninth century translation was done mainly from Greek into Syriac, but during the second half of this century most translations were made into Arabic, while old translations were revised. Moreover, many wealthy and influential people followed the steps of their Caliphs by encouraging the translators. Prominent among these people were Ahmad and Muhammad, the sons of Mtisa banti Shakir, who spent great sums of money to acquire manuscripts and paid generously for translations (157).

Hunayn b. Ishaq was undoubtedly the most energetic and famous translator of the ninth century. In addition to his mother tongue, Syriac, he was well versed in Greek and Arabic. He may rightfully be considered the most prominent intellectual of his time, a man who contributed immensely to the learning of his age. He translated mostly from Greek into Syriac, and also revised translations made by others. At his death, Hunayn had translated into Syriac one hundred books by Galen, half of which he rendered into Arabic as well. He also translated most of the works of Hippocrates and Aristotle.

Hunayn was followed by two disciples, his son Ishaq and his nephew Hubaysh b. al-A'am. Ishaq (d. 910) did most of his translation into Arabic, and also undertook to revise the work of his father and other translators. Since he had been raised in Baghdad, Ishaq mastered the Arabic language more completely than his father. He is credited with having translated most of Aristotle's works into Arabic.

Another eminent translator was Thabit b. Qurra (d. 901), a Syrian Sabian from Harran. Thabit knew Arabic, Syriac, and Greek, and translated many books on medicine, mathematics, astrology, as well as some of Aristotle's works.

In the tenth century, Yahya b. 'Adi (d. 974) stands as a distinguished Syrian philosopher (158), logician and translator. Born at Takrit, he later moved to Baghdad and studied under the Nestorian Abu Bishr Matta b. Yunis (d. 940) and the eminent philosopher Abu Nasr al-Farabi. Beside numerous Arabic writings, Yahya translated from Syriac into Arabic Aristotle's *Categories*, *Topics*, and *Sophistici Elenchi*, the *Law* and *Timaeus* of Plato, the *Meteorology* of Theophrastus, and many other Greek works (159).

Some prominent translators who succeeded Yahya b. 'Adi were Abu al-Khayr al-Hasan b. al-Khammar, Abu 'Ali Ishaq b. Zur'a (d. 1008) and Abu al-Faraj 'Abd Allah b. al-Tayyib (d. 1043) and Yahya b. Isa b. Jazla (d. 1100) (160). Besides these translations of Greek sciences, the Syrians translated and composed works in Arabic, chiefly apologies and interpretations of Christian dogma (161).

The Arabic translators from Syriac and Greek were, generally speaking, faithful. Despite some vagueness in rendering Greek scientific terms which they could not understand, they were meticulous in transmitting the spirit

and the meaning of the author. In order to achieve maximum fidelity and precision, they translated a single book several times and compared previous translations with the original Greek. A contemporary writer who has studied the manuscripts containing the Arabic translations of Aristotle's logic confirms that these translations are quite clear and precise, except in some places where misunderstanding of technical terms has made their quality inconsistent (162). Translations were usually provided with commentaries and marginal notes to clarify the text. As Meyerhof affirms, these Syrians were not merely translators, but learned men with profound philosophical knowledge. Most of the translators who headed the schools (or "hospitals", sing. *Bimaristan*) carried the title of *Hakim* (sage), *Faylasuf* (philosopher) or *Mantigi* (logician) (163). This latter title was particularly attributed to Abu Bishr Matta, Yahya b. 'Adi, and his disciple Abti Sulayman al-Sijistani. The successors of these men were usually called "the distinguished physicians in the philosophical sciences" (164).

These translations, together with others from Persian and Pahlevi, had a tremendous impact on Islamic civilization. In fact, they caused a radical intellectual and cultural revolution, unprecedented in the history of civilization, comparable to that caused by the Renaissance in Europe, in the fifteenth century. As has been formerly shown, the Arabs, since the emergence of Islam, and throughout the whole Umayyad period, concerned themselves with the study of the Qur'an and with the religious sciences such as *fiqh, hadith* and *kalam*. They knew nothing about the different sciences, such as medicine, mathematics, philosophy, chemistry, etc., which they called *'Ulum al-'Awa'il* ("The Sciences of the Ancients") in contradistinction to *'Ulum al-Arab* ("The Sciences of the Arabs") (165). The following quotation, from a contemporary writer, puts the effect of the Arabic translations into its proper perspective:

> Beside their major function of translation, these translators have rendered tremendous service to the Arab mind. They were motivated by their desire for disseminating knowledge to compile many works on various topics, such as medicine, natural sciences, chemistry, astrology, mathematics, and philosophy. Their writings kindled the first spark of intellectual studies in the Islamic World. These compilations were, in a sense, compendiums which would provide the reader with a general idea about the scientific knowledge of that time. These writings, which helped facilitate the dissemination of knowledge, were followed by profoundly specialized studies made later by the Muslims in their different schools (166).

One of the results of the Muslim contact with the translated knowledge of the ancients was the prevalence of gnosticism among the early Muslim sects. The gnostic spirit crept into mysticism and may have affected the Isma'ili theory of the "infallible Imam." In his article, referred to in the note above, Goldziher has clearly demonstrated the impact of ancient knowledge on the Islamic mind.

The sciences of philology, prosody and grammar were affected primarily by philosophy and logic. In fact, the grammarians of Basra were called "the foremost for using logical terms in grammar." Again the study of philosophy of *Ikhwan al-Safa'* ("The Brethren of Sincerity"), indicates that the philosophy of these Brethren was greatly effected by Greek philosophy; moreover, the doctrine of the Mu'tazila was deeply imbued with Greek philosophy.

Through these translated works, the Arabic language adopted many scientific and philosophical terms previously unknown. One can imagine the great difficulty which the translator faced in finding similar Arabic terms or inventing new ones. However, many Greek terms were translated into Arabic and have been part of its vocabulary until this day, such as, *Ustura, Isfani, Usturlab, Inbiq, Balgham, Tiryaq* and hundreds of other words.

But the most important effect of the translation of ancient science was the transformation of a once primitive desert people into a civilized people who, like other nations, contributed much to world civilization.

Syriac Literature After Bar Hebraeus

The second period of Syriac literature, which had culminated in the writings of Bar Hebraeus, came to an end with the death of this illustrious man in 1286. From that time onward, Syriac Literature became largely a thing of the past, the dwindling expression of a once predominant national culture. As Arabic came into wider use, many Syrian writers either wrote in it or translated into it Syriac books, mainly religious works, for the use of their congregations. Yet Arabic did not cross the Taurus mountains, and therefore the Syriac-speaking commmunity in what is now Turkey retained its language and traditions. Likewise, the Eastern Syrian communities of northern Persia and Urmia were able to preserve their national identity. Despite the predominance of Arabic, Syrian writers continued their literary work in their native language, but their themes and topics were far too limited, confined to purely religious compositions and recapitulations of past works.

In fact, the whole period from the fall of Baghdad before the Mongols (1258) to the nineteenth century may be considered an era of lamentable cultural stagnation throughout the Middle East. The decline of Syriac literature, therefore, is no mere isolated instance of cultural weakness. The period, generally speaking, has been overlooked by writers on Syriac literature, except for Baumstark, who has mentioned a few fifteenth-century writers and their works. The first systematic study of this period was made by Ignatius Aphram Barsoum, the Syrian patriarch of Antioch and all the East in his book *al-Lu'lu' al-Manthur*, which lists the names and works of fifty-six writers, translators and poets of the late period.

The predominant literary activity of this period, until the nineteenth century, was the composition of liturgies, practiced by almost every one of these fifty-six writers at one time or another. This liturgical literature began with Barsoum al-Safi (d. 1307), brother of Bar Hebraeus, who shortened the liturgy of St. James. He also completed the biography of his brother and catalogued all his works and continued his *Chronicon Syriacum* until his own time.

Apart from the liturgical writings, other literary activity also exists. Bar Wuhayb, who was also called Zakhe (d. 1333), may be mentioned as the composer of a Syriac treatise entitled *al-Mawad*, containing an explanation of the Syriac alphabet, which is subject to the rules of diacritical points. His contemporary, the priest Yeshu' bar Khayrun of Hah (d. 1335), in Tur 'Abdin, wrote a commentary on the *Lexicon* of Bar Bahlul. He also composed many songs, some of which described the calamities which befell the church in his time.

The writings of Daniel of Mardin (d. 1382), commonly called Ibn al-Hattab, show the influence of Arabic on Syriac writings (167). Ibn al-Hattab stands as one of the most prominent writers of the period. In 1356 he went to Egypt, where for seventeen years he studied Arabic literature, logic, and philosophy. Upon returning to his own country, he composed in Arabic a treatise entitled *Usul al-Din (The Principles of Religion*), abridged Bar Hebraeus' grammar (*Semhe*), and wrote commentaries on Bar Hebraeus' *The Cream of Wisdom*; a treatise on the exposition of the Nicene Creed is also attributed to him (168).

The most valuable historical writings from this period are those of the priest 'Addai of Basibrina (d.1502). To him belongs the credit for having extended both the *Chronicon Syriacum* and the *Chronography* of Bar Hebraeus from 1288 to 1496. He also composed three historical tracts—an account of the invasion of Diyarbakr, another work on Tamerlane's destruction of Tur 'Abdin, and a chronology of historical events from 1349 to 1492—all of which have been published in the original language (169).

Another prominent writer of the period is the Patriarch Nu'h the Lebanese (d. 1509). Nuh was born a Maronite but later joined the Syrian Orthodox Church and was elevated to the Patriarchal throne in 1493. He is particularly remembered for the many poems he composed describing the tyranny of the Kurdish governors and other rulers. He also wrote a short historical tract (170).

In theological writing, the most eminent name is that of the Maphrian Shamoun (d. 1740); born and raised in Tur 'Abdin, he was ordained to his position in 1710. His time was characterized by the continuous atrocities of the Kurds, who pillaged the Syrian churches and monasteries. His almost legendary resistance to the Kurds ended only with his sordid assassination by 'Abdul, the Kurdish chief, on April 6, 1740. Despite the turmoil and harassment of his time, Shamoun found time to concentrate on some writing. His works include a 317-page theological treatise on the Trinity, the Procession of the Holy Spirit, the Incarnation, the Nativity of our Lord, a refutation of the Purgatory, the end of time, and the world to come. He also composed a treatise entitled *The Chariot of Mysteries*, dealing with many theological subjects, and another entitled *Silah al-Din wa Turs al-Yaqin*, which he later translated into Arabic. He also produced an anthology and a compendium of the *Lexicon* of Bar Bahlul (171).

Also deserving of mention here is the chorepiscopus Jacob of Qutrubul (d. 1783), who composed a comprehensive work of Syriac morphology entitled Zahrat al-Ma'arif in 1763. The Bishop Gurjis (George) of Azekh (d. 1847) composed a poem with seven-syllabic lines, describing the invasion of Muhammad Pasha of Rawanduz against his town and the neighboring districts.

The chorepiscopus Matta Konat of Malabar (d. 1927) is credited with the translation of many Syriac works into the Malayalam language of Malabar. Among these translations are chapters of the commentary of Bar Salibi on the Gospels, the *Nomocanon [Ecclesiastical Laws*] of Bar Hebraeus, the book of prayers for regular week days, along with the Orders of baptism, funerals, matrimony and Passion Week (172).

The most important figures of this penood are Na'um Fa'iq of Diyarbakr (d. 1930), who wrote several Syriac works and translated parts of the *Ruba'iyyat* of 'Umar al-Khayyam into Syriac (173), and the priest Jacob of Bartali (d. 1931), who studied Syriac under the Chaldean priest Butrus of Karmlays and composed many poems, of which the one called *The Divine Wisdom* is of enduring literary beauty (174).

Looking back on this final period of Syriac literature, we see no Bar Daysan or St. Ephraim, no Jacob of Edessa or Bar Hebraeus. We see instead the lamentable, but nonetheless real, decline of a once lofty national culture. The Syrians' literary efforts were, from the outset, bound up with their unified existence. In the centuries after their acceptance of Christianity, the expression of their unity through pagan writings continued to exist along with a similar, growing self-expression through Christian literature. Even under the Muslims' domination, their unity did not falter, but actually reinforced itself through their literature. At the same time, however, the decline of their language, together with their intensive devotion to the work of translation, permanently altered the course of their culture.

This final period of Syriac literature, then, represents the logical extension of an already established pattern. Although the Syrians were (and are) capable of independent literary creation, their constant subjection to external influence has greatly reduced the scale on which that creation may take place. If it is unrealistic to expect the Syrians again to equal the literature of centuries long past, it is worse to ignore the beauty of that literature, or to disdain the culture it has so long preserved.

Matti Moosa's

Studies in Syriac Literature

Footnotes

This material, which is presented solely for non-commercial educational/research purposes, appeared in the journal *The Muslim World* in three installments: LVIII, No.2 (1968), 105-119; LVIII, No. 3 (1968), 194-217; and LVIII, No. 4 (1968), 317-333.

1-See J. B. Chabot. *La Litterature Syriaque* (Paris, 1935), pp. 9-10. Chabot also refers to H. Omont, *Inventaire de la Collection renaudot a la Bibliotheque Nationale*. See also, by the same author, *Les Langues et la Litterature Arameenne* (Paris, 1910), translated into Arabic by Anton Shukri Lawrence (Jerusalem, 1930), p. 5.

2-William Wright, *Syriac Literature* (London, 1894), p. 141.

3-Wright, p.74.

4-*The Repentance of Ninevah, by Ephraim Syrus*. Trans. By Rev. Henry Burgess (London, 1853), Introduction, pp. 20-21. According to Burgess, Ephraim says that "God gives forgivness, a word concerning which there can be no difference." Yet Assemani renders the sentence "Indulgenatiam adjecit, id est, Clavium potestatem" ("He adds indulgence, that is the ‘power of the the keys.'")

5-Loc. cit., p.21.

6-Viscount Philip de Tarrazi, *Asdag ma kan an Tarikh lubnan (The Most True Account of the History of Lebanon*), in Arabic (Beirut, 1948), I, 432.

7-Wright, *Syriac Literature*, p. 74, mentions one anaphora by Philoxenus of Mabug, but refers us to Renaudot, II, 310, and to Assemani, B.O., II, 24. He also cites Renaudot as the source of this information in his *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscript in the British Museum*.

8-Rubens Duval, *La Litterature Syriaque* (Paris, 1899), p. 13.

9-Ernest Renan, *Histoire des langues semitiques*, p. 259.

10-Bar Daysan, *Laws of the Countries*, ed. Williams Cureton (London, 1855), p.15.

11-Bar Hebraeus, *Chronicon Syriacum*, ed. Paul Bedjan (Paris, 1890), p. 168.

15-Ignatius Aphram Barsoum, *al-LuLu al-Manthur (Histoire des Sciences et de la Litterature Syriaque*) Arabic, 2nd edition (Aleppo, 1956), p. 237.

16-*Ibid*.

17-Martin Sprengling, "Antonius Rhetor on Versification," *American Journal of Semitic languages and Literature*, XXXII, 3 (April, 1916), p. 139.

18-See Anton Baumstark, *Geschichte der Syrischen Literature* (Bonn, 1922), p.11.

19- See the preface of William Cureton to his *Spicilegium Syriacum* (London, 1855).

20-For an English translation of the Pshitto see George M. Lamsa *Holy Bible from the Peshitta* (Philadelphia, 1957). This translation appeared for the first time in 1933.

21-William Wright, *Syriac Literature* (London, 1894), p. 5.

22-F. Crawford Burkitt, *Early Eastern Christianity* (London, 1904), p. 70.

23-Anton baumstark, *Geschichte der Syrischen Literature*, p.18.

24-Burkitt, pp. 39-78.

25-E. Nestle, "Syriac Versions," *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religion*, ed. Samuel Macauley Jackson, XI (1958), 126.

26-*Ibid*.

27-Paul E. Kahle, *The Cairo Geniza*, (Oxford, 1959), p. 265.

28-Nestle, p. 127.

29-Kahle, pp. 265-283.

30-F. Crawford Burkitt, *Evangelion da Mephareshe* (Cambridge, 1904), II, 201.

31-Kahle, p. 265.

32-Kahle, pp. 265-267.

33-John Pinkerton, "The Origin and Early History of the Syriac Pentateuch," in *J.T.S.*, XV (1914), 14-41.

34-Kahle, p. 266.

35-Burkitt, *Eastern Christianity*, pp. 39-78 *passim*.

36-Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book I, xiii.

37-Burkitt, *Eastern Christianity*, pp. 71-72.

38-Joseph Marquart, *Osteuropaische und ostasiatische Streifzuge* (Leipzig, 1903), p.288, quoted by Kahle, p. 270.

39-According to Josephus (*Antiquities*, XX, ii, 1, 4), Izates II, King of Adiabene, son Monobazas I, and his sister Helena, had been won over to the Jewish religion. A Jewish merchant named Ananias (Hannania) had been admitted to the Royal court and harem, where he was able to interest the royal ladies in the Jewish religion.

40-Kahle, p. 274, quoting Marquart, p. 298. 41-Kahle, p. 274, quoting Adoloph Harnack, *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentum* (4th ed., 1924), p. 284.

42-Kahle, p. 275.

43-For the Syriac text and English translation of the Doctrine of Addai, see William Cureton, *Ancient Syriac Documents* (London, 184), pp. 24-35.

44-Kahle, pp. 282-283.

45-Addai Scher, *Tarikh Kaldo wa Athur*, II, 6.

46-See Duval, *La Litterature Syriaque* (Paris, 1899), p. 32.

47-Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, II, 279.

48-*Ibid*., II, 468.

49-The Anonymous Chronicle of Edessa, ed. Rahmani, p. 66, cited by Rev. P. Behnam, "Ta qibat Tarikhiyya," *Lisan al-Mashriq* (May-July, 1951), p. 271.

50-For full statement of Solomon of Basra see (Cureton, *Ancient Syriac Documents*)

51-Burkitt, *Eastern Christianity*, p. 32.

52-Kahle, p. 283.

53-Michael the Great, *Chronicle* , pp. 283-285, quoted by Rev. P. Behnam, "Ta qibat Tarikhiyya," p. 271.

54-Burkitt, *Eastern Christianity*, p. 32.

55-Cureton *Ancient Syriac Documents*, p. 162.

56-F. C. Burkitt, "The Diatessaron and Early Syriac Versions," *Encyclopedia Britannica* (1950), 517.

57-According to the Encyclopedia Britannica (1950), XXI, 834, his heresy "was that of the Encratites. Their main doctrines were the evil nature of matter, an absolute forbidding of marriage, abstinence from wine and perhaps from meat."

58-Barsoum, *al-LuLu al-Manthur* (Syria, 1956), p. 630.

59-Wright, *Syriac Literature*, p. 8.

60-The full text of St. Aphraim's commentary on the *Diatessaron* was discovered and published recently with a Latin translation and French by Leloir. See *St. Ephrem, Commentaire De L' Evangile Concordance Syriaqe*, texte edite et transmit par Don Louis Leloir (Dublin, 1963).

61-Ignatius Jacob III, "Al-Kitab al-Maqaddas fi al-Kanisa al-Suryaniya," *al-Majalla al-Patriarchiyya*, I (Damascus: September, 1962), 67.

62-Addai Scher, *Tarikh Kaldo wa Athur*, II, 19.

63-William Cureton, *Remains of a Very Ancient Recension of the Four Gospels in Syriac* (London, 1858).

64-Robert C. Bensley, J. Rendel Harris and F. Crawford Burkitt, *The Four Gospels in Syriac*, transscribed from the Sinatics Palimpsest, intro. By Agnes Smith Lewis (Cambridge, 1894).

65-Edgar Goodspeed, "The Canons of the New Testament," *The Interpeter's Bible* (1952) I, 68.

66-Wright, *Syriac Literature*, p. 13.

67-Barsoum, *Al-LuLu al-Manthur*, p. 57.

68-Wright, p. 16.

69-Wright, p. 17.

70-William Wright, "Syriac Literature," *Encyclopedia Britannica* (1887), vol. XXIV.

71-Bar Daysan was born in 154 A.D., in a place near Edessa on the River Daysan (for which he was named). He was a Babylonian by origin, or according to another theory, from Adiabene. His parents. Nuhana and Nahshayrem, escaped from their country in the fifteenth year of the reign of the Persian King Shahruq, the son of Narsay, and settled in Edessa. There Bar Daysan was raised in the palace of King Mano VIII (139-179); hence, he must have been of noble origin. He studied both Syriac and Greek and was converted to Christianity by Oshtasab, the bishop of Edessa. He was ordained a deacon and probably a priest as well. Perhaps he was the person who convinced the Edessan King Abgar IX (179-214) to become a Christian, for they had been close friends from their younger days. Bar Daysan died in 222. For information about his life, see Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, IV, xxx; Michael the Great, *Chronicle*, ed. J. B. Chabot (Paris, 1899-1918), p. 110; Duval, *La Litterature Syriaque*, pp. 241-248; Addai Scher, II, 20-21; and Barsoum, *al-Lulu al-Manthur* (2nd editions), p. 238.

72-William Cureton, *Spicilegium Syriacum* (London, 1855), preface.

73-Burkitt, *Eastern Christianity*, pp. 158-159.

74-*Ibid*, pp. 158-159.

75-Antonius is believed to be the emperor Marcus Antonius Aurelius. Yet there is no indication in the original Syriac text that the treatise was addressed to this emperor. See Cureton, *op. cit*., preface.

76-Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical*, IV, xxx.

77-Severus Jacob, *Tarikh al-Kanisa al-Suryaniyya al-Antakiyya (History of the Syrian Church of Antoich*), Arabic (Beirut, 1953), I, 129.

78-Martin Sprengling, "Antonius Rhetor on Versification," *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature*, XXXII, 3 (April, 1916), appendix I.

79-P. D. Gabrielem Crdahi (*Liber Thesauri de Arte poetica Syrorum*, p. 12) gives the following short poem by St. Ephraim against Daysan:

> "He whom you see named Bar Daysan
> is more appropriately named than the name of Daysan

a river near Edessa which Bar Daysan apparently was named after.
For this one the River Daysan
was not flooded with thorns and tares, of which Bar Daysan was full."

80-Michel le Syrian, ed. J. B. Chabot, p. 110.

81-Bar Hebraeus, *Tarikh Mukhtsar al-Duwal (Compendious History of Dynasties*), Arabic, ed, A. Salhani (Beirut, 1890), p. 125.

82-Duval, p. 234.

83-*Ibid*., p. 247.

84-Ahmad Amin, *Fajr al-Islam*, Arabic (Cairo, 1928), I, 156.

85-Duval, *La Litterature Syriaque*, pp. 75-77; Wright, *Syriac Literature*, pp.

33-39; Addai Scher, *Tarikh Kaldo wa Athur*, II, 46-47.

86-Baumstark, *Geschichte der Syrischen Literature*, p. 42.

87-Wright, p. 35; Baumstark, p. 44.

88-See Gregory Nyssa, " In praise of St. Ephraim," *al-Majalla al-Patriarchiyya*, I, II, III (Hims, Syria, 1939).

89-Wright, p. 33; Addai Scher, II, 47.

90-Burkitt, p. 178.

91-Sprengling, p. 149.

92-Burkitt, *Eastern Christianity*, p. 96.

93-*Ibid*., pp. 98-99.

94-Duval, p. 21. 71

95-Ephraim Syrus, *The Repentance of Nineveh*, trans. Rev. Henry Burgess (London, 1853), II, preface, p. 13.

96-T. J. De Boer, *The History of Philosophy In Islam*, trans, Edward R. Jones (London, 1961), p. 11.

97-Ernest Renan, *De Philosophia Peripatetica apud Syros* (Paris, 1852), p. I. 98.

98- Jurji Zaydan, *Tarikh al-Tamaddun al-Islami* (Cairo, 1904), III, 132.

99-*Ibid*.

100-Renan, p. 4.

101-Renan, Chapter I, *passim*.

102-Philip K. Hitti, *History of Syria* (New York, 1951), pp. 251-261.

103-Cureton, *Spicilegium Syriacum*, pp. 72-74.

104-*Ibid*., pp. 72-4.

105-Max Meyerhof, *Von Alexandrien nach Baghdad*, trans. into Arabic by Dr. Adb al-Rahman Badawi, in *Al-Turath al-Yunani fi al-Hadara al-Islamiyya* (Cairo, 1940), p. 38.

106-Meyerhof, p. 52.

107-Zaydan, III, 128.

108-William Wright , *Cataloque*, III, 731-33.

109-Baumstark, pp. 101-102.

110-Severus Jacob, *Tarikh al-Kanisa al-Suryaniyya al-Antakiyya* (Beirut, 1957), II, 34-5.

111-Renan, p. 12.

112-*Ibid*., pp. 12-13.

113-Wright, *Syriac Literature*, p. 48.

114-J. S. Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, III, I, 85, note cited by Renan, p. 14.

115-Wright, *Syriac Literature*, p. 50. 116-Baumstark, p. 254.

117-Duval, p. 15.

118-Renan, p. 15.

119-*Ibid*., p. 25.

120-Duval, pp. 255-256, quoting Victor Ryssel, *Uber den textkritischen wert der Syrischen Ubersetzungen der Klassiker* (Leipzing, 1880).

121-Ibn Abi Usaybia, *Uyum al-Anba* (Beirut, 1957), II, 173.

122-G. P. Behnam, *al-Falsafa al-Masha Iyya fi Tarikhina al-Fikri* (Mosul, 1958), pp. 12-14.

123-Wright, *Syriac Literature*, p. 138.

124-Duval, pp. 278-279.

125-Wright, *Cataloque*, III, 1189.

126-For the *Acts of Martyrs*, see William Cureton, *Ancient Syriac Documents* (London, 1864). See also John of Ephesus, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, ed. E. W. Brooks in the *Patrologia Orientalis*, ed. R. Graffin and F. Nau (Paris, 1923-26), XVII, XVIII and XIX.

127-Wright, *Cataloque*, III, pp. 1070-1153.

128-*The Third Part of the Ecclesiastical History of John of Ephesus* was edited and published at Oxford in 1853 by William Cureton. See also J. P. N. Land, *Joannes, Bischof von Ephesos, der erste Syrische Kirchenhistoriker* (Leiden, 1856). In 1860 R. Payne Smith translated Cureton's Syriac edition of the history of John of Ephesus into English and published it at Oxford. In 1862 the same was translated into German by J. M. Schonfelder and published at Munich. Fragments of the second part of the *Ecclesiastical History* were published by Land in part ii of his *Anecdota Syriaca* at Leiden, 1868. Finally, extracts from the *Ecclesiastical History* were edited by Jessie Payne Margoliouth and published at Leiden, 1909.

129-Duval, p. 187-223.

130-*Ibid*., pp. 351-52.

131-Renan, p. 34.

132-Bar Hebraeus, *Tarikh Mukhtsar al-Duwal*, p. 51.

133-De Boer, *The History of Philosophy in Islam*, trans. Edward R. Jones (London: Luzac and Co, 1903; republished New York; Dover Publ. Inc., 1967), p. 15.

134-Renan, p. 32.

135-Wright, *Catalogue*, II, 984.

136-Cf. Renan, p. 33, and Wright, *Catalogue*, III, 1163.

137-Renan, p. 33.

138-*Ibid*., pp. 34.

139-*Ibid*., p. 33.

140-Duval, p. 259; Wright, *Syriac Literature*, pp. 210-11.

141-Ignatius Aphram Barsoum, *al-LuLu al-Manthur*, p. 482.

142-Renan, pp. 65-67; Wright, *Syriac Literature*, pp. 269-70; Duval, pp. 261-62; Baumstark, pp. 316-317.

143-For the complete list of the works of Bar Hebraeus, see E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Chronography of Bar Hebraeus* (Oxford, 1932).

144-Wright, *Catalogue*, II, 1165.

145-Renan, p. 28; Wright, *Syriac Literature*, p. 91.

146-Bar Hebraeus, *Dynasties*, p. 41. Cf. Renan, pp. 49-50.

147-Wright, *Syriac Literature*, p. 164.

148-Wright, *Syriac Literature*, pp. 276-79.

149-The ode *Divine Wisdom* was translated into Arabic and published with elaborate commentary by Archbishop Paulos Behnam in *Lisan al-Mashriq* (Mosul, 1950). It was republished with the Syriac text in Syria in 1965 in Archbishop Behnam's *Ibn al-Ibri al-Shair (Bar Hebraeus the poet*).

150-Ignatius Jacob III, "al-Kindi wa al-Suryaniyya," *al-Majalla al-Patriarchiyya* (January, 1963), pp. 255-267. See also Meyerhof, p. 60.

151-Meyerhof, pp. 62-63.

152-For a detailed analysis of the missionary activity of the Syrian Church in Arabia, see Louis Cheikho, *al-Nasraniyya wa Adabuha bayn Arab al-jahiliyya* (Beirut, 1912), part I.

153-Bar Hebraeus, *Chronicon Syriacum*, I, 275.

154-Barsoum, *al-LuLu al-Manthur*, p. 77.

155-*Ibid*.

156-Ibn Abi Usaybia *Uyun al-Anba* (Beirut, 1956), II, 37-41.

157-Al-Qifti, *Tarikh al-Hukama*, ed. J. Lippert (Leipzing, 1903).

158-Meyerhof, p. 60, is incorrect in calling Yahya an Arab.

159-For a detailed description of the works and life of Yahya b. Adi, see Augustine Perier, *Yahya ibn Adi* (Paris, 1920).

160-See Ibn Abi Usaybia, *Uyan al-Anba* for a detailed description of the lives and works of the different translators.

161-The most comprehensive work on the Syrian Christian literature written in Arabic is Georg Graf, *Geschichte der Christlichen Arabischen Literatur* (Vatican City, 1944 and 1960).

162-Khalil Georr, *Les Categories d'Aristotle dans leurs Versions Syro-arabes* (Beirut, 1948), pp. 182-200.

163-Meyerhof, pp. 72-78.

164-*Ibid*.

165-For a through analysis of the *Sciences of the Ancients (Ulum al-Awa'il*), see Ignaz Goldziher, "Stellung der alten islamischen Orthodoxie zu den antiken Wissenschaften" in *Abhandlungen der Koniglichen Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Phil.-hist. Klasse, VIII (Berlin, 1916), translated into Arabic by Abd al-Rahman Badawi in *al-Turath al-Yunani fi al-Haddara al-Islamiya*, (Cairo, 1947), pp. 123-172.

166-Ibrahim Madkur, *L'Organon d'Aristotle dans le monde Arabe* (Paris, 1934), p. 47.

167-Graf, pp. 281-284.

168-*Ibid*.

169-Barsoum, p. 546.

170-*Ibid*., pp. 565-66.

171-For the biography and works of Maphrian Shamoun, see *al-Majalla al-Patriarchiyya*, VI (1938), 23-30.

172-Barsoum, p. 581.

173-Murad Chiqqi, *Naum Faiq* (Jerusalem, 1936), pp. 300-4.

174-Barsoum, p. 528.

Matti Moosa's

*The Crusades: An Eastern Perspective with Emphasis on Syriac Sources**

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Footnotes

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This study treats the events of the Crusades as recorded by Syriac and other Eastern writers, putting special emphasis on the relations of Syrians (and to a lesser extent Armenians, who were the majority of the population in cities like Edessa and the province of Cilicia), their churches and communities, with the Greeks, Franks (Latins), and Turks. The Syrians and Armenians were ill treated by the Byzantine church and state and by the Church of Rome, to which the Crusaders belonged. Most Western writers on the Crusades make little mention of the Syrians and Armenians or the Maronites (a part of the Syrian Church of Antioch), except for a few comments by the twelfth century historian William of Tyre (1).

There are three primary Syriac sources on the Crusades: a history by Patriarch Michael Rabo (d. 1199), the *Chronicle* of the Anonymous Edessan (a monk, d. 1234), and the *Chronography* of the Maphrian (Prelate) Bar Hebraeus (d. 1286). Only this last has survived in its entirety; a condensed Arabic version was published under the title *Tarikh Mukhtasar al-Duwal [A Compendious History of Dynasties]* (2).

The first modern writer to use these sources was a Syrian Catholic priest, Ishaq Armala, who relies mainly on a loose translation of the *Chronicle* of the Anonymous Edessan. Occasionally, he interpolates material from Michael Rabo and Bar Hebraeus, in a manner that makes it difficult to ascertain its source. He provides no explanation of historical events and no clarification of the myriad multilingual names. His work would have been far more useful had he simply produced a translation of one of these sources (3).

The earliest of the Syriac sources is the work by Michael Rabo (the surname means "the Great" or "the Elder"). Born in 1126 to a church-oriented Syrian family, he entered the Monastery of Mar (Saint) Barsoum, where he was ordained a priest, and became its abbot in 1165. The next year he was [250] ordained Patriarch of Antioch, holding that office until his death. Although he wrote extensively on church matters, he is best known for his history, which, in the tradition of Greek and Eastern writers before him, extended from the creation of the world to his own lifetime. Each page is divided into three parts: one treats church events, another deals with secular history, and a third describes noteworthy natural occurrences. Only one copy of the manuscript is extant, in the Syrian library of al-Ruha (Edessa), transcribed in 1598 by Bishop Mikha'il al-Urbishi, and some nineteen pages are lost. The manuscript was discovered by a French scholar, Rev. J. B. Chabot, who copied it, translated it into French, and published it in four volumes as *Chronique de Michel le Syrien Patriarche Jacobite d'Antioche,*

1166-1199 (Paris, 1899-1910) (4). This history first became known to Western scholars through a nineteenth-century French translation, based on an Armenian translation requested by Constantine I in 1245. Shuqayr of Sadad, the Syrian bishop of Damascus, translated it into Garshuni (Arabic in Syriac script) in 1759, and several copies of this translation survive today in European libraries.

Michael's account of the Crusades extends from Book XV, Chapter VII to Book XXI, Chapter VIII (pp. 585-719 in Chabot's pagination of the Syriac text). It deals with events from the Franks' arrival at Constantinople in 1097 to the death of Salah al-Dln al-Ayyubl (Saladin) in 1193. Michael also offers us significant information about events before the Franks' arrival, especially the origin of the Turks and their penetration of Asia Minor, and the attacks by Armenian marauders against Syrian communities. He is usually careful in giving the titles and authors of Syriac writings like the history of Edessa by Basilius Bar Shumanna, bishop of Edessa (d. 1169), but his haphazard citation of sources poses great problems for the student of history. Although he says at the beginning of Book XIII that he has utilized the history of Ignatius III, Bishop of Melitene, the Syriac sources he has relied on (as in other cases) are lost (5).

The Arabic sources of his work are even more difficult to trace. At the start of Book XV, Chapter XIV, he says he has appended material on the governance of Aleppo from Arabic books found in Athur (in northern Iraq) and near Babylon in lower Iraq, but does not identify these books or their authors (6). The earliest extant Arabic source on the Crusades and contemporaneous events is *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq [Continuation of the History of Damascus]*, by Abu Ya'la Hamza al-Tamimi, also known as Ibn al-Qalanisi (d. 1160), but it is unlikely that Michael had access to this work. Interestingly, an earthquake that he says rocked Antioch shortly before its capture by the Franks in 1098 is mentioned by Kamal al-Din Ibn al-Adim (1193-1261), in *Bughyat al-Talab fi Taikh Halab [The Ultimate Quest in the History of Aleppo]*. There is no evidence that Michael relied on the *Chronicle* of the Armenian monk Matthew of Edessa (covering events to 1136) or its continuation by Gregory the Priest, [251] though his work mentions many of the same events, and we know little about his use of Latin and Greek sources (7). Steven Runciman says his information "is of little value until he reaches his own lifetime," yet calls him a "careful and conscientious historian whose only strong prejudice was against the Byzantines" (8). Indeed, Michael is not only conscientious but objective, as is shown by his treatment of the Muslims (in Edessa, he says, Muslims and Christians lived together with more amity than either group did with the Greeks) and of his church, whose faults he does not hide (9).

The second Syriac source is the *Chronicle* of the Anonymous Edessan, so called because his name does not appear in the work. According to the late Patriarch Aphram Barsoum, he was a monk from the Mar Barsoum Monastery near Melitene, probably born at Edessa in 1160 (10). His history consisted of two volumes, one covering secular history including the Crusades, the other treating the history of the Syrian Church. Unfortunately, much of the church history has been lost; what remains covers events from 535 to 1207. The secular part extends from the creation to 1234, most likely the year of the author's death. The work has some credibility because the writer witnessed some of the events he narrates, including Saladin's attack on Jerusalem in 1187 and the ensuing atrocities. He appears to be conscientious and objective, but it is difficult to ascertain his sources of information for events he did not witness. It is unlikely that he relied on Michael Rabo, with whom he often differs on dates and details, but he probably had access to some of the same sources, including the library at the Monastery of Mar Barsoum. He may have used Armenian sources, for Edessa was teeming with Armenian emigres in his lifetime; whether he used Arabic sources is less clear. There is only one early copy of his history, transcribed in the fourteenth century; it was published in Lebanon (1904-1914) by the Syrian Catholic Patriarch Aphram Rahmani, and published in Syriac in 1916 by Chabot, who in his introduction acknowledges the assistance of Patriarch Barsoum (11).

Among both Eastern and Western writers, the best known of the Syriac sources is Abu al-Faraj Gregorius Bar Hebraeus (1226-1286), whose encyclopedic writings touched nearly every discipline known in his time. His *Chronography* contains the history of the world from creation to his own time, and is in some sense a

continuation of the *Chronicle* of Michael Rabo, though he disagrees on many points and sometimes takes pains to correct Michael (12). He rarely names his sources or their authors, but a quotation regarding the defeat of Saladin at Tall-Safiya in 1177 suggests that he had read 'Izz al-Din Ibn al-Athlr (d. 1234) or Abu Shama (d. 1266), who cite the same passage. He provides detailed information on Saladin and his feats, probably derived from Arabic sources, and shows only the utmost respect for non-Christian writers.

[252] The Syriac sources discuss not only the Syrians but also several other ethnic groups. Before the Franks' arrival, the Middle East was plagued by consent warfare among the Byzantines (Greeks), Arabs, Seljuk Turks, and Armenians. Relying on the lost history of the Syrian writer Jacob of Edessa (d. 708), Michael describes the Turks' origin in the steppes of Asia, their acceptance of Islam, and their domination of Persia, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine, and Cilicia. He discusses their effort to penetrate Asia Minor in the eleventh century, the weakening of Armenia under the Byzantine emperors, and the collapse of Byzantine power at Manzikert (1071).

In Book XIII, Chapter V (pp. 558-559), Michael Rabo says the Armenians left their homeland in 989 to settle in Cappadocia and then spread to Cilicia and Syria. In Book XV, Chapter XI (pp. 594-595), he says that early in the eleventh century, the Byzantines, after wresting several cities in Cappadocia, Armenia and Syria from the Arabs' control, brought people from Greater Armenia to settle them. But when Turks emigrating from Khurasan filled these regions, Byzantine dominance ended abruptly. Armenia, a Christian country since the third century, had long served as a buffer state between the Byzantine emperors and Persia, their strongest foe. The Arabs had subdued Armenia in 652, but their power waned as the 'Abbasid state decayed. Late in the tenth century, the Byzantines sought to regain their lost territories; many towns and fortresses in northern Syria and Cilicia, including Melitene, Edessa, and Antioch, were restored to Christian control and saw their largely Muslim populations supplanted by Christians, including many Armenians. But early in the eleventh century the situation changed dramatically, due to the Turkish invasion and the expansionist policies of the Emperor Basil II and his successors. The Byzantines' annexation of Armenia was the beginning of the end of their empire in Asia Minor; Armenia was too weak to resist the Seljuk Turks who threatened its eastern border. The Seljuk chief Tughrul Bey had established his rule in Khurasan in 1038, and when he attacked Armenia in 1050, the Turks saw that the Byzantines had left the entire country unprotected. They met with no opposition until they reached Melitene, where they slaughtered so many inhabitants that some escaped death by hiding among the corpses. Michael Rabo says they stayed there ten days, destroying the city and finally burning it, then laid waste to the Monastery of Ibn Jaji and the surrounding countryside (13). (The Turks had invaded Armenia in 1041, but their attack then aimed at the Muslims of northern Mesopotamia near Mosul.) Bar Hebraeus says Ibn Marwan, the Arab governor of Armenia, tried to appease Tughrul Bey with expensive gifts (14), but in 1054-55, Tughrul invaded Armenia again, destroying Berkri and capturing Archesh (Arjish) before being turned back at Manzikert (15). He also says Alp Arslan, Tughrul's nephew and successor as the Seljuk sultan, succeeded in capturing Ani in 1063, a splendid city of [253] 700,000 houses and a thousand churches. He conquered Armenia and destroyed not only Syria and Cilicia but Cappadocia, pillaging the spiritual centers of its capital, Caesarea (16). After beating the Byzantines at Manzikert, the Seljuk Turks spread through eastern Asia Minor, displacing the Armenian inhabitants. Their chief Sulayman, the son of Kutulmish, established the Rum Seljuk state at Iconium, then extended his authority to Cappadocia and Nicea, across the Bosphorus from Constantinople (17).

Michael Rabo's discussion of the Byzantine emperors is scant but objective. He calls Constantine IX (1050-1054) generous and magnanimous, but describes Isaac Comnenus as tyrannical, arrogant, and avaricious. He praises Emperor Alexius Comnenus (1081-1118) as a mighty, wise man who saved Constantinople from the Franks, but avoids commenting on his order that two churches (one Syrian, the other Armenian) be burned, in order to force their congregations to join the Byzantine church (18). He discusses the Byzantines' ill treatment of his church and community since the Council of Chalcedon (451 A. D.) split the universal church into two camps, which remain separate to this day. The Roman Catholic and Greek churches, along with part of the Syrian

Church of Antioch, adopted the decisions of this council; the Coptic, Ethiopian, and Armenian churches and another part of the Syrian church rejected them. The Syrian church suffered so greatly at Chalcedon that by the sixth century, only two bishops were left to tend to its people. Syria and Egypt fell prey to Muslim marauders, and the notion that they opened their gates to the Muslims to avoid persecution by the Byzantines is indefensible. The Muslim Arabs conquered Syria and Egypt by the sword rather than treachery, which Syriac sources do not mention. Indeed, the only statement we have on the Arab conquest of Syria comes from the Syrian Patriarch Dionysius of Tall Mahre (d. 845), who in his history (preserved in part by Michael Rabo), says it would have taken an act of God to save the Syrians from their Byzantine persecutors. Indeed, this persecution continued right up to the time of the Crusades. Of the Emperor Romanus III, under whom Aleppo fell to the Muslims in 1037, Rabo writes:

> It never occurred to the Greek tyrants that the ancestors of this king had never stopped persecuting the Christians everywhere. Today they returned to their old habits: They banished the patriarch and the bishops. Thus God defeated them through their enemies and placed them under the control of their haters (19).

The persecution of the Syrians continued during the reign of Emperor Constantine X (1059-1067). Rabo says the Patriarch of Constantinople—probably John VIII, though he is not named—decided to persecute the Syrians and Armenians in that city for refusing to embrace the Greeks' faith. [254] Patriarch Athanasius V and some of his bishops were imprisoned by Byzantine authorities for five months in the Matran Monastery near Melitene, then transferred to Constantinople. The Patriarch died en route; his nephew Bishop Ignatius III (d. 1094) and several other bishops' were taken before the Greek patriarch, then exiled to Macedonia, remaining there until they were released under a general amnesty after the emperor's death. Sadly, the Byzantine emperors treated the Syrians as heretics from the fifth century onward. Some emperors, notably Heraclius in the seventh century, tried but failed to win the Syrians to the Chalcedonian faith, but such efforts only created more dissension, finally leading to Monothelitism and the rise of the Maronite church and community (20). Emperor Manuel I (1143-1180) made a similar effort; when Michael Rabo visited Antioch in 1172-73, the Greeks engaged him in a debate on the Christian faith. Michael does not mention this debate in his history, but it has been described by the Anonymous Edessan and Bar Hebraeus in the biography of Michael Rabo in his *Ecclesiastical History* (21).

The Byzantines' ill treatment of the Armenians also made Armenia an inviting target for the invading Turkish hordes—even more crucial to the cause, since the Armenians had their own state and principalities in Cilicia. The final calamity came when Alp Arslan defeated and captured the Emperor Romanus Diogenes at Manzikert in 1071. The Byzantine chronicler Michaelis Attaliotae summarized the disaster: "Under this emperor almost the whole world on land and sea occupied by the impious barbarians has been destroyed and become devoid of population, for Christians have been slain by them throughout the East, completely crushed and reduced to nothing" (22). The Armenians had resisted Muslim attacks and defended Byzantium's frontiers for years, but Byzantium destroyed their national entity and the strong partition wall built by courageous Armenian warriors, and thus fell at Manzikert to the might of the Seljuk Turks (23).

Michael Rabo and Bar Hebraeus hold the traditional view that the primary cause of the Crusades was the maltreatment of European pilgrims by Muslims in the East, but they do not (like some Western writers) regard the Crusades as a "holy war." Though the Crusaders sought to restore Jerusalem's holy sites to Christian control, it is also true that the Arabs and Turks conquered and plundered in the name of Allah. Some contemporary Muslim historians assert that the Franks were imperialists who seized Eastern lands and threatened their people, but there is little evidence to support this idea. Rabo writes that when the Turks dominated Syria and Palestine, they punished the Christian pilgrims to Jerusalem, beating and humiliating them, and imposing heavy tributes upon them at the city gate, Golgotha, and the Holy Sepulcher. Moreover, they killed these Christians by a variety of means, especially Christians from Rome and elsewhere in Italy. This action provoked [255] the kings and princes in Italy, who gathered armies in their regions and came by sea to Contantinople (24).

Bar Hebraeus says, "... the Franks were filled with rage and, collecting troops, they went first to Spain and took possession of the cities there, shedding much blood. They cut off the ears, lips, and noses of many Arabs and blinded their eyes. Then they marched against Constantinople" (25). Bar Hebraeus had probably read Ibn al-Athir, who began his chronicle of the year 491 A.H./1097 A.D. by recounting the Franks' assaults on the lands of the Muslims, beginning with Spain. He says that in 478 A.H./1085 A.D., the Franks marched against Spain and later occupied Toledo and other parts of the country. In 484/1091, they occupied Sicily, then turned their attention to Africa. Finally, in 490/1097, they marched against Bilad al-Sham (Syria) (26).

Although Michael Rabo and Bar Hebraeus give little information on the arrival of the Franks' organized expeditions, the Anonymous Edessan says that in 1096, many Frankish kings and noblemen, including Bohemond, Godfrey, St. Giles, and Tancred, accompanied by thousands of soldiers, craftsmen, bishops and monks, prepared for war. They marched inland, through Greek territory toward the Hellespont and sent emissaries to Alexius, king of the Rum, urging him to join them and bring provisions. They asked him to order the people under his rule to provide them with grain and fodder for their animals, and he agreed. The Anonymous Edessan says that the Frankish armies crossed the border and some of them reached a certain camp (probably a Byzantine base), but King Alexius urged the Turks in Nicea and those living within his borders to oppose the Franks (this charge of treachery lacks substantiation). The Turks attacked and annihilated the Franks as they came ashore. When the remnants of the Frankish force reached Constantinople, they met with Alexius and other Byzantine leaders and swore mutual oaths of loyalty, and agreed that Alexius would go with them himself by another road through Galatia. The Anonymous Edessan says the Franks and Byzantine forces besieged Nicea, captured it from the Turks, and delivered it to the king of the Rum (Emperor Alexius). They then entered the province of Cilicia, and the whole earth shook before them. They thought of laying siege first against Antioch, the chief city of Syria. After pitching their camp around the city, they closed off the roads and began to kill and plunder throughout the district (27).

Michael Rabo says that an earthquake rocked Antioch while the Franks were dealing with the people of Constantinople. In the foundation of a ruined fortress there supposedly appeared a great temple containing huge brass statues, representing the Franks mounted on horses, armed with lances and swords of brass, and all in chains. The Turkish Seljukid Aghusin (Yaghi Siyan, governor of Antioch) ordered an inquest to determine the truth of this report. But no one seemed to know about it, and no book had mentioned it. So the [256] statues were considered pagan idols and were destroyed. But a blind old woman said, "I have heard old people say that under one of the fortresses are buried, cryptic characters belonging to the Franks, cautioning them not to cross the sea." When the governor heard her words, he regretted having destroyed these characters. He asked her if she knew how they had been made and whether it was possible to make others like them. She answered in the negative, and they killed her (28). The source of this anecdote is unknown, but it is similar to one related by Ibn al-Adim, who died over sixty years after Michael Rabo (29).

According to Michael Rabo, the Franks who came to Antioch included two kings—Mamun (Bohemond I of Taranto, son of Robert Guiscard) and Tanjari (Tancred, nephew of Bohemond I)—and seven princes: Rajil (Roger) of Salerno, Baimond (Bohemond), Baghdawin (Baldwin I of Boulogne, the brother of Godfrey of Bouillon), Gosselin (Joscelin I of Courtenay, first cousin of Baldwin II), Galeran of Le Puisset, Gondoffer (Godfrey of Bouillon), and Salfis (Raymond of St. Gilles, count of Toulouse) (30). When Theodore, the son of Hetoum, who ruled al-Ruha (Edessa) after the murder of Buzan (Seljukid governor of Eclessa, 1087-1094), heard that the Franks had besieged Antioch, he promised to hand the city over to Duke Godfrey. The Franks rejoiced, saying that as Edessa had believed in Christ before Jerusalem, so did the Lord Christ hand it to [them] before Jerusalem. Theodore became governor of Edessa after the death of Buzan in 1094; it is difficult to ascertain his identity, but his name suggests that he was Armenian. According to the Anonymous Edessan, the Seljuk Sultan Abu al-Fath Malikshah, son of Alp Arslan, occupied Antioch in 1087 and then sent Buzan, one of his commanders, to capture Edessa. Buzan stationed some Turks in the fortresses of the city and appointed

Theodore (whom he calls the son of Hatim) as *Curopalates* (guardian of the palace). He usurped the churches of St. John and the Mother of God, in the middle of the city, and converted them into *masjid*s (mosques) for the Muslims, complete with a minaret. Seven years later the Christians reclaimed the churches. Godfrey sent his brother Baldwin to rule over Edessa. After a nine-month siege, the Franks finally captured Antioch. Yaghi Siyan fled to Aleppo, but was caught en route by two Armenian brothers who cut off his head and brought it to the Franks (31). The capture of Antioch by the Franks is attributed to the divine power of the Holy Lance (supposedly the same one used to pierce Christ's side at the Crucifixion); the discovery of the Lance was revealed in a dream to the Frankish chief Tancred (32).

Michael Rabo says that after the Franks seized Antioch, they kept the Byzantines away from their churches and expelled their clergy, then installed their own patriarch and had bishops ordained for numerous Syrian cities, including Tarsus, Mopsuestia, Edessa, Tripoli, and Latakia. When they later [257] occupied Jerusalem, they put in place a patriarch who ordained bishops for the cities in Palestine (33). These actions reveal that the Latins were not Christian evangelists seeking to spread the Gospel, but emissaries of the Church of Rome whose purpose was to extend the Pope's authority to the east as the head of all Christendom (34). We shall return to this subject shortly.

Syriac sources say little about the occupation of Jerusalem. Michael Rabo, for example, says simply that the Franks came and occupied Yafa (Joppa) before marching against Jerusalem, then governed by Shahanshah al-Afdal, the son of a certain Badr al-DIn al-Jamali of Armenian origin, and Vizir of Egypt from 1094 to 1121 (35). The Franks erected wooden towers at the eastern gate of Jerusalem and occupied it in July 1099, killing many Muslims and filling the city with corpses. They burned the Temple of Hope and all the corpses as well. Godfrey, who became the first king of the Franks, ruled for two years and was succeeded by Baldwin I of Boulogne, who ruled (Michael Rabo says) for four years (36). (In fact, Baldwin ruled Jerusalem from 1100 to 1118.) Bar Hebraeus says that after they seized Antioch, the Franks captured al-Ma'arra, killing over 100,000 souls and pillaging most of the people's possessions. From there they marched against Lebanon and slaughtered a large number of Nusayris (ancestors of the Alawis, who control modern Syria). They attacked other Syrian cities, including Arqa, Tripoli, and Shayzar, whose lord Ibn Munqidh (Majd al-DIn Abu Salama Murshid, 1068-1137) submitted to them (37).

After moving against Emessa (Hims) and subduing its lord Janah al-Dawla, they turned on Jerusalem and took it by storm. At the Temple of Solomon, they killed over 70,000 Muslim Arabs and seized the Aqsa Mosque, pillaging its candles and sacred vessels. Godfrey, says Bar Hebraeus, ruled for two years (1098-1100) and was succeeded by Baldwin I, who ruled for seventeen years (38). The Anonymous Edessan puts the number of Muslims killed by the Franks at 30,000; he says that the Muslims expelled the Christian inhabitants of Jerusalem before the invasion of the Franks, who then spread throughout Palestine and the entire district of Galilee (39).

Michael Rabo seems to be objective regarding the Franks' treatment of the native Christians, including his own Syrian congregation. He points out that although the Franks founded their own churches and installed their own bishops in Syria and Palestine, they did not impose the Chalcedonian faith on Christians living in these areas, nor did they oppress those who did not share their belief in the two Natures of Christ. "To the Franks," says Michael Rabo, "all Christians were one, though they might speak different languages. They considered everyone who worshipped the cross a Christian without question." As for the Turks, who controlled much territory, he says they knew nothing of the mysteries of Christianity. In their view, Christianity was a form of falsehood. Yet they did not issue any law to punish those who did not share [258] their faith, nor did they persecute anyone because of his beliefs, "as did the wicked and heretic Byzantines" (40).

Michael Rabo's magnanimous attitude toward the Franks was based on their actions when they had newly arrived in the Byzantine domains. But after they had established a foothold and founded principalities in Antioch, Tripoli, and Edessa, and a kingdom in Jerusalem, some of their princes seemed interested in protecting

their own political interests rather than the well-being of their Syrian and Armenian co-religionists, whom they sometimes mistreated. Furthermore, the Franks did not always agree with the Byzantines, even though they shared the same faith. The Franks had their own religious agenda, to set up church hierarchies in the lands they had seized. Their primary aim was to establish the authority of the Church of Rome and papal supremacy. William of Tyre rejoiced openly when the Latin Patriarch Aimery succeeded in converting the Maronites of Lebanon, regarded by the church as heretics, to Roman Catholicism (41).

The Franks' relationship with the Armenians was different. They could not afford to repeat the Byzantines' mistake of alienating the indigenous Christians, particularly the Armenians, who controlled major regions in Cappadocia and Cilicia. The Franks needed their assistance to buttress their positions in the regions they had captured and to combat their sworn enemies, the Turks. After becoming Count of Edessa in 1098, Baldwin I of Boulogne encouraged Frankish knights to many Armenian women of standing. He himself married the daughter of an Armenian noble; Joscelin I of Courtenay married the sister of Leon I, Roupenid prince of Cilician Armenia, and. Baldwin. II of LeBourg (who succeeded Baldwin I as ruler of Edessa in 1100) married Morphia, daughter of Gabriel, the powerful Armenian governor of Melitene. But these marriages and the Franks' effort to treat the native Christians differently than the Byzantines had done did not alleviate the antagonism between the two groups. While the Christians sought to throw off the yoke of the Turks, the Franks intended to establish and strengthen their power in the region. The Armenians found to their utter frustration that they had merely exchanged their Turkish overlords for Frankish masters. When Baldwin of Boulogne was invited by the Armenian bishop to become lord of Edessa, he readily accepted this offer (September, 1098). The native Christians of the city, mostly Armenians, received him with alacrity. Their governor shared the people's joy, believing that Baldwin would save him and his city from the Turks (42).

The transition between Baldwin I of Boulogne and Baldwin II of Le Bourg was not smooth. Baldwin II attempted to win the allegiance of the Armenians by offering them better treatment than his predecessor. He showed his political sagacity by establishing amicable relations with the clerics of the Armenian church (43), and supported the Syrian Bishop Abu Ghalib Bar Sabuni, who had [259] rebelled against his own patriarch. For their part, the Armenians joined forces with Baldwin in his campaign against the Turks. On May 7, 1104, when he fought the battle of Harran (Balikh) against Shams al-Dawla Jekermish (Chokurmish), Turkish lord of Mosul, and Sukman ibn Urtuk, Turkish lord of Mardin, most of the casualties were Armenians. The battle was disastrous to the Franks: Baldwin and Joscelin I of Courtenay were taken captive, while Tancred and Bohemond barely escaped to Edessa. Tancred, the Latin regent in the East, sailed for Italy to raise a larger army and return to fight the Turks. Before leaving, he named Richard of Salerno as Count of Edessa. The Syriac sources say Richard was wicked, tyrannical, and avaricious. He humiliated and imprisoned many citizens and committed atrocities, although he knew he was only a temporary ruler, not the true lord of Edessa (44). The Armenians' reaction was predictable: when Tancred was engaged in war with Fakhr al-Muluk Ridwan, the Turkish Seljuk lord of Aleppo (1095-1113), the Armenians of Artah handed their town over to Ridwan because of the grievous tyranny and injustice inflicted on them by the Franks (45). Although Syriac sources do not state what actions by the Franks led to this surrender, Matthew of Edessa describes the Franks' mistreatment of the Armenians in the town of Ablastain in 1105-1106, soon after Richard came to power (46).

The amity between Baldwin II and the Armenians was short-lived; he was motivated by self-interest rather than by any compassion toward his coreligionists. Ironically, he found himself allied with his sworn enemies, the Turks, against his own people. Baldwin was taken captive in 1104 by Sukman, lord of Mardin, but was kidnapped soon after by Jekermish, only to fall into the hands of another Turk, Jawli Saqava, who controlled Mosul briefly in 1107. Jawli was seen as a threat to the Seljuk Sultan Muhammad, who ordered his general Sharaf al-Din Mawdud to capture the city. Fearing the loss of Mosul and pressed for money, Jawli allied with the Franks to fight Mawdud. He left Mosul for Qal'at Jabar on the Euphrates River, taking along, his captive, Baldwin II. At about the same time, Joscelin I, lord of Tall Bashir, gained his freedom by paying the hefty

ransom of 30,000 dinars. Realizing that Jawli was in dire need of money, Joscelin immediately agreed to ransom Baldwin for 70,000 dinars; it was also agreed that Baldwin would release the Muslim captives in Edessa and supply Jawli with men and war material to aid him against his opponents, the Seljuks. (According to Michael Rabo, Joscelin went to Qal'at Jabar and redeemed Baldwin with 30,000 gold dinars) (47). After gaining his freedom in 1108, Baldwin went to Antioch to ask Tancred to give back the principality of Edessa, but Tancred contended that (through Richard of Salerno) he had administered Edessa for four years and could, not give it up. Tancred instructed Richard not to hand the city over; instead, he offered Baldwin weapons and horses and, according to Ibn al-Athir, sought to appease [260] him with an offer of 30,000 dinars (48). Furious, Baldwin left Antioch to meet with Joscelin at Tall Bashir. Tancred followed him there, but realized he would have to fight Baldwin and Joscelin if Baldwin insisted on reclaiming his power in Edessa. The parties failed to resolve the problem through negotiations, and Tancred returned to Antioch. According to William of Tyre, Bernard, the Latin patriarch of Antioch, tried to reconcile the two sides and seemed for a while to have succeeded (49). Ibn al-Athir also mentions that the Patriarch, who was honored by his own people as Muslims honor an Imam, sought to make peace. On September 18, 1108, the patriarch decreed that the Frankish lords should withdraw in peace, Baldwin to Edessa and Tancred to Antioch.

Immediately on returning to Edessa, Baldwin, in an extraordinary demonstration of tolerance and gratitude toward Jawli, released 160 Muslim captives with their weapons (50).

Baldwin also intervened in the religious affairs of his new Muslim allies. When the Lord of Saruj recanted Islam and embraced Christianity, Jawli's followers beat him for his apostasy, stirring conflict between Muslims and Franks. On hearing of the matter, Baldwin had the man killed, saying that this apostate was of no worth to the Franks or the Muslims. Baldwin found another strong ally in Kogh Vasil (Basil), the Armenian lord of Kesum and Ra'ban (d. 1112). According to Matthew of Edessa, Baldwin was ransomed with the mediation and assistance of "the great Armenian Prince Kogh Vasil" (51). Having won over Kogh Vasil, Baldwin and Joscelin urged Jawli to join them in fighting Tancred, while ironically, Tancred sought the help of another Turk, Ridwan, Lord of Aleppo.

In September, 1108, the forces of Baldwin and Joscelin met those of Tancred and Ridwan near Manbij, on the road between Edessa and Aleppo. In the fierce battle that ensued, Tancred was victorious; Baldwin fled, taking refuge at the fortress of Ravendan, while Joscelin retreated to Tall Bashir (52). It is estimated that the Christian forces lost about two thousand men (53). When the citizens of Edessa learned of Baldwin's defeat, they were sad; thinking he had died, they assembled at St. John's Church to decide who should rule Edessa. Meanwhile, Baldwin and Joscelin unexpectedly arrived in Edessa and, learning of the assembly, took it as a sign of disloyalty. Matthew of Edessa says that Frankish leaders pillaged the city and inflicted severe punishment on its inhabitants, apparently because they believed every vicious accusation against the people and were all too willing to shed innocent blood (54).

Whatever friendship had existed between the Franks and the Armenians in Edessa now gave way to hatred and distrust. The Armenians saw the Franks as enemies even worse than the Muslim Turks, with whom the Franks were allied against their fellow Christians (55). It is no surprise that in their desperation, ten Armenian traitors (according to the Anonymous Edessan) contacted [261] Mawdud, Atabeg of Mosul, when he campaigned against Edessa in 1112, offering to deliver the city into his hands. Matthew of Edessa does not give the number of traitors, saying only that certain perfidious men came to Mawdud offering to hand over the city (56). Michael Rabo says that when some Armenians saw the Turks invading Edessa and reaching its walls, they plotted to help them enter one of the fortresses, believing that they would occupy the city in the absence of its leader (57). When news of this conspiracy reached Joscelin I, he hurried to join Baldwin in Edessa. He fought heroically against the Turks and drove them from the city, then turned against the conspirators and punished them severely (58). After Mawdud retreated from Edessa, says the Anonymous Edessan, the Franks sought the traitors and captured many people, guilty or innocent, then cut off their hands and noses, gouged out their eyes, and tortured

and killed many (59). Those of the Armenians who survived elicited the Turks' aid against the Franks. In 1113, as Baldwin of Le Bourg led his forces to Tall Bashir, which he had wrested from Joscelin I, "the bloodthirsty and savage amir Mawdud" again marched on Edessa (60). Some perfidious Franks maliciously reported to Baldwin that many Armenians planned to surrender the city to Mawdud. Baldwin believed them and dispatched Paynes, count of Saruj, with orders to expel all the townspeople of Edessa. He must have carried out this order, for the Franks put the helpless inhabitants to the sword. Matthew says the Franks committed these atrocities because of their perverse nature and their complete contempt for those they considered evil, repaying the goodness of the city's faithful Christians with evil and malice. Those who were evicted from Edessa went to live in Samosata. Baldwin, finding he could not rule an empty city with only a few Syrians and loyal Armenians, decided in February 1114 to recall the exiles from Samosata. They returned, but his relationship with the Armenians was forever strained. They regarded him as their persecutor and detested the Franks, who had ill-treated them (61).

To spite Baldwin, the Armenians sought to ally themselves to the Seljuk Turks. In 1114, the Turks, under Aqsunkur al-Bursuki, began a massive campaign against Edessa, besieging it for two months. On failing to capture the city, Aqsunkur lifted the siege and departed. It was then that the Armenian King Dgha Basil (Vasil), son of Kogh Vasil, sent a messenger to Aqsunkur proposing an alliance against the Franks (62). He had learned that Tancred sought to take over the principality of Kesum and Ra'ban, and saw in Aqsunkur al-Bursuki an ally who could thwart this conquest. Aqsunkur accepted Basil's proposal on the condition that he be allowed to impose the *jizya* (a tax imposed by Muslims on non-Muslim subjects, mainly Christians and Jews, in exchange for their protection), to signify that Kesum and Ra'ban had become his vassal principality (63). When Baldwin learned of the proposed alliance of [262] Dgha Basil and his father's widow with the Seljuk Turks, he was furious, calling their action a threat to Christianity and especially to the Latin principalities in Syria and lower Asia Minor. He invaded Kesum and Ra'ban in 1115, but had little success. Dgha Basil sought help from Thoros I, son of Constantine, the Roupenid ruler of Partzapert in Cilicia (1100-1129). But Matthew of Edessa reports that Thoros seized Dgha Basil and handed him over to Baldwin, who tortured him and forcibly seized all his territory. Betrayed and stripped of his possessions, Dgha Basil went to Constantinople, where the Byzantine emperor received him and his troops with great honor (64). The native Syrians fared no better than the Armenians. In 1117, Dawla, the lord of Melitene, seized their monasteries, capturing 7.400 monks and appropriating their possessions (65). He evicted others from the fortress of Arnish and put an army garrison in their place. He forced the monks to pay 2,000 dinars, tortured them mercilessly and then annihilated them, and turned their monasteries into villages. Thus, the Syrians suffered the same atrocities as the Armenians from the Franks, who aimed to vanquish them and capture their land (66).

Meanwhile, Baldwin continued his seizure of other Armenian enclaves. He pillaged the principality of the Armenian prince Bagrat, who resided in Ravendan, near Aleppo. He had Constantine, Armenian lord of Gargar, chained and thrown into prison in the citadel of Samosata, where he died. (Following a nighttime earthquake, Constantine's body was discovered on the bank of the Euphrates) (67). Having conquered the Armenian princes and seized their territories, Baldwin and his countrymen now felt more secure than ever. In 1118, he left Edessa to rule the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, declaring no one was more qualified to succeed him as the Lord of Edessa and defend the northeast front of the Latin domains than Joscelin I of Courtenay. Thus, Joscelin replaced Baldwin in Edessa, and the two Frankish leaders were finally reconciled (68).

Joscelin I tried to be more conciliatory toward the Armenians than Baldwin had been. Abandoning his former cruel nature, he adopted a very humane, compassionate attitude toward the inhabitants of Edessa (69). The Armenians came to his aid several times, and when he was taken captive by Nur al-Dawla Belek, the Urtukid ruler of Aleppo, in 1123, some twenty of them succeeded in releasing him from prison (70). The people of Edessa, both Syrians and Armenians, were more appreciative of Joscelin I than of Baldwin (71).

Joscelin I died in 1131 and was succeeded by his son Joscelin II, whom the Anonymous Edessan says was "a stupid youth and void of understanding" (72). William of Tyre finds nothing praiseworthy about him except his

military prowess (73). Joscelin's treatment of the Syrians was ignominious: his meddling in their church affairs aroused their antipathy. He had bad relations with Raymond of Poitiers, prince of Antioch (1136-1149) and with the Byzantines. [263] Only the Armenians fared well under his rule, perhaps because his mother was of Armenian stock. One Arab writer calls him "Joscelin the Armenian" (74). Worst of all, he showed little or no concern over the growing threat posed by a new power in the East, the Zangids. In 1128, Imad al-Din Zangi, Atabeg of Mosul, had begun taking control of Syria, systematically challenging the Franks; he captured Edessa in 1144, the jewel of their possessions, then under Joscelin's lordship (75).

Continued on Next Page

Matti Moosa's

*The Crusades: An Eastern Perspective with Emphasis on Syriac Sources**

* This material, which is presented solely for non-commercial educational/research purposes, was published in the journal *The Muslim World* Vol. 93 (April, 2003), pp. 249-289.

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Footnotes

The fall of Edessa into Turkish hands had a devastating impact on the Franks' power in Syria. The Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, ruled by Melisend, mother of the underage Baldwin III, was too far from the Franks' center of operations in Edessa, and the Latin principalities of Antioch and Tripoli were too weak to challenge the Turks in Syria. It is no exaggeration to say that the loss of Edessa to Zangi (and later his brother Nur al-Din) foreshadowed the fall of Jerusalem in 1187. It demonstrated the weakness of the Franks, rather than the unity of the Turks. Indeed, the Turks suffered from dissension, with the Seljuk amirs opposing one another and the Abbasid caliphs against all of them. Having lost power to the Seljuk Turks since the eleventh century, the Abbasid caliphs were intent on regaining their old dominance and territory in Syria (76).

The assassination of 'Imad al-Din Zangi as he was attacking the fortress of Ja'bar on September 14, 1146, was happy news for Joscelin, who sought at once to take advantage of the resulting chaos and recapture Edessa (77). He appealed to Baldwin, lord of Kesum and Mar'ash, and was promised aid. To Joscelin, recovering Edessa meant the reversal of the ascendancy the Muslims had recently gained. But he had underestimated the Turks' determination to protect their power after Zangi's death, and received no help from Raymond of Poitiers, who was displeased with both Joscelin and Baldwin (78). He called upon the inhabitants of Edessa, mostly Armenians, to rise up against the Muslims; they responded to his appeal, and although Joscelin attacked and occupied Edessa, he could not take its citadel, apparently because his forces had brought neither engines of war nor materials to build them (79). The Turks regrouped and retook the city by assault after five days, and the ensuing destruction of Edessa evoked lamentation from Michael Rabo and other Syrian writers, especially the Anonymous Edessan (80).

Edessa, the center of Christianity in Syria, lay in ruins. Its Christian inhabitants were the victims of the ambitious Franks and cruel Turks alike. The Franks were especially culpable because they had meddled in the Christians' church affairs, compounding their problems. Joscelin II, who should have rallied the Christians to repel the Turks, recapture Edessa, and reassert his authority, was too involved in pursuing pleasure to assume this responsibility. Instead, when his purse was empty, he found it expedient to move on the [264] wealthy Syrian Monastery of Mar Barsoum, plundering its possessions and its treasury (81). But the Franks, especially Joscelin II, continued to meddle in the affairs of the Syrian Church as they always had. We should note here that the Syrian Church had long been in turmoil created by recalcitrant and disobedient bishops, seeking either to obtain earthly gain or to usurp the patriarchate. This turmoil was due largely to the rigid legalism of patriarchs like Abu al-Faraj Athanasius VI of the Camra family, who insisted on observing the letter of church laws that

even at the start of the eleventh century seemed harsh and unbearable. Like the Greeks before them, the Franks became arbiters of the Syrians' problems (82).

Ironically, this Frankish prince, Joscelin, was rebuked by a Muslim Turk for violating Christian principles when he plundered the Monastery of Mar Barsoum. Dawla's father Ghazi, the Turkish governor of Melitene, had imposed heavy taxes on the monastery, but Dawla lavished gifts on it and exempted the monks from taxes to obtain their allegiance. When Joscelin sought peace, Dawla answered, "We, like you, seek peace. But tell me, how can you assert your desire for peace when you have proven that you have no faith? The Muslims swear by [the Qur'an], and Christians swear by the cross and the Gospel. But you yourself have violated the sanctity of the gospel and broken the cross into pieces. You have nothing to do with the Christian faith. Reveal your true faith, whether you are a Jew or a pagan, so that we may establish peace with you on the basis of your faith." Eventually, Joscelin was defeated and captured by the Turks. The monks returned to the monastery, and through God's providence, made their peace with the Turks (83).

Dawla was not the only Muslim ruler to show concern about the Monastery of Mar Barsoum. The Seljukid Sultan Kilij Arslan II of Rum (1155-1192) was even more kindly disposed toward Michael Rabo and the monastery. When he visited Melitene in July 1182, he summoned Michael Rabo to an audience, receiving the Syrian patriarch with great honor and offering him gifts, to the surprise of everyone. The Sultan also abolished the taxes imposed on the monastery, affirming this promise with a royal script (84).

The news of the fall of Edessa to the Muslim Turks had resounding repercussions in the West. When King Louis VII of France held court at Bourges, the bishop of Langres spoke about the devastation of Rohes (Edessa), the oppression of the Christians, and the arrogance of the heathens, rousing his listeners to join the King in his forthcoming fight to aid the Christians (85). The loss of Edessa, not only a major center of Christianity but also the first Latin principality in the East, foreshadowed the collapse of the structure that the Franks had established in the First Crusade, and thus set in motion the Second Crusade, which ended in utter failure (86). The nations of the West dispatched a combined German and Frankish force under Conrad II and Louis VII, but only [265] a small part of this expedition actually reached the east. This venture, however, inspired Baldwin III, king of Jerusalem, to make a bold move against the Muslims. In 1149, he sought to capture Damascus, but his attack on the city was more a raid than a real military campaign. Had he succeeded, all Syria and Mesopotamia would have been severed from Egypt, and Saladin's later effort to unite the Muslims of the north with those of the south, which dealt a fatal blow to the Franks in 1187, would have had no chance of success (87).

A detailed account of the Second Crusade is beyond, the scope of this study, but the events of this period reveal much about relations between the Christian population and their rulers. The Byzantines considered the recovery of Edessa their own responsibility, not that of the Franks (88). According to Syriac sources, this view so enraged the Franks that they waged war against the Byzantines and destroyed their capital, Constantinople. Mas'ud, the Seljuk Sultan of Rum (1116-1155), took advantage of this conflict to unleash his troops against the Franks, slaughtering them and plundering their possessions. Most of the captured loot was sent to Persia; the Turks' territory was so full of booty that in Melitene, silver was as cheap as lead. Conrad III's army, fleeing annihilation by the Turks, suffered an inhumane disaster at the hands of the Greeks, who mixed lime with grain and sold it to the soldiers (89). The Second Crusade failed, and the Turks ravaged Antioch, another important center of Christianity in Syria. This crusade was undertaken to recover Edessa from the Turks, consolidate the power of the Latin principalities, and curtail the influence of Nur al-Din Zangi. But the Franks failed because of their internal dissension and disagreement with Byzantine Emperor Manuel I Comnenus (1134-1180), who wanted Louis VII and Conrad II to become his vassals and expected them to hand over to him every territory they might capture in Asia Minor (90).

The Franks' chief concern was to prevent Nur al-Din Zangi from capturing Aleppo, the principal city of Syria, but they were at a disadvantage due to a rift between Joscelin II and Raymond of Poitiers, lord of Antioch, who

had refused to support Joscelin when the Turks attacked Edessa. Nur al-Din welcomed the Frankish leaders' dispute and sent a delegation to Joscelin to conclude a treaty of friendship; later they met between Azaz and Aleppo and swore to uphold their new covenant, which Michael Rabo says ultimately led to the collapse of the Franks' power (91). Joscelin to all intents and purposes surrendered his authority to Nur al-Din and became his client. According to Ibn al-Qalanisi, having neutralized Joscelin as a threat, Nur al-Din attacked the province of Antioch in 1148, but retreated to Aleppo after Raymond assembled troops and defeated him at Yaghra (92). But according to other Muslim sources, the Franks were soundly beaten at Yaghra, and some of their leaders were killed. Nur al-Din sent the booty and captives to his brother Sayf al-Din, to the [266] Abbasid caliph in Baghdad, and to Mas'ud, the Sultan of Rum (93). Syriac sources assert that the Franks defeated Nur al-Din and his men at Yaghra with aid from Ali ibn Wafa, chief of the Assassins of Masyaf and an enemy of Nur al-Din (94).

After the battle at Yaghra, Nur al-Din assembled his troops and assaulted Harim with help from Mu'in al-Din Unur, the Urtukid ruler of Damascus (95). After destroying Harim and the surrounding villages, he laid siege to the fortress of Inab, near Aleppo on the edge of the Rugia valley. Raymond of Poitiers rushed to its defense with only 4,000 horsemen and 1,000 infantrymen, while Nur al-Din's force included 6,000 horsemen, augmented by many Turkoman followers (96). Rejecting the advice of Ali ibn Wafa to return to his own territory, Raymond plunged his troops into battle and was beaten on June 29, 1149; both he and Reginald, lord of Kesum and Mar'ash, were killed (97).

Nur al-Din next besieged Antioch again, and the city's inhabitants surrendered to him to escape destruction (98). Nur al-Din had become a real threat to the Franks, particularly since the deaths of Raymond and Reginald left only Joscelin II as a leader. But Joscelin, selfish and inclined to a life of ease and pleasure, was not the right man to challenge the Turks. He showed little concern over the death of his son-in-law Reginald, instead using the opportunity to add Kesum and Mar'ash to his domain. After several futile attempts to engage the Turks, Joscelin II fell into the hands of Nur al-Din, who had him chained and thrown into prison at Aleppo for five years. His odious character was partially redeemed by his refusal to recant his faith to save his life, despite being first showered with gifts and later threatened under torture. When his end drew near, he asked to be taken from his cell to the Syrian bishop of Aleppo, who heard his confession and administered the Holy Communion. After his death, the Turks handed his body to the Christians, who buried him in the church. A great many Christians and Muslims attended his funeral, bewildered by the events that had taken place (99). Ibn al-Athir gloats over Joscelin's capture, saying it was a tremendous victory because Joscelin was "a tyrant devil, cruel and too harsh on the Muslims; all of Christendom was afflicted by his capture" (100).

From his rise to power in 1146 until his death in 1174, Nur al-Din worked to found a Muslim state expanding from Mosul to take in all Syria, Egypt, and Yemen. Calling for *jihad*, he challenged the power of the Franks. He is rightly considered the precursor to Saladin, who defeated the Franks in 1187 and restored Jerusalem to Muslim control. Indeed, no Muslim ruler in the medieval period was more controversial than Nur al-Din Zangi. Ibn al-Athir lavishes praise on him, stating that since the time of *al-Khulafa' al-Rashidun* (the Rightly Guided Caliphs) in the seventh century, no Muslim sovereign except [267] the Umayyad Caliph 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-Aziz (reigned 717-720) could match him in demeanor, justice, and fairness. He lauds him for his indifference to worldly things and strict adherence to Islamic law, worship, and piety. He says Nur al-Din spent much time at prayer and followed the precepts of his faith rigorously, including the *jihad*, to which he felt he had been called to make Islam triumph. A Sunnite from the Hanafite school, he held no prejudice against Muslims with differing beliefs. He was abstemious in his diet, simple in his dress, and chaste in sexual matters. He glorified the *Shari'ah* (Islamic law), which guided his work and conduct (101). Yet Ibn al-Athir reveals another side of Nur al-Din's character, his use of trickery and deception, particularly in his relations with the Franks (102). William of Tyre calls him a just prince, valiant and wise and, according to the traditions of his race, a very religious man, but says he was a mighty persecutor of the Christians (103). The Anonymous Edessan also describes Nur al-Din as cunning, yet very strict in observing Islamic law; he praises him for his justice and for his abolition of various

taxes in the countries under his control (104). Yet his justice may have applied only to his Muslim subjects: Michael Rabo and the Anonymous Edessan state that the Christians suffered greatly from Nur al-Din's oppression and persecution. Nur al-Din attempted to win the allegiance of the Muslims in Mosul in 1171 by persecuting the Christians, ordering that their churches and monasteries be destroyed. He issued a similar order at Nisibin, and the Muslims there demolished the Church of St. Jacob, and Muslims in Mardin usurped the Church of the Forty Martyrs (105). Bands of Kurds near Mosul attacked the Monastery of Mar Matta (St. Matthew), pillaged it, and killed many of its monks. Facing resistance by the monks, the marauders rolled a huge rock down from the top of the mountain; it partly penetrated the monastery's outer wall and remains lodged there today (106). Bar Hebraeus says that the persecution of the Syrian community continued into his time, as Syrians were caught in a power struggle between the Turks and Kurds (107). Nur al-Din died in 1174 without having achieved his aim of defeating the Franks and capturing Jerusalem. Yet he was the first Muslim ruler to undertake what had seemed an impossible task: to unite the different Muslim ethnic factions to achieve these common goals. This awesome task was left to Saladin.

Syriac sources differ on Saladin's career. Michael Rabo and the Anonymous Edessan mark the beginning of his career as 1176, when he marched out of Egypt with a great army the with the intention of controlling Syria, the domain of the late Nur al-Din (108). Bar Hebraeus mentions Saladin in reporting the events of the year 1151, saying that in that year, Saladin left his father, Najm al-Din Ayyub, the governor of Balbak (in present-day Lebanon) and went to Aleppo to join his uncle Asad al-Din Shirkuh. Shirkuh then brought him to Nur al-Din, who took him in and offered him sustenance (109). This is the first evidence that [268] Saladin received the favor and support of Nur al-Din, the powerful master of Syria, and thereby began his rise to power.

Saladin played a crucial role in the history of the Crusades. He achieved what earlier Muslim leaders, particularly Nur al-Din, could not: he drove the Franks from Jerusalem in 1187 and restored it to Muslim hands, achieving the ultimate triumph over the infidels. Jerusalem had been the spiritual target of the Franks' invasion of the East, in which an incredible amount of blood was shed. It is not surprising that Muslims saw Saladin as the supreme defender of their faith. The Qadi Baha' al-Din ibn Shaddad, who was in Saladin's service, describes him thus: "Our Lord Sultan al-Nasir (he who grants victory), who brought the faithful together and destroyed the worshippers of the Cross, the bearer of the banner of justice and charity, Salah al-Din wa al-Dunya (rectitude of faith and the world), the Sultan of Islam and Muslims, the rescuer of the Holy House of Allah (Jerusalem) from the hands of the polytheists (Christians), the servant of the two sanctuaries (Mecca and Jerusalem), Abu al-Muzaffar Yusuf ibn Ayyub ibn Shadhi" (110). No words since have so succinctly expressed Saladin's virtues. Baha' al-Din describes Saladin as just, brave, benevolent, patient, and generous, even to his enemies the Franks, a wonderful companion and a man of pleasant disposition. He renounced the pleasures of this world and was so abstemious that he left almost no personal possessions at his death. Baha' al-Din summarizes the life and conduct of Saladin by saying that Islam had had no one like him since the time of the Rightly Guided Caliphs (recall Ibn al-Athir's similar comment about Nur al-Din) (111). Saladin's personality and character appealed to Western writers, most of whom had high praise for this unique Muslim. Runciman says, "He was the most attractive of all the great figures of the Crusading era. But he had his faults" (112). After enumerating his excellent traits, Runciman relates a legend recorded by Vincent of Beauvais: when Saladin was on his deathbed, he told his standard-bearer to set a piece of his shroud on a lance and carry it to Damascus, to show that he had taken nothing from this life except a rag (113).

Among the Syriac sources, Bar Hebraeus offers the fullest description of Saladin's character. He says that Saladin was patient, mild-tempered, generous, of good character, humble, and forgiving of the shortcomings of his companions, and relates anecdotes to illustrate his equanimity in dealing with men of any station in life. Bar Hebraeus also praises Saladin's generosity and benevolence, stating that when he died, there was almost nothing in his treasury. (Ibn Shaddad says that when Saladin died, his treasury contained only seventy-four silver dirhams and one piece of Tyrean gold; he left no estate, orchard, farm, village, or other property (n.114). It is

said that when he became master of Damascus, Saladin ordered that all the money in the treasury be brought out and laid before him. He ordered one of his men, Ibn [269] al-Muqaddam, to divide the money among the nobles, the horsemen, and the slaves, giving each a handful. When he doled out only small amounts, Saladin rebuked him and told him, "Avarice befits the merchants, not kings. Therefore do not distribute them with one hand, but with both" (115). Bar Hebraeus also shows Saladin's tolerance towards non-Muslims. He says that when Saladin was encamped before Acre with a *Qadi* (religious judge) beside him, a Jew appealed for help under the *Shari'ah*. When asked, the Jew said that the Sultan (Saladin) was his adversary, and his servants had wronged him. A merchant from Damascus, he had come by sea from Alexandria with twenty loads of sugar. But when he arrived at the port, Saladin's servants robbed him and said that he was an infidel and his goods rightly belonged to the Sultan. Saladin asked the servants their side of the story, and when they said they had deposited the merchandise in the treasury, he told officials to give the Jew the price of the sugar (116).

Some modern Western historians praise Saladin but acknowledge his personal faults. W. B. Stevenson compares him to the kings of France and England who led the Third Crusade, declaring, "Christendom did not excel Islam in the type of heroes whom it nurtured" (117). No historian can overlook Saladin's qualities as a person and a military leader, but they are only one aspect of this remarkable man. He was a man of his time—ambitious, cunning, ruthless, and manipulative. But at the start of his career, he was not the virtuous person whom the historians portray. He drank wine and pursued pleasure, in contradiction of Islam. It was only in 1169, when he became the sole ruler of Egypt, that he experienced a religious metamorphosis and became the defender of Islam against the infidel Franks (118). He owed his rise to power to his master and benefactor Nur al-Din Zangi, whose wealth enabled him to further his ambitions.

Saladin was born in 1137 at Takrit, in present-day Iraq; his father, Najm al-Din, was the city's governor. Najm al-Din came with his brother Asad al-Din Shirkuh to Iraq and entered the service of Mujahid al-Din Bahruz ("the Eunuch"), the governor of Takrit, who made him an administrator (119). The brothers went to Takrit, but Asad al-Din soon became involved in a dispute that caused their expulsion from the city. Najm al-Din then took his son and his brother to Mosul, where Nur al-Din Zangi received them and helped them prosper. When Nur al-Din occupied Ba'albak, he named Najm al-Din governor of its citadel in Ayyub and gave Asad al-Din the cities of Hims and Rahubuth (120).

But it was Egypt that offered Saladin the opportunity to rise to power. Nur al-Din was determined to overthrow the Shiite Fatimids in Egypt and add that country to his domain. In 1164, he sent a military expedition to Egypt under Asad al-Din Shirkuh, who took along his nephew Saladin, then twenty-seven. [270] The Vizir of the Fatimids, Shawir, was the real power in Egypt at the time, holding authority even over the caliph. Hoping to repel the invaders, Shawir and the Egyptians allied themselves with the Franks; they defeated Shirkuh at Bilbays, forcing him to flee Egypt. In 1167, Shirkuh made another attempt to overthrow Shawir; again he failed and withdrew (121). But he returned in 1169; this time, accompanied by Saladin, defeating Shawir and his Frankish allies (122). Shirkuh thus won the favor of the Fatimid Caliph al-'Adid (1160-1171), who named him Vizir of Egypt, replacing Shawir, and gave him the titles of al-Mansur (The Victorious) and Commander of the Armies. Shirkuh soon became established in his position. He employed only those whom he trusted and divided the land among the troops who accompanied him to Egypt. But his rule lasted only two months; he died on March 23, 1169, of *khanuq* (angina) (123). The Anonymous Edessan says Shirkuh treated Egypt's Christians with cruelty, burdened them with taxes, and restricted their conduct. During Shirkuh's brief reign, over 14,000 Christians in Egypt embraced Islam, evidently to escape persecution (124).

Following Shirkuh's death, Saladin emerged as the most powerful man in Egypt. The Anonymous Edessan says that before his death, Shirkuh handed the governance of Egypt to his nephew (125). Saladin became the commander of the military forces in Egypt, and the Caliph al-'Adid, forced to acknowledge his power, conferred upon him the title of Vizir of Egypt (126). The Caliph apparently underestimated Saladin's ambitions, thinking

he was only supported by a small segment of the Syrian army. He plainly imagined that he could control Saladin, despite having given him the title of Vizir (127).

Saladin's position in Egypt was precarious, despite his new power; he lavished bribes and gifts on his troops to win their allegiance (128). He aspired to become the supreme ruler of Egypt, but had to contend with Nur al-Din Zangi, who was proclaimed in the Friday *khutba* as the ruler of Egypt, and whom he served as a deputy. The Egyptians took their orders not from Saladin but from Nur al-Din, who in his communications addressed him as *Asfah Salar Saladin* (Saladin, Commander of the Army). But Saladin gradually began to win people's hearts by giving them gifts and money collected by his uncle Shirkuh. Thus, a conflict arose between Nur al-Din Zangi and Saladin over control of Egypt, and ended only with Nur al-Din's death in 1174 (129).

The conflict between Nur al-Din and Saladin embodied the clash between Shi'ism and Sunnism in Egypt. Egypt was predominantly Shi'ite, while Nur al-Din was a Sunnite. In 1171, he ordered Saladin to stop proclaiming the Shi'ite Fatimid al-Adid caliph and instead proclaim the authority of the Abbasid Caliph al-Mustadi in Baghdad. Bar Hebraeus puts Nur al-Din's determination to eradicate Shi'ism in its proper perspective, asserting that he violently abhorred the Arabs (Shi'ite Muslims), who were descended from 'Ali (130). Saladin [271] feared that if he stopped proclaiming the name of al-'Adid in the Friday *khutba*, people would revolt against him. When Nur al-Din pressed him, Saladin sought the counsel of his men. He finally yielded and ordered preachers throughout Egypt to proclaim the name of the Abbasid Caliph. There was no massive revolt by the Shi'ites, and eventually Shi'ism faded in Egypt and gave way to Sunnite Islam. It is reported that when al-'Adid was on his deathbed, he sought but was denied an opportunity to see Saladin, and after the Caliph died, Saladin regretted this refusal (131).

Before al-'Adid's death, Saladin had already arranged to take possession of his wealth. He ordered his eunuch Baha' al-Din Qaraqush to oversee the Caliph's palace and safeguard his effects. He moved al-'Adid's immediate family to separate quarters and kept his other relatives under guard. He drove out the Caliph's slaves and bondmaids, setting some of them free, selling others, and offering the rest as gifts to his men. He kept some personal effects and treasures, but gave others as gifts or sold them off. Ibn al-Athir says that this treasure, which had been collected for generations, included jewels and precious objects which no other king had had, including a long emerald staff and 100,000 manuscripts (132). Bar Hebraeus tells us that Saladin carried out these actions maliciously with the intention of decimating the Fatimid line, and he succeeded (133). The Anonymous Edessan attributes the Caliph's death to Saladin, saying that he plotted to kill al-'Adid and did so, perhaps by poison; William of Tyre likewise accuses Saladin of murdering al-'Adid (134). In any case, Egypt was restored to Sunnite Islam for the first time since the tenth century, under the nominal authority of the Abbasid caliphs in Baghdad (135). The Anonymous Edessan says the Caliph rewarded Saladin with the title of *al-Sultan al-A'zam* (The Great Sultan) (136).

While Nur al-Din Zangi was alive, Saladin was subservient to him. After the Caliph's death, Saladin was tempted to act on his own, but feared incurring Nur al-Din's wrath and perhaps provoking him to invade Egypt and remove him from power. Armed conflict between the two appeared inevitable until Nur al-Din died from angina in 1174, leaving Saladin as the only Muslim leader of great consequence. Saladin's fortune was further enhanced by the death of Amalric I, King of Jerusalem, which led to great dissension among the Franks and weakened their ability to fight the Muslims.

The death of Nur al-Din Zangi created a power struggle. Although his son al-Malik al-Salih Isma'il was only eleven years old, all the nobles swore oaths of fealty to him (137). Saladin also proclaimed Malik the ruler and stamped his name on the currency (138). The judge Kamal al-Din Shahrzuri urged Shams al-Din ibn al-Muqaddam and other amirs who had been close to Nur al-Din to consult with Saladin on the guardianship of al-Malik al-Salih. Since Saladin was one of Nur al-Din's mamluks and his deputy, it was in their best interest not to ignore [272] him, lest he use such action as a pretext to rebel. But the amirs rejected this counsel, fearing that if

Saladin was named al-Malik al-Salih's guardian, he might oust them from power. The issue was finally resolved when Shams al-Din 'Ali ibn al-Daya seized Aleppo and Ibn al-Muqaddam became the guardian and tutor of al-Malik al-Salih in Damascus (139). But the amirs of Damascus did not trust al-Muqaddam, believing he had gained total control of al-Salih Isma'il and the affairs of Aleppo. They invited Nur al-Din's nephew Sayf al-Din, Lord of Mosul, to take care of al-Malik al-Salih and his domain; he refused, and the amirs reluctantly invited Saladin to take possession of Damascus (140). Saladin came there at the end of November 1174 and resided in his father's house, the al-Aqiqi residence (141). Yet, he had come not to save the kingdom of his master's son, but to become its indisputable lord. Michael Rabo says Saladin used Sayf al-Din's occupation of Harran and Edessa as a pretext to march on Damascus. He said publicly that he had come to rescue his master's son, his mother, and his legal guardians, but in fact al-Salih Isma'il, his mother, and the amirs of Aleppo did not trust him (142). Michael Rabo says Saladin tried to win the favor of the Syrian people by scattering the wealth he had brought from Egypt as he would scatter dust and even struck peace with the Franks. Sayf al-Din, lord of Mosul, sent his forces to expel Saladin from Damascus; Saladin tried to win them over with kind words, but they insulted him, calling him "a dog set to assail his master" (143). Bar Hebraeus says that Saladin occupied the citadel of Damascus and handed it over to his brother Sayf al-Islam and his men (144). The Anonymous Edessan says Saladin's claim that he came to Damascus to help the son of Nur al-Din and buttress his power was simply a pretense, for he constantly intervened in the affairs of state. In a few years, Saladin controlled the region extending from the mountain ranges of Lebanon to Aleppo. His capture of Damascus and his attack on Aleppo alarmed the Franks, who realized that unless they stopped him, Saladin would become a more formidable adversary than they ever imagined (145). After taking over Damascus, Saladin marched on Hims and Hama, taking them on December 10, 1174. By the end of the month, he reached Aleppo, but the people would not surrender. Aleppo was of critical importance to Saladin. It was the chief city in Syria, the seat of government for al-Malik al-Salih, and the center of Syrian political and administrative activity. Occupying it would mean that all the territory of Nur al-Din had fallen into his hands. William of Tyre rightly observes that Saladin took it for granted that Aleppo and its young lord would surrender to him with the help of certain traitors (146)

After a futile five-month siege, Saladin urged al-Malik al-Salih to surrender the city to him, saying he had come to Syria to help him reassert his rule and protect him against the Franks. But al-Malik al-Salih and his advisors appealed to the Franks and the Isma'ili *batini*s (Assassins) for help in warding off his [273] attack. The Isma'ilis made a scheme to kill Saladin, but it was exposed and foiled at the last moment (147). Al-Malik al-Salih's cousin Sayf al-Din, lord of Mosul, rushed to help him. To appease Sayf al-Din, Saladin proposed to relinquish control of Hims and Kama while keeping only Damascus, and to act there as his deputy (148). The Zangids rejected this idea and sneered at the envoy Saladin had sent to negotiate with them, making war inevitable. They met Saladin's forces at Qurun Hama at the end of April 1175, and were beaten (149). Saladin next marched on Aleppo and laid siege to it. Though he did not take the city, he stopped the proclamation of al-Malik al-Salih as ruler in the Friday *khutba* and removed his name from the coinage (150). Bar Hebraeus says that al-Malik al-Salih sent an envoy to seek peace, proposing that Saladin take Damascus while relinquishing Hims, Hama and the rest of Syria. When Saladin rejected these terms, he offered to cede al-Ma'arra and Kafratab. Saladin demanded Ba'rin as well, and peace was made. Saladin swore that the name of al-Malik al-Salih would be proclaimed in all the countries under his control, and whenever there was need, he would come to his aid. When the 'Abbasid caliph in Baghdad learned of Saladin's victory, he sent him gifts in honor of the occasion (151). Stanley Lane-Poole and other Western sources assert that the Caliph conferred upon Saladin such titles as King or Sultan of Egypt and Syria (152).

Despite his defeat, Sayf al-Din refused to give up his fight against Saladin, whom he believed had usurped the power and domain of al-Malik al-Salih. Inevitably, their forces engaged in battle at Tall al-Sultan on April 22, 1176, and Sayf al-Din was defeated (153). To cut the lines of communication between Aleppo and Mosul, Saladin occupied Buza'a and Manbij, northeast of Aleppo, in May 1176. He besieged Aleppo a second time but failed because of the staunch resistance of its people. Finally, he concluded peace with al-Malik al-Salih by

promising to return the captured city of Azaz (supposedly al-Malik al-Salih's sister asked for it as a gift for achieving peace with her brother) (154). Saladin used another artful stratagem to legitimize his control of the territory of Nur al-Din Zangi. Before he returned to Egypt at the end of 1176, he married Ismat al-Din Khatun, the widow of Nur al-Din and daughter of Mu'n al-Din Unur, the lord of Hims. 'Imad al-Din al-Isfahani says he did so to protect her honor, but the marriage appears to have been a political move (155). Interestingly, one writer credits Saladin's success to the death of Nur al-Din, noting that Saladin married his wife, put his heirs to flight, and seized the kingdom of Damascus, and says that Saladin's wife "raised up a rich man from a pauper, the lofty from the humble, a ruler from a slave " (156).

It should be noted that while Saladin besieged Azaz in June 1176, the *Batini*s made a second attempt on his life; he was struck in the head and wounded by a knife-wielding assassin (157). After making peace at Aleppo, [274] Saladin marched against Masyaf, the center of the Assassins' activity, killing and destroying at will. Masyaf was spared total destruction only by the intercession of Saladin's uncle, Shihab al-Din Mahmud al-Harimi (158).

Despite having made peace, Saladin still did not control Aleppo, and his situation was precarious. The Aleppines, encouraged by the Ismai'lis' attempt to kill him, appealed to Raymond III, the Frankish lord of Tripoli, for assistance. Raymond assented and marched against Hims, forcing Saladin to leave Aleppo (159). Ibn al-Athir also says the Aleppines asked Raymond to march, against some of the towns under Saladin's control, in order to lift the siege. Saladin learned of Raymond's move while he was in Hama and marched on Hims; Raymond withdrew to al-Rastan, south of Hama, allowing Saladin to seize Hims and bring all Syria under his control (160). To show his gratitude to the Franks, the governor of Aleppo released some Frankish captives imprisoned in the city's citadel since the time of Nur al-Din, including Reginald of Chatillon and Joscelin II of Courtenay (161). Michael Rabo says the Franks sent Reginald to challenge Saladin, who therefore returned Azaz to al-Malik al-Salih and made peace with him (162). This account differs from that of William of Tyre, who says King Baldwin IV ("the Leper") and Raymond III attacked al-Biqa in Coele Syria, but does not state that the lords of Aleppo were involved with the Franks (163).

Ibn al-Athir's statement that the capture of Hims brought all of al-Sham (Syria) under Saladin's control is not quite correct (164). Aleppo, the city Saladin most coveted, was still controlled by the Zangids, along with Jazira and Mosul. But there was strife between two Zangid brothers, Izz al-Din Masud I, Lord of Mosul (1180-1193), and Imad al-Din Zangi II, Lord of Aleppo (1182-1183). Saladin was aware of this conflict and knew they had sought the Franks' assistance against him (165). He hoped to take advantage of their dispute to capture Aleppo. He attacked the city for three days but then shifted strategy, thinking that if he took Mosul first, Aleppo would easily fall into his hands. Lie subdued Edessa, Harran, al-Raqqa, Saruj, and Nisibin in September and October of 1182, and started his siege of Mosul at the beginning of December (166). Ibn Shaddad, who was then in Mosul, says Saladin arrived in the area on November 10 and sent envoys to Baghdad to seek aid from Caliph al-Nasir al-Din Allah (167). He reminded the Caliph of the Zangids' conflict and said they had betrayed Islam by making peace with the Franks (168). The Caliph sent an envoy, the Shaykh Sadr al-Din, to Saladin. When Saladin saw that Mosul was too well fortified to be taken by storm, he proposed peace to 'Izz al-Din, on the condition that he allow Saladin to take Aleppo without interference, but this proposal was rejected. Saladin then lifted the siege of Mosul and marched against Sinjar, which he easily captured (169).

After leaving Mosul, Saladin captured Amid and then Aintab, but Aleppo remained his objective. In May, 1183, he marched on Aleppo, where he [275] engaged in daily skirmishes with the forces of 'Imad al-Din, who was now weaker than ever and could not stand a protracted war with Saladin (170). Without consulting his chief allies, 'Imad al-Din reached a secret agreement whereby Saladin would take control of Aleppo, and he himself would receive Sinjar, Nisibin, al-Khabur, al-Raqqa, and Saruj (171). Thus, Saladin fulfilled his ambition to become master of Aleppo and turned his attention again to Mosul. After surviving military assaults in April, 1185 and March, 1186, 'Izz al-Din, tired of fighting Saladin, finally made peace with him on May 3, 1186, and agreed to become his vassal (172). The next month he returned to Aleppo, and at the end of June, entered

Damascus (173). After the men of Mosul had been won over to Saladin's side, they joined in his *jihad* against the Franks.

Saladin's battles with the Franks extended from 1176 to 1187. Taking advantage of his absence from Egypt in 1176, the Byzantines, in collaboration with the Franks, sent their fleet to invade the country. But Philip, Count of Flanders, who had just arrived from Europe, refused to take part in the invasion, and the plan collapsed; after reaching Acre, the Byzantine fleet returned to Constantinople, with its leaders disheartened (174). But Philip was willing to fight the Muslims in Syria. Joined by the forces of Bohemond III, prince of Antioch, Gerard Jober, master of the Hospitallers, and a number of Knights Templar, the Franks attacked Hama and besieged Harim, from December, 1176 to April, 1177 (175). The Franks, who had previously sworn to help Gumushtegin, the governor of Harim, instead committed atrocities and pillaged the surrounding region, but they were finally induced by intimidation and bribery to leave Harim (176).

Syriac sources make clear that Saladin's aim was to challenge the Franks in the Holy Land and capture the supreme prize, Jerusalem. So, says Michael Rabo, in 1178 he left Egypt with a great army and entered "the country of Jerusalem" (i.e., Palestine, not the city), attacking it with blind zeal. Saladin killed the first Frank he met and splashed his garments with his blood, as an act of purification (177). Saladin left Egypt with lightly armed troops and, passing the fortresses of Daron and Gazza, suddenly appeared before Ascalon. His troops laid waste to the land far and wide, burning nearby cities and districts as they roamed freely; Saladin gathered the captives and had them beheaded. Baldwin IV raised an army to fight him, accompanied by the Templars and Reginald of Chatiilon (178). The Franks fell upon the Muslims as they were crossing a river near Tall al-Safiya and defeated them, but Saladin vowed to return and conquer them (179). Boosted by the victory, the Franks attacked Hama and Shayzar in the summer of 1178, killing, plundering, and taking captives. Intent on strengthening their position and guarding against future Muslim attacks, they began to build a city on the banks of the Jordan at Jacob's Ford, known in Islamic sources as Hisn Bayt al-Ahzan (The Fortress of Sorrows) or [276] Makhadat Bayt al-Ahzan (The Ford of the House of Sorrows) (180). On June 10, 1179, they engaged Saladin in battle at Tall al-Qadi, on the plain of Marj 'Uyun. They were badly defeated, and many of their leaders were captured; King Baldwin IV barely escaped with his life (181). Among the captives was Eudes (Odo) of St. Amand, whom William of Tyre blames for the Franks' defeat. They were further frustrated when Saladin stormed the castle of Bayt al-Ahzan and occupied it on August 30, 1179 (182). Confident of his strength, Saladin began attacking the Franks even more violently. On October 13, 1179, the Egyptian fleet attacked Acre, which Saladin's secretary al-Qadl al-Fadil called "the C6nstantinople of the Franks" (183). Saladin's army ravaged the areas of Sidon, Beirut, and Tyre, and, in April 1180, Izz al-Din, the governor of Ba'albak, attacked the district of Safad (184). The Franks found shelter only behind the walls of their towns and castles, and Baldwin IV was forced to sue for peace in the spring of 1180 (185).

By 1183, Saladin was in an ideal position to attack the Franks again. He controlled Damascus, Aleppo, and Egypt, with their enormous wealth. He had the solid support of the 'Abbasid caliph in Baghdad; Kilij Arslan II, the Seljuk Sultan of Rum, courted his favor, and he was at peace with the Byzantine emperor. In short, he faced no external danger except from the Franks. The Kingdom of Jerusalem was rent by political struggles between the court and the barons. Baldwin IV, suffering from leprosy, could no longer govern. He convened a council and appointed his sister's husband, Guy of Lusignan, as regent. He kept Jerusalem and the title of king, while Guy became chief administrator of the rest of the realm. But in November, 1183, Baldwin removed Guy from his position and from the line of succession to the throne, and had his five-year-old son crowned as Baldwin V. Early in 1184, Baldwin IV named Raymond III of Tripoli as his son's guardian (186). The situation was complicated by the deaths of Baldwin IV in March, 1185 and Baldwin V in August, 1186, which precipitated the inevitable conflict between Raymond and Joscelin III of Courtenay, the Count of Edessa. Joscelin tricked Raymond into going to Tiberias, ostensibly to invite the dignitaries of the kingdom to meet far from Jerusalem and determine the succession to the throne. But in his absence, Heraclius, the Latin patriarch of Jerusalem,

acting behind closed doors, crowned Guy of Lusignan as King of Jerusalem. Many Frankish barons opposed Guy, however, and the struggle over succession created a rancorous rift among the Franks' leaders, weakening them and making them easy prey for Saladin (187).

Saladin had vowed to spend the rest of his life fighting the enemies of God, i.e., the Christian Franks. In 1185, when he fell ill at Zemmar while on his way to attack Mosul, he said that if God healed him, he would destroy the enemies of Islam. Plainly, he was prepared to march on Jerusalem to recapture [277] and purify the Aqsa mosque, Islam's most revered site after Mecca and Medina. His secretary al-Qadi al-Fadil wrote, "The swords of *jihad* are rattling in their scabbards, the horses of Allah are calling the men to mount and be ready to march. The Aqsa Mosque expresses its patience, having been so long deprived of the Qur'an, and waits to be purified from the abomination of the crosses which have controlled it " (188).

In the summer of 1187, both sides moved their forces to Palestine. The Franks camped at the fountain of Saffuriyya, a mile from Nazareth, to assure themselves of an abundant water supply (189). After resting at Ashtara, Saladin crossed the Jordan to Khisfin, stayed at al-Uqhuwana for five days, then moved closer to the lake, camping at Sennabra. Finally, he moved to Kafr Sabt, where he had plenty of water and easy access to Lake Tiberias (190). There he also had the advantage of controlling the road from Saffuriyya to Tiberias, and thus could threaten the Franks at both locations (191). His forces were estimated at 20,000 men, including regulars and auxiliaries; the Franks may have had a similar number. One Latin source says the Franks had assembled twelve hundred knights, several hundred mounted bowmen armed in the Muslim fashion, and 18,000 footmen (192). Raymond III, who had hoped to succeed to the throne of Jerusalem, cast his lot with Saladin. When the Franks saw the determined appearance of the Muslim troops, their patriarch and a number of priests, monks, and knights came to criticize Raymond. They accused him of having converted to Islam and said he must have forgotten that the Muslims had massacred many Christians and captured others. The Patriarch threatened him with excommunication and the annulment of his marriage. Seeing that the Franks were serious in their condemnation, Raymond repented and accompanied the delegation to meet with Guy of Lusignan, and peace was restored between them (193). (No Muslim source states explicitly that Raymond converted to Islam. It is doubtful that he even considered doing so, for there was nothing to gain, and there is no evidence that he participated in or facilitated any military action against his own people.) Nevertheless, he had "committed an act of treason at the most unpropitious moment possible" (194). Meanwhile, Saladin sat still. He was eager to see the Franks leave Saffuriyya to fight him. He had set a trap, and the Franks soon fell into it (195).

The King held a council at Saffuriyya and asked Raymond for advice, since Tiberias was his city and his family was shut up in its citadel. Raymond suggested that the Franks let Tiberias fall if he could not persuade the Muslims to fall back. He knew that his wife and children and the small garrison in the citadel could not resist. Their only chance for survival was to embark in boats on the lake and hope the Franks could rescue them. He warned that between the Franks' camp and Tiberias, there was no water, except the little spring of [278] Cresson, and if they went to the rescue of the city, the Muslims would harass them and detain them between Saffuriyya, and Tiberias. Most important, the enemy would deprive them of food and water, and so would eventually defeat them. Raymond argued that the Franks should encamp in front of Acre, near their strongholds (196). But Gerard, the leader of the Knights Templar, urged the King to leave Saffuriyya and attack Saladin at Tiberias. The King accepted this idea; for he both feared and liked Gerard, who had helped to make him king and had given him the treasure of the king of England (197).

Leaving Saffuriyya was a fatal blunder. After moving barely ten miles, the Franks were harassed on every side by Muslim troops. Thirsty and fatigued, they could advance no more. The King and Raymond chose to spend the night of Friday, July 3, on a plateau, far from the enemy (198). For them it was a frightful night, for no man or beast had water. Some sources report that Saladin told his men to pour water on the ground within sight of the Christians, to spite them (199). While the Franks spent the night in agony and despair, the Muslims, confident of victory, shouted, "Allah Akbar!" (God is the Greatest!) (200). Some Franks dashed to reach the water but were

annihilated by the Muslims. To intensify the Franks' agony, the Muslims set fire to the brush covering the plateau, and the wind blew the smoke into the Frankish camp. All night long the two armies faced each other, neither sleeping nor fighting (201). At daybreak on Saturday, the Franks had to choose whether to die of thirst or throw what little strength they had into battle. According to Arab sources, when the Franks attacked in an effort to reach Lake Tiberias, Saladin blocked them and went around arousing his men. The Muslims hunted the Christians down with their lances and killed many, but some of the Franks chose to surrender rather than meet death (202). Bar Hebraeus says that when the Franks realized in the night of July 3 that they had no source of water, they were all the more stirred for battle. By daybreak, when the Muslims saw the Franks bustling about and not retreating, they were struck with fear, and Saladin went around offering "honey and gall—that is to say, words of encouragement and threats" (203). Weary and thirsty, the Franks found their will waning. The Templars and the Hospitallers in the rear sent word that they could no longer march or fight. On Saturday, July 4, 1187, the Franks lost the battle of Hittin to Saladin. Only a few escaped, among them Raymond of Tripoli, who may have had no other option on that dark day (204).

The Franks' loss may be attributed partly to their leaving Saffuriyya or to their thirst, but the chief reason was their internal strife. The Anonymous Eclessan observes that the Franks were defeated "because of their bad behavior," meaning that they suffered from dissension (203). Michael Rabo says that the Franks lost because God had deserted them (206). King Guy was captured, along with Reginald of Chatillon, whom Ibn al-Athir called "a devil [279] and demon of the Franks, and the greatest enemy of the Muslims" (207). Saladin spared Guy of Lusignan, saying that kings do not kill kings, but he had vowed to kill Reginald because he had plundered Muslim caravans and blasphemed against Muhammad. To do so, he had to (and did) circumvent the Muslim code of honor and chivalry. A Latin source says that after Reginald was beheaded, Saladin "took some of his blood and sprinkled it on his own head to symbolize that he had taken vengeance" (208). Michael Rabo writes, "Saladin had the elder Arnat (Reginald) and three hundred [Templars and Hospitallers] killed, and washed himself with their blood" (209).

After Hittin, Saladin's forces went through Caesarea, Jaffa, Samaria, and Nazareth, killing, looting, and taking captives. On September 20, 1187, Saladin laid siege against Jerusalem; on October 2, Balian of Ibelin, at the urging of Patriarch Heraclius, accepted his terms of surrender (210). After long negotations, Saladin agreed that the city's inhabitants could leave after paying a specified sum. Those who could pay were released; the rest remained captive. Michael Rabo says Saladin freed 20,000 men and women, including 4,000 old people; he kept 5,000 men to serve his forces and sent 50,000 to Egypt to build city walls. He left another 5,000 men in Jerusalem to rebuild the city walls, the Temple of Solomon, and the Aqsa Mosque, which the Muslims sanctified in accordance with their religious laws. They forbade Christians from entering the mosque and closed down the Church of the Resurrection and other churches (211). One Latin source calls Saladin's treatment of the men and women of Jerusalem magnanimous and says that he let them leave the city with impunity (212). But the Anonymous Edessan, a trustworthy eyewitness to the events in Jerusalem when Saladin occupied the city, gives a very different account:

> I, the wretched and unfortunate, was then in Jerusalem, I saw with my own eyes the havoc, abominations, and ignominious acts of the Muslims which my tongue cannot describe or express. The Muslims sold the church vessels in the city's markets. They converted the churches and temples to stables, theaters of entertainment and brothels. They savagely perpetrated reprehensible actions against the monks and chaste nuns and other women. They took young men and women as captives and sold them in faroff countries. They denuded the churches not only of their ornaments, but also of wood and iron objects, and ripped off the doors and marble tiles that covered the walls and floors. They removed all these to faraway countries. However, they mercifully spared the Church of the Resurrection. They set up guards in it, not out of respect for its sanctity, but because of their greedy desire to lay hands on the gifts the people brought upon visiting it. The Muslims imposed a ten-

dinar entrance fee on every Christian who entered or worshipped at the Sepulcher of the Savior (213).

[280] The defeat of the Franks at Hittin was the end of the kingdom of Jerusalem, but the Muslims' battles with the Franks were not over. Saladin attacked the port of Tyre, but met with firm resistance led by Conrad of Monteferrat, who had just come to the East to make the pilgrimage to Jerusalem. After failing to take the city, Saladin departed to attack Beirut, Sidon, and Jubayl, and took control of other parts of Syria (including Lebanon) (214). He laid siege to Acre from August, 1189 to July, 1191, but failed to capture the city due to the sheer number of Frankish defenders. Michael Rabo says that at this time the German King Frederick Barbarossa went to help the Christians of the East. He marched through the Byzantine country and occupied Iconium, but drowned after reaching Cilicia (215). He adds that the forces of two kings, Richard (the Lion-Hearted) and Philip II (Augustus), attacked Acre and took it by storm in a ferocious battle early in July 1191. The Muslims gave up hope of capturing the city and proceeded to annihilate its Christian inhabitants. The Franks had intended to hand over to Saladin the Muslims still in the city, supposedly in exchange for the Franks still held by the. Muslims in Damascus, but instead their king ordered all the Muslim captives killed at the gate of Acre. The Anonymous Edessan says 20,000 men were killed on that day; the bodies were piled up and burned at the gate (216).

The loss of Acre hurt Saladin. Enraged, he demolished the city of Jaffa and the walls of Ascalon to prevent the Franks from occupying them. Savoring their decisive victory, the Franks occupied Caesarea and rebuilt both cities, then made Henri of Champagne the governor of Acre and withdrew to their own territory, while Saladin rebuilt the walls of Jerusalem, stronger than before (217). Saladin still hoped to drive the Franks from the Holy Land, for they seemed intent on recapturing Jerusalem. They were strong enough to seize Darum and attack Muslim caravans en route to Palestine and were anxious to advance on Jerusalem too, but King Richard of England dissuaded them, saying that the Muslims had destroyed all the water sources near the city (218). Still fearing that the Franks might attack Egypt, Saladin reached a peace agreement in 1192 (219). Under its terms, the Franks were to keep Joppa and its suburbs, Caesarea, Arsuf, Haifa, Akka, Antioch, and Tripoli. Saladin also provided enough gold to rebuild the walls of Ascalon and agreed to open the road to Jerusalem for those Franks wishing to perform the pilgrimage. He then went to Beirut to meet with Bohemond III. Saladin received him warmly and offered him gifts, including half the revenue of the province of Antioch. From there, he went to Damascus and was received with great joy; so, Ibn al-Athir says, "The enemy departed the land of Islam" (220).

The year 1193, when Saladin died in Damascus, marks the real end of the struggle between the Franks and the Muslims over possession of Jerusalem (221). From then on, the Franks struggled to keep what possessions they had, but [281] their power waned. Jerusalem, the jewel of the Latin kingdom, was lost. Frederick II, who began a Crusade in 1227, gained control of Jerusalem in 1229 in a treaty with al-Malik al-Kamil (222). But in 1244, the city was restored to Islam by a contingent of Khwarizm Turks fleeing Chingiz Khan, at the invitation of al-Malik al-Salih Najm al-Din Ayyub (223). Michael Rabo and the Anonymous Edessan end their chronicles shortly after the death of Saladin. Bar Hebraeus takes his chronicle further, but mentions only a few events relating to the Crusades. He describes the battle of al-Mansura, where the Franks were defeated and King Louis IX, whom he calls "Ridafrance" (i.e., "Roi de France"), was taken prisoner along with his nobles (224). By the middle of the thirteenth century, the Crusades had lost their appeal. Although the Franks held power over towns and fortresses in Syria for a century after the death of Saladin, the Muslims were gaining the upper hand. The Mamluks of Egypt dealt the death blow to the Franks' power in the East, destroying their fortresses one by one. With the destruction of the Templar castle of Athlit (Castrum Peregrinorum) in August, 1291, the dramatic saga of the Crusades in Syria ended (225).

Footnotes

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by Matti Moosa

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1. William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, translated and annotated by Emily Atwater Babcock and A. C. Krey (New York, 1943).

2. First published by Edward Pococke (Oxford, 1663), it was edited by Rev. Anton Salhani (Beirut, 1890), reprinted in 1958. Those responsible for the reprint apparently tampered with the text by deleting the account of the Arabs' burning of the Library of Alexandria.

3- Ishaq Armala, *al-Hurub al-Salibiyya fi al-Athar al-Suryaniyya* (Beirut, 1929).

4. On the biography and writings of Michael Rabo, see Aphram Barsoum, *Kitab al-Lulu al-Manthur fi Tarikh al-Ulum wa al-Adab al-Suryaniyya*, 2nd ed. (Aleppo, 1956), 489-493. This work, published in Hims (1943), was translated by Matti Moosa under the title *The History of Syriac Literature and Sciences* (Pueblo, Colorado, 2000). Chabot's use of the term *Syrien* is an interpolation; the manuscript is titled *Ktbobo d'Makthabanuth Zabne d'Seem I'Mor Mikha'il Rabo Phatriarcho [The Book of the Chronicle Written by Mar Mikha'il the Great, the Patriarch]*. See the Arabic translation by Bishop Gregorius Saliba Shamoun, with an introduction by Gregorius Yuhanna Ibrahim, Metropolitan of Aleppo, under the title *Tarikh Mar Mikhail al-Suryani al-Kabir* (Aleppo, 1996),

5. Michael Rabo, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, 3 (Paris, 1905), 544-545, 627, 631-633, 651-653. Unless otherwise noted, all references here are to the Syriac text.

6. Michael Rabo, 603.

7. Ara Edmond Dostourian, trans., *Armenia and the Crusades: The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa* (Lanham, New York; London, 1993), cited hereafter as Matthew of Edessa.

8. Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 2 (New York, 1965), 484.

9. Michael Rabo, 640.

10. Barsoum, 500.

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11. See J. B. Chabot, ed., *Anonymi Auctoris Chronicon ad Annum Christi Pertinens*, in *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*, 15 (Louvain, 1916), 5, and Barsoum, 500-501. The section on the Crusades, translated by A. S. Tritton and annotated by H. A. R. Gibb, was published as "The First and Second Crusades from an Anonymous Syrian Chronicle," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1 (1933), 69-101, and 2:273-305. Rev. Albert Abouna offers an Arabic translation, enriched with copious and useful footnotes, in *Tarikh al-Ruhawi al-Majhul*, vol. 2 (Baghdad, 1986). Suhayl Zakkar presents a partial Arabic translation in *al-Hurub al-Salibiyya*, 2 (Damascus, 1984), 453-531, but does not identify the text from which the translation was made; it is not clear that he knew Syriac.

12. Trans. E. A. Wallis Budge and published in two volumes (Oxford, 1932). Volume I contains the English translation and volume II the Syriac text, based on the Syriac MS in the Bodleian Library, Huntington no. 52, cited throughout here. In a prefatory note, Budge says he made his translation from another manuscript, written in Nestorian script and edited by Rev. Paul Bedjan. Thus, his references to the Syriac text (in parentheses in the English translation) may not coincide with the Bodleian manuscript.

13. Michael Rabo, 572-4.

14. Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 72. Unless otherwise noted, all references here are to the Syriac text.

15. Matthew of Edessa, 86-8.

16. Bar Hebraeus, 75.

17. Michael Rabo, 575, 577-79.

18. Michael Rabo, 571, 585-86, 598.

19. Michael Rabo, 559-60.

20. For a thorough analysis of this subject see Matti Moosa, *The Maronites in History* (Syracuse, 1986), 95-102.

21. The Anonymous Edessan, 311-14. Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical History*, trans, into Latin and published in two facing columns (Syriac and Latin) by Jean Baptiste Abbeloos and Thomas Josephus Lamy as *Gregorii Barhebraei Chronicon Ecclesiasticum* (Louvain, 1872). I possess a unique Arabic translation of the second part of this work, made by Patriarch Aphram Barsoum when he was a monk at the Zafaran Monastery, handwritten and unpaginated, dated 1909. References to the *Ecclesiastical History* will refer to this manuscript, which describes the debate in the biography of Michael Rabo.

22. See A. A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, 1 (Madison, 1964), 355.

23. Rene Grousset, *L'Empire du Levant: histoire de la question d'Orient* (Paris, 1949), 119.

24. Michael Rabo, 586.

25. Bar Hebraeus, 82.

26. Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh*, in *Receuil des Historiens des Crusades*, 1 (Paris, 1872), 189-190.

27. The Anonymous Edessan, 55-6.

28. Michael Rabo, 587.

29. Kamal al-Din ibn al-Adim, *Bughyat al-Talab fi Tarikh Halab*, ed. Suhayl Zakkar (Beirut, 1972), 125-6.

30. Michael Rabo, 587.

31. The Anonymous Edessan, 49; Matthew of Edessa, 293, n. 3. Michael Rabo, 587, also says the Franks seized Antioch through the treachery of two Armenian brothers. Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh*, 1:192, says a person called Baruzyeh conspired with the Franks and led them into the city; Bar Hebraeus identifies him as Ruzbah, a Persian, perhaps the same as Pirus (Firuz) mentioned in Latin sources.

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32. See *Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, trans. Rosalind Hill as *The Deeds of the Franks and Other Pilgrims to Jerusalem* (New York, 1962), 44-8, with Arabic translation by Hasan Habashi, *A'mal al-Firnajwas Hujjaj Bayt al-Maqdis* (Cairo, 1970), 66-70; Fulcher of Chartres, *Fulcheri Carnotensi Historia Hierosolymitana*, partly trans. Martha Evelyn McGinty as *Chronicle of the First Crusade* (London, 1941), 66-7; Frances Rita Ryan, trans., *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem, 1095-1127* (Knoxville, 1969), 98, n. 1, lists other sources of information on Firuz.

33. Michael Rabo, 587; Bar Hebraeus, 82; the Anonymous Edessan, 59; Matthew of Edessa, 171; Runciman, "The Holy Lance Found at Antioch," *Analecta Bollandiana* (Brussels, 1950), 197-209. A number of Latin and Arabic sources also mention and elaborate on the discovery of the lance.

34. Michael Rabo, 589-690, 606-607.

35. On the dispute between the Latin patriarchs of Jerusalem and Antioch, see Reinhold Röhricht, *Geschichte des Konigsreiche Jerusalem 1100-1291* (Innsbruck, 1898), 184.

36. Sir Hamilton A. R. Gibb, "The Caliphate and the Arab States," in Marshall W. Baldwin, ed., *A History of the Crusades* (Madison, 1969), 1:94-98.

37. Michael Rabo, 587.

38. Usama ibn Munqidh, *Kitdb al-I'tibar*, trans. Philip Hitti under the title *An Arab Syrian Gentleman and Warrior in the Period of the Crusades: Memoirs of Usamah Ibn Munqidh* (New York, 1929), introduction, 5.

39. Bar Hebraeus, 82.

40. The Anonymous Edessan, 60-61.

41. Michael Rabo, 606-07; William of Tyre, 1:458-459.

42. Albert of Aix, 4:352; Fulcher of Chartres, 40; William of Tyre, 1:191; Matthew of Edessa, 168; Runciman, 2:204-205, and "The First Crusades: Constantinople to Antioch," in Baldwin, ed., *A History*, 1:303; Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades*, 1:55; Chalandon, *Histoire de la Premiere Croisade*, 175; J. B. Segal, *Edessa the Blessed City* (Oxford, 1970), 229.

43. Grousset, *L'Empire du Levant*, 298.

44. Michael Rabo, 593; the Anonymous Edessan, 70; Matthew of Edessa, 197.

45. Abu Ya'la Hamza Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tdrikh Dimashq*, ed. H. Amedroz (Beirut, 1908), 148, trans, by H. A. R. Gibb as *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades* (London, 1932), 69; Kamal al-Din Ibn al-Adim, *Zubdat al-Halab*, 2:150.

46. Matthew of Edessa, 197-198; W. B. Stevenson, *The Crusaders in the East* (Cambridge, 1907), 83, accepts this evidence.

47. Bar Hebraeus, 85; Michael Rabo, 592; the Anonymous Edessan, 71-72.

48. Ibn al-Athir, 1:262-263; Bar Hebraeus, 85, gives the same account.

49. William of Tyre, 2:34-35.

50. Ibn al-Athir, 1:262-263; Runciman, 2:112. Bar Hebraeus, 85, says it was Tancred who sent Jawli 100 Muslim prisoners, men and women, from the country of Aleppo.

51. Ibn al-Athir, 1:262-263; Matthew of Edessa, 192.

52. Matthew of Edessa, 201; Albert of Aix, 4:649; Runciman, 2:112-114.

53. Ibn al-Adim, *Zubdat al-Halab*, 2:153.

54. Matthew of Edessa, 201-202.

55. R. Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades*, 1:443.

56. The Anonymous Edessan, 75-79- Matthew of Edessa, 209-211.

57. Michael Rabo, 594-95; Grousset, 1:473.

58. Matthew of Edessa, 209-211.

59- The Anonymous Edessan, 75-79.

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60. Matthew of Edessa, 212.

61. Matthew of Edessa, 213; Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades*, 1:491, and *L'Empire du Levant*, 299; Zoe Oldenburg, *The Crusades*, 262.

62. Michael Rabo, 595.

63. Ibn al-Athir, 1:29.

64. Matthew of Edessa, 219-220.

65. The Anonymous Edessan, 150.

66. Michael Rabo, 595; Bar Hebraeus, 86-87.

67. Michael Rabo, 595; Bar Hebraeus, 86; Matthew of Edessa, 219-220.

68. The Anonymous Edessan, 80, 83; Matthew of Edessa, 225. See Fink, "The Foundation of the Latin States," 1:405, and Said 'Abd al-Fattah 'Ashur, *al-Haraka al-Salibiyya*, 1 (Cairo, 1963), 474.

69. Matthew of Edessa, 225.

70. Michael Rabo, 600; the Anonymous Edessan, 90-92; Matthew of Edessa, 229-230.

71. R. Grousset, *L'Empire du Levant*, 300.

72. The Anonymous Edessan, 103; Michael Rabo, 613.

73. William of Tyre, 2:51-53; Runciman, 2:193, follows William of Tyre.

74. Ibn al-Adim, *Bughyat al-Talab fi Tarikh Halab*, 1:321.

75. On 'Imad al-Din's capture of Edessa, see Michael Rabo, 638; the Anonymous Edessan, 118-136; Bar Hebraeus, 94-95; Gregory the Priest, *The Continuation of Matthew of Edessa*, in Matthew of Edessa, 243-244; Saint Nerses Schnorhali, *Elegie sur la prise d'Edesse*, in *R.H.C. Or.*, Documents Armeniens, ed. E. Dulaurier, 1 (Paris, 1869), 226-268, also translated into Arabic in 'Aliyya 'Abd al-Sami al-Janzuri, *Imarat al-Ruha al-Salibiyya* (Cairo, 1975), 295-300, and Appendix 10, 386-395; Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, 279; William of Tyre, 2:140-143; Runciman, 2:235-236; Robert L. Nicholson, "The Growth of the Latin States, 1118-1144," in M. Baldwin, ed., *A History of the Crusades*, 1:446; Sir Hamilton A. R. Gibb, "Zengi and the Fall of Edessa," in M. Baldwin, ed., *A History*, 1:449-462; Segal, *Edessa the Blessed City*, 245-248; Said 'Abd al-Fattah 'Ashur, *al-Haraka al-Salibiyya*, 2:602-607; Ibn Wasil, *Mufarrij al-Kurub fi Akhbdr Bani Ayyub*, ed. Jamal al-Din al-Shayyal, 1 (Cairo, 1953), 49; Abu al-Fida, *al-Mukhtasar fi Akhbar al-Bashar*, in *R.H.C.*, 3 (Paris, 1872), 26; Yusuf al-Dibs, *Kitab Tarikh Suriyya*, 6 (Beirut, 1900), 67.

76. Said 'Ashur, *al-Haraka al-Salibiyya*, 2:608-609, and Hasan Habashi, *Nur al-Din wa al-Salibiyyun* (Cairo, 1948), 37.

77. The Anonymous Edessan, 137; Michael Rabo, 634 says Zangi was drunk and was killed on Sunday, September 15, 1146, Bar Hebraeus, 96; Ibn al-Athir, 1:453; Gregory the Priest, *The Continuation*, 244; Runciman, 2:239-240.

78. The Anonymous Edessan, 138.

79. Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil*, 1:457, and *al-Tarikh al-Bahir fi al-Dawla al-Atabegiyya*, ed. 'Abd al-Qadir Ahmad Tulaymat (Cairo, 1963), 86; Ibn al-Adim, 2:290, seems to follow al-Athir. William of Tyre, 2:158.

80. Gregory the Priest, 244-257; Michael Rabo, 637; the Anonymous Edessan, 138-148; Hasan Habashi, Nur al-Din, 74-76; al-Janzuri, *Imarat al-Ruha al-Salibiyya*, 359-371.

81. Michael Rabo, 642-643; the Anonymous Edessan, 152-153. On the monastery's treasures, see Rev. Bulus Behnam, "Dayr Mar Barsoum Qurb Malatiya" (The Monastery of Mar Barsourn near Melitene), *Lisan al-Mashriq*, 4-6 (Mosul, 1951): 153-208; and Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical History*, the biography of Michael Rabo.

82. Michael Rabo, 602.

83. Michael Rabo, 643-644. See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 97-98.

84. Michael Rabo, 725-727; the Anonymous Edessan, 187.

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85. Odo of Deuil, *De Profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem*, trans. Virginia Gingerick Berry as *The Journey of Louis VII to the East* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1948), 7.

86. See Virginia G. Berry, "The Second Crusade," in Baldwin, ed., *A History*, 1:463-512.

87. Charles Oman, *A History of the Art of War in the Middle Ages*, 1 (New York, 1924), 260-261; Röhricht, *Geschichte des Königsreichs Jerusalem 1100-1291*, 244-258; Habashi, *Nur al-Din*, 50-72.

88. Berry, "The Second Crusade," 1:490; Michael Rabo, 638.

89. Michael Rabo, 638; the Anonymous Edessan, 148; Bar Hebraeus, 97.

90. W. B. Stevenson, *The Crusaders in the East*, 158-160. G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State* (Oxford, 1956), 339; and Grousset, 2:227-228.

91. Michael Rabo, 641.

92. Ibn al-Qalanisi, 302-303. The name Yaghra appears in different forms and may indicate Bosra, as some writers assume. See Röhricht, *Geschichte*, 259, note 2, and Stevenson, 165, note 3.

93. Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamilfi al-Tarikh*, 1:471; Ibn al-Adim, *Zubdat al-Halab*, 2:292; Ibn Wasil, *Mufarrij al-Kurub fi Akhbar bani Ayyub*, ed. Jamal al-Din al-Shayyal, 1 (Cairo, 1953), 114-115.

94. Michael Rabo, 645; Bar Hebraeus, 275 of the English translation; the Anonymous Edessan, 153-154. Cf. Hamilton A. R. Gibb, "The Career of Nur al-Din," in Baldwin, ed., *A History*, 1:515.

95. Al-Qalanisi, 304.

96. Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil*, 1:476, and *al-Tarikh al-Bahir*, 98-99; Ibn Wasil, *Mufarrij al-Kurub*, 1:120.

97. Michael Rabo, 646; Bar Hebraeus, 97; the Anonymous Edessan, 154-155; al-Qalanisi, 305; al-Athir, *al-Kamil*, 1:476; Wasil, *Mufarrij*, 1:121; William of Tyre, 2:198; Marshall W. Baldwin, "The Latin States under Baldwin III and Amalric I," in Baldwin, ed., *A History*, 1:533; Gibb, "The Career of Nur al-Din," in *A History*, 1:515-516.

98. Michael Rabo, 647; al-Qalanisi, 305.

99. Michael Rabo, 649; Bar Hebraeus, 98; the Anonymous Edessan, 154-55.

100. Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil*, 1:480-481, *al-Tarikh al-Bahir*, 101-103: Ibn Wasil, 1:123.

101. Ibn al-Athir, *al-Tarikh al-Bahir*, 162-175, and *al-Kamil*, 1:602-606.

102. Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil*, 1:588-589, and *al-Tarikh*, 169; Ibn Wasil, *Mujarrif*, 1:235. On Malih, see Michael Rabo, 695-696, 710-711; Bar Hebraeus, 105; the Anonymous Edessan, 176-177; and William of Tyre, 2:386-

387.

103. William of Tyre, 2:394.

104. The Anonymous Edessan, 169.

105. Michael Rabo, 705-706; the Anonymous Edessan, 168.

106. Patriarch Ignatius Yaqub III, *Dafaqat al-Tib fi Tarikh Dayr al-Qiddis Mar Matta al-Ajib* (Zahla, Lebanon, 1961), 88.

107. Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 371, 374-375, and *Tarikh Mukhtasar*, 229-232, 282-284; Ignatius Yaqub III, *Dafaqat al-Tib*, 94, 96.

108. Michael Rabo, 712; the Anonymous Edessan, 187.

109. Bar Hebraeus, 99.

110. Baha' al-Din, *al-Nawadir al-Sultaniyya wa al-Mahasin al-Yusufiyya*, in *R.H.C. Or.* 3 (Paris, 1884), 4. This work was later edited by Jamal al-Din al-Shayyal (Cairo, 1964).

111. Baha' al-Din, *al-Nawadir*, 3:18-20, 26-27, 36-37, 40-41, 386.

112. Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3:77.

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113. Runciman, 3:78. For more on Saladin's achievements, see Stanley Lane-Poole, *Saladin and the Fall of the Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Beirut, 1964), 370-401.

114. Ibn Shaddad, *al-Nawadir*, 3:8, 18; Bar Hebraeus, *Tarikh Mukhtasar*, 223, says that Saladin died leaving in his treasury only one Tyrean dinar and forty Nasirite dirhams; in *Chronography*, 121, he gives the total as one dinar and thirty-six coins.

115. Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 121.

116. *Ibid.*

117. W. B. Stevenson, *The Crusaders in the East*, 206-208.

118. Ibn Shaddad, *al-Nawadir al-Sultaniyya*, 3:48.

119- *Ibid.*, 3:6; see Bar Hebraeus, *Tarikh Mukhtasar*, 212-213, and *Chronography*, 102.

120. Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh*, 1:561-562; Bar Hebraeus, *ibid.*

121. Ibn Shaddad, *al-Nawadir*, 3:42-44, Ibn al-Athir, 1:532-535; the Anonymous Edessan, 164-165; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 102.

122. Ibn Shaddad, *al-Nawadir*, 3:46; William of Tyre, 2:344-359, gives a detailed account of this expedition.

123. See Yahya ibn Abi Tayy, *al-Sira al-Salahiyya*, in Abu Shama, *Kitab al-Rawdatayn fi Akhbar al-Dawlatayn*, 1 (Cairo, 1870), 172. Abu Shama, 1:142-174, offers us the most detailed account of Asad al-Din Shirkuh in Egypt, derived from several Muslim sources, including Ibn Shaddad and Ibn al-Athir as well as Ibn Abi Tayy.

124. The Anonymous Edessan, 166-167.

125. *Ibid.*, 167.

126. Ibn Athir, *al-Tarikh al-Bahir*, 141-142; Ibn Wasil, *Mufarrij al-Kurub*, 1:168-170; Ibn Abi Tayy, in Abu Shama, *Kitab al-Rawdatayn*, 1:173; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 106, and *Tarikh Mukhtasar*, 215. For a thorough account of Saladin in Egypt, see Yaacov Lev, *Saladin in Egypt* (Leiden, 1998).

127. Ibn al-Athir, *al-Tarikh*, 124; Ibn Wasil, *Mufarrij al-Kurub*, 1:168-169.

128. Ibn Shaddad, *al-Nawadir*, 3:48; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 104; the Anonymous Edessan, 167; Ibn Wasil, 1:162-163; Ibn al-Athir, 140-141.

129. On this conflict, see Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil*, 1:134, and *al-Tarikh*, 158-159; Bar Hebraeus, 106-107; and Ibn Wasil, *Mufarrij*, 1:171.

130. Bar Hebraeus, 107.

131. Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil*, 1:578-581, and *al-Tarikh*, 156-157; Bar Hebraeus, 106; Ibn Wasil, 1:200-201; William of Tyre, 2:359.

132. Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil*, 1:580-581.

133. Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 106.

134. The Anonymous Edessan, 167, 173; William of Tyre, 2:359.

135. Ibn al-Athir, *al-Tarikh al-Bahir*, 157.

136. The Anonymous Edessan, 173.

137. *Ibid.*, 170, says he was twenty; see Said 'Abd Allah 'Ashur, *al-Haraka al-Salibiyya*, 2:738.

138. Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 107.

139. Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh*, 1:607-608, and *al-Tarikh al-Bahir*, 162.

140. Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh*, I:6l5-6l6.

141. Ibn Shaddad, *al-Nawadir al-Sultaniyya*, 3:59.

142. Michael Rabo, 712.

143. *Ibid.*, 713. Chabot translates this passage as "a dog that barks against his master." The Syriac verb used here means "to attack," not "to bark." H. A. R. Gibb, "The Achievement of Saladin," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 33 (Manchester, 1952), 1:44-60, quotes the same passage from the French translation.

144. Bar Hebraeus, 107.

145. The Anonymous Edessan, 179; Bar Hebraeus, 108; Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh*, 1:618-619; Ibn Wasil, *Mufarrij al-Kurub*, 2:24; Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, 138-139; Stevenson, 209-210; R. Röhricht, *Geschichte*, 365-367; Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades*, 2:620-621.

146. William of Tyre, 2:405.

147. Al-'Imad al-Isfahani, in Abu Shama, 1:258; Ibn Wasil, 2:24; Ibn al-Athir, 1:618-619.

148. Ibn Wasil, *Mufarrij al-Kurub*, 2:32.

149. Michael Rabo, 712-713; Ibn Shaddad, *al-Nawadir*, 3:59-62; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 107; the Anonymous Edessan, 179.

150. Ibn al-Athir, al-Kamil, 1:621-622; Ibn Wasil, *Mufarrij al-Kurub*, 2:32.

151. Bar Hebraeus, 108; Ibn Shaddad, 3:59-60; Ibn al-Athir, 1:621-622, says the Caliph's gifts reached Saladin through an envoy; Ibn Wasil, 2:33-34.

152. Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, 142; Stevenson, *The Crusaders*, 210; Röhricht, *Geschichte*, 365-366.

153. Michael Rabo, 712-713; the Anonymous Edessan, 178-180; Bar Hebraeus, 108-109; Ibn Shaddad, *al-Nawadir*, 3:60-62; Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil*, 1:622-623; Ibn Wasil, *Mufarrij*, 2:38-42.

154. Bar Hebraeus, 109; Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil*, 1:622-623; Ibn Wasil, 2:46; Yahya ibn Abl Tayy, in Abu Shama, *Kitab al-Rawdatayn*, 1:261.

155. 'Imad al-Din al-Isfahani, in Abu Shama, 1:263, 2:66.

156. Anonymous, *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, trans. Helen J. Nicholson as *Chronicle of the Third Crusade* (Aldershot, 1997), 28.

157. Ibn al-Athir, 1:623-624; Ibn Wasil, 2:44-45; Ibn Shaddad, 3:62.

158. Ibn Wasil, 2:48; Ibn al-Athir, 1:626.

159. Al-Isfahani, in Abu Shama, 2:240.

160. Ibn al-Athir, 1:619-620.

161. Michael Rabo, 612; Bar. Hebraeus, 108; G. Schlumberger, *Renaud de Chatillon* (Paris, 1898), 144.

162. Michael Rabo, 613.

163. William of Tyre, 2:412-413; Marshall Withed Baldwin, *Raymond III of Tripolis and the Fall of Jerusalem, 1140-1187* (Princeton, 1936), 30.

164. Ibn al-Athir, 1:620.

165. Ibn Wasil, *Mufarrij*, 2:115.

166. Al-'Imad al-Isfahani, in Abu Shama, 2:32-33; Ibn Wasil, 2:119; Ibn al-Athir, 1:656.

167. Ibn Shaddad, 3:69-70.

168. Bar Hebraeus, 111; Ibn al-Athir, 1:656; al-Isfahani, 2:31-33; Runciman, 2:434.

169. Bar Hebraeus, *ibid.*; Ibn al-Athir, 1:657; al-Isfahani, *ibid.*; Ibn Shaddad, 3:70; the Anonymous Edessan, 194.

170. Bar Hebraeus, 111-112; William of Tyre, 2:490; al-Isfahani, 2:42; Ibn al-Athir, 1:661; R. Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades et du Royaume Franc de Jerusalem*, 2:720.

171. Bar Hebraeus, 112; Ibn al-Athir, 1:662; al-Isfahani, 2:42, 45.

172. Bar Hebraeus, 113; al-Isfahani, 2:64-66; Ibn Wasil, 2:171-173.

173. Ibn Shaddad, 3:87.

174. William of Tyre, 2:419; Stevenson, *The Crusaders*, 216; E. J. King, *The Knights Hospitallers in the Holy Land* (London, 1931), 105.

175. Ibn al-Athir, 1:630; William of Tyre, 2:426. On the fate of Gumushtegin, governor of Harim, see Michael Rabo, 719, and the Anonymous Edessan, 189-190.

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176. Ibn al-Athir, 1:632; the Anonymous Edessan, 191; Michael Rabo, 719-720; Bar Hebraeus, 117.

177. Michael Rabo, 717-718.

178. The Anonymous Edessan, 188; Michael Rabo, 718-719; Bar Hebraeus, 109; Ibn al-Athir 1:628; William of Tyre, 2: 426-427; al-Isfahani, 1:273; Ibn Wasil, 2:59.

179. Ibn Shaddad, 3:6.3-64; al-Isfahani, 1:273; Ibn Wasil, 2:59; William of Tyre, 2:432-433; Röhricht, 377, n. 1; Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil*, 1:628-629; Ernoul, *Chronique D'Ernoul et de Bernard le Tresorier*, ed. M. L. DeMas Latrie (Paris, 1871), 43.

180. Michael Rabo, 719-720; Bar Hebraeus, 109; William of Tyre, 2:437; al-Isfahani, 2:6, 11, 13; Ibn Wasil, 2:72. The site is called Bayt al-Ahzan (the House of Sorrows) because it is believed to be the place where Jacob wept for his missing son Joseph.

181. Ibn al-Athir, 1:636; Stevenson, *The Crusaders*, 221.

182. William of Tyre, 2:443-444.

183. See al-Qadi al-Fadil's letter to the Wazir at Baghdad in Abu Shama, 2:14.

184. Stevenson, 222, n. 1.

185. William of Tyre, 2:447.

186. See Peter W. Edbury, *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade* (Aldershot, 1996), 13-14, 24-25. Edbury's work is largely a translation of *The Continuation of William of Tyre: Ambroise, The Crusades of Richard Lion-Heart*, trans. Merton Jerome Hubert (New York, 1976), 120-21. This work was previously translated into prose as *The History of the Holy War*. See Edward Noble Stone, *Three Old French Chronicles of the Crusades* (Seattle, 1939), 42.

187. William of Tyre, 2:492-493; M. W. Baldwin, "The Decline and Fall of Jerusalem, 1174-1189," in *A History of the Crusades*, 1:603-605, and *Raymond III of Tripolis*, 69-97; *L'Histoire d'Eracles*, in *R.H.C.* 3, 2:25-28; R. Grousset, 2: 766-767.

188. Letter by al-Qadi al-Fadil, in Abu Shama, 2:66.

189. William of Tyre, 2:493-494; Ernoul, 146, 158; and *L'Histoire d'Eracles*, 2:40-41, 47-48.

190. Al-Isfahani, 2:76, 81; Ibn Wasil, 2:188. On the movements of Saladin, see Benjamin Z. Kedar, "The Battle of Hattin Revisited," in Benjamin Z. Kedar, ed., *The Horns of Hattin* (Jerusalem and London, 1992), 193, and Hamilton A. R. Gibb, "The Rise of Saladin, 1169-1189," in Baldwin, ed., *A History of the Crusades*, 1:585.

191. Malcolm Cameron Lyons and D. E. P. Jackson, *Saladin: The Politics of the Holy War* (Cambridge, 1990), 256.

192. *De Expugnatione Terrae Sanctae per Saladinum Libellus*, ed. Josephus Stevenson (London, 1875), 218. There is disagreement about the numbers of forces on both sides. See Röhricht, 430, n. 5, and Stevenson, 243. Nicholson, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, 31, cites a Latin source giving the number of Muslim forces as 500,000.

193. Ibn al-Athir, 1:679-680.

194. Baldwin, *Raymond III of Tripolis*, 84, n. 25. On Raymond's treachery, see also Nicholson, 31; Ambroise, *The Crusade of Richard Lion-Heart*, 122; and Edward Noble Stone, *Three Old French Chronicles*, 42.

195. Baldwin, 109.

196. Bar Hebraeus, 114; *De Expugnatione*, 221-222; Ernoul, 159-160; *L'Histoire d'Eracles*, 49-51; Grousset, 2:791-792; Charles Oman, *A History of the Art of War in the Middle Ages*, 1 (New York, 1924), 326; Baldwin, *Raymond III*, 110-111; Runciman, 2:455; W. B. Stevenson, 244-45; Ibn al-Athir, 1:682.

197. Edbury, *The Conquest of Jerusalem*, 32; Ernoul, 161-162; *L'Histoire d'Eracles*, 52-54, and the English version by Baldwin, 11; and R. C. Smail, "The Predicaments of Guy

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of Lusignan," in B. Z. Kedar, H. E. Mayer, and R. C. Smail, eds., *Outremer: Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Jerusalem, 1982), 173.

198. Fr. Joseph Michaud, *Histoire des Croisades*, 2 (Paris, 1817-1822), 282-283.

199. *L'Histoire d'Eracles*, 63-64; Ernoul, 159-160; Baldwin, *Raymond III*, 119.

200. Al-Isfahani, 2:77; Ibn al-Athir, 1:683.

201. Bar Hebraeus, 114; Ibn Shaddad, 3:94.

202. Ibn al-Athir, 1:683-684; Ibn Shaddad, 3:95.

203. Bar Hebraeus, 115.

204. Baldwin, 134-135; the Anonymous Edessan, 199; Bar Hebraeus, 114-115; Ibn Shaddad, 3:94-95; Ibn al-Athir, 1:687; al-Isfahani, 2:79-80; R. Röhricht, 441; R. Grousset, 2:800; Edbury, 46-47; Nicholson, 25-26.

205. The Anonymous Edessan, 198.

206. Michael Rabo, 734.

207. Ibn al-Athir, 1:647.

208. Edbury, 48.

209. Michael Rabo, 734. Bar Hebraeus, 115, gives the number as 80; the Anonymous Edessan, 198, sets it at 150. Ibn al-Athir, 1:688, says Saladin executed the Templars and Hospitallers because he feared their power.

210. Edbury, 55-57; Ernoul, 174-75, 186-87, 215-24.

211. Michael Rabo, *ibid.*

212. See Edbury, 57, and Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, 232-33.

213. The Anonymous Edessan, 200-201; Armala, *al-Hurub*, 187. See Bar Hebraeus, 116.

214. Michael Rabo, 734-35; Bar Hebraeus, 327; the Anonymous Edessan, 199; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 2:471.

215. Michael Rabo, 736; the Anonymous Edessan, 199, says that Frederick drowned in a lake; Bar Hebraeus, 118, says the aged German king (Barbarossa) went to the river to swim, but since it was very cold that day, he fell ill and died, whereupon his son carried his body to Antioch.

216. The Anonymous Edessan, 202; Ambroise, *The Crusade*, 142-143. Bar Hebraeus, 119-120, sets the number of Muslims killed both in and outside Acre at 1800. On the occupation of Acre, see Ibn Shaddad, 3:238-240; al-Isfahani, 2:188; Ibn Wasil, 2:360; Röhricht, pp. 514-515, 519, 619.

217. Michael Rabo, 737; Bar Hebraeus, 121; Edbury, 1124-1126; Röhricht, 616.

218. Bar Hebraeus, 120.

219. Michael Rabo, 737, says it was for three years; Ibn al-Athir, 2:65, says three years and eight months. The Anonymous Edessan, 202, also mentions the peace agreement.

220. Ibn al-Athir, 2:68.

221. Saladin died March 3, 1193, in Damascus. See Michael Rabo, 737; Bar Hebraeus, 121, and *Tarikh Mukhtasar*, 223. The Anonymous Edessan, 202, states (unlike other Syriac sources) that Saladin died while besieging Arzun, in the district of Akhlat (Khilat). See Röhricht, 655, 657. Among the Arabic sources, see Ibn Shaddad, 3:368, and Ibn al-Athir, 2:72. Abu Shama, 2:213 and Ibn Wasil, 2:420, follow Ibn Shaddad's account.

222. Ibn al-Athir, 2:175; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 140, and *Tarikh Mukhtasar*, 244.

223. Abu al-Fida, *al-Mukhtasar fi Akhbar al-Bashar*, in *R.H.C. Or*., 1:104-105, 122.

224. Bar Hebraeus, 148, and *Tarikh Mukhtasar*, 258-259; Ibn al-Athir, 2:200-204; Abu al-Fida, 1:128; Runciman, 3:264-271; T. A. Archer and Charles L. Kingsford, *The Crusades*, 398.

225. Philip Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, 10th ed. (New York, 1970), 658.

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2 ISLAM AND CHRISTIANITY: *JIHAD* AND HOLY WAR

In order to understand the components and the objectives of the Crusades, historians should begin with the rise of Islam in the seventh century. Failing to do so yields only an inchoate and historically inadequate process with invalid conclusions. Once historians begin with the rise of Islam, all the pieces of the puzzle fall into place, and the idea of the Crusades and their implementation becomes more comprehensible. Heinrich von Sybel was perhaps the first to view the Crusades as a religious conflict, stating that they must be regarded as "one great portion of the struggle between Christianity and Muhammadanism since the seventh century."[1]

Ernest Barker observes that the peculiarity of the Crusades when they began in the eleventh century is that Latin Christianity of the West moved into the East to fight against Islam. This fight is seen as the "culmination of a long course of hostilities between Christian and Muslim in the western Mediterranean, and this is a large element in the historical background against which we must set the Crusades."[2] Barker traces the inception of the Crusades to the battle of Yarmuk in 636, when the Muslim Arab forces defeated the Byzantines in Syria, but instead of pursuing this idea to its logical end, he digresses, discussing the interaction of the Crusades and the Muslim East. It is more appropriate from a historian's point of view to begin not with Yarmuk, which signaled the emergence of a new power in the East, but with the rise of Islam. We must also recognize that the conflict between

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[1] Heinrich von Sybel, *Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzugs*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig: Friedrich Fleischer, 1881), 145. See Bernhard Kugler, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge* (Berlin: G. Grote'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1880), 3.

[2] Ernest Barker, "The Crusades," in *The Legacy of Islam*, Thomas Arnold and Alfred Guillaume, eds. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965), 42.

Christendom and Islam was not merely religious; it was motivated to a great extent by national and racial considerations. William B. Stevenson sees the Crusades as "the second stage in a long-continued and still unfinished military struggle between Christendom and Islam, between Asia and Europe, which began when the hardy tribes of Arabia swept through Syria, and north Africa into Spain in the seventh and eighth centuries."[3] Stevenson maintains that to approach the history of the crusading movement correctly, one must first survey the Muslims' attack on Western Europe, following their great military upsurge in the seventh century.[4] The Seljuk Turks, who had embraced Islam and taken control of the Abbasid caliphate in the eleventh century, and who occupied Asia Minor and established many states there, caused tremendous upheaval in Christian Europe and set the stage for the Crusaders to save Byzantium and Jerusalem from these invaders. Although the French historian Louis Bréhier did not trace the Crusades back to the rise of Islam in the seventh century, he emphasized that recognizing the threat posed by the Seljuk Turks to the West is essential to understanding the Crusades, declaring, "If one misunderstands the value of this past, it is impossible to explain the origin of the Crusades."[5]

Two distinct but similar events, one in the fifth century and the other two centuries later, led to the Crusades and dramatically altered the course of world history to this day. The first was the final victory of the Germanic tribes in 476, which ended the Roman Empire in the West; the other was the Muslim Arab invasion of the East, which eventually destroyed the Byzantine Empire. Although the Byzantines lost most of their territory to the Turks at the battle of Manzikert in 1071, they held Constantinople until 1492. While the Germanic tribes were absorbed into the civilization and the church in the West, thus becoming a source of strength for Europe and the church, the case in the East was totally different. The Muslim Arabs, who invaded the Eastern territories of the Byzantine Empire (Syria, Palestine and Egypt), spread their new religion and their language, thus Islamizing and Arabizing the people of these countries.

Henri Pirenne correctly says that "the German became Romanized as soon as he entered 'Romania', while the Roman became Arabized as soon

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[3] William B. Stevenson, "The First Crusade," in *The Cambridge Medieval History*, 5 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957), 265.

[4] Stevenson "The First Crusade," 266.

[5] Louis Bréhier, "The Recovery of the Holy Land," in *The Crusades: Motives and Achievements*, James A. Brundage, ed. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1964), 29.

as he was conquered by Islam."[6] These two invasions had a tremendous impact on the history of both East and West. The consequence was "a conflict between the church, the civilization, and the peoples of Western Christianity and the faith, the civilization, and the peoples of Islam."[7] Islam shattered the Mediterranean unity which the Germanic invasion had kept intact. The West became cut off from the East. Thus, Byzantium became the center of the Greek Empire, whose far Western outposts were Naples, Venice, Gatea, and Amalfi. Its fleet preserved communications with these cities and kept the Eastern part of the Mediterranean from becoming a Muslim lake. Pirenne calls the Germanic invasion of the Roman Empire in the west and the Muslim invasion in the east "the most essential event of European history since the Punic wars. It was the end of the classic tradition. It was the beginning of the Middle Ages, and it happened at the very moment when Europe was on the way to becoming Byzantinized."[8]

Muhammad, the Prophet of Islam, considered the domination of Islam over other religions a divine mission ordained by Allah. He wrote letters to the Byzantine Emperor Heraclius, the Persian King Yezdegird III, al-Muqawqis (Cyril), governor of Alexandria, and Neges, king of Abyssinia, inviting them to embrace Islam and "become safe," meaning they had no choice but to accept Islam or fight Muhammad and be vanquished.[9] He also sent letters to the Arab tribes, the people of Yemen, the citizens of Hamadan, and the Christians of Najran in Yemen, (now part of Saudi Arabia), ordering them to embrace Islam or pay the *jizya* (poll tax) as an act of abject submission. The ninth-century Muslim historian al-Yaqubi (d. 897/904?) reports that Muhammad charged some of his companions to kill a number of *mushrikin* (polytheists) and People of the Book (i.e., Jews and Christians), including Ka'b ibn al-Ashraf, Yasir ibn Razzam, and Sallam ibn Abi al-Huqayq, and other Jewish officials. Among the men who carried out these murders was Muhammad's cousin and son-in-law (later Caliph) Ali ibn Abi Talib (d. 661), held with great reverence by the Shi'ites, who exalted him to the level of deity. On Muhammad's orders, Ali killed Mu'awiya ibn al-

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[6] Henri Pirenne, *Mohammad and Charlemagne* (New York: Meridian Books, 1960), 147, 152. On the Mediterranean as a boundary between powers prior to the Crusades and even in the pre-Christian era, see Barker, "The Crusades," 43, n. 1.

[7] Barker, "The Crusades," 40.

[8] Pirenne, *Mohammad*, 164.

[9] Ahmad ibn Yaqub ibn Wadih, *Tarikh al-Yaqubi* (hereafter cited as al-Yaqubi), 2 (Al-Najaf, Iraq: Matba'at al-Ghari, 1939), 61–63.

Mughira ibn Abi al-'Aas ibn Umayya.[10] These actions foreshadowed Muhammad's plan to send a military expedition under Usama ibn Zayd ibn Haritha against Syria and Palestine, with Abu Bakr and Umar ibn al-Khattab, both of whom succeeded Muhammad as his *Khalifas* (Caliphs), also taking part. Although Muhammad died in 632 after a two-week illness, during his final days he reportedly kept urging his companions to send Usama on this mission.[11] After his death the mission was carried out with force and enthusiasm by his successor, the first Caliph Abu Bakr (632–634), and continued by Abu Bakr's successors.[12]

Like a whirlwind, the Arab armies swept the Byzantine forces in the region, and like a house of cardboard Syria, Palestine, and Egypt fell into their hands. Two years after the death of Muhammad the Arabs occupied Bosra, beyond the Jordan. In the next year Damascus fell. In 636 at the Battle of Yarmuk, the Byzantine army lost Syria and the Emperor Heraclius departed, never to see it again. Ernest Barker traces the conflict between Christianity and Islam to the defeat of Heraclius, whom he calls "the first of the Crusaders," then asks, "who shall a give a date to its end? . . . One of its chapters is the Crusades."[13] In 637 or 638, Jerusalem surrendered to the Muslim Arabs after a two-year siege. Patriarch Sophronius handed the key to the city to the Caliph Umar ibn al-Khattab (d. 644), but the Christians of Jerusalem removed the Holy Cross to Constantinople. At the time of Heraclius's death in 641, the Arabs occupied Egypt; by 650, they possessed Syria, Palestine, Upper Mesopotamia, Egypt, part of Asia Minor, and some provinces in North Africa.[1] The Mediterranean, which before the Muslim invasion had been a "Christian lake," dividing the western and eastern parts of the Roman Empire, became mostly a "Muslim lake." The Arabs controlled its eastern and southern shores, from which they could attack Constantinople and southern Europe. The rise of Islam had created a new world hostile both to Byzantium, the center of Eastern Christendom, and to Europe, the base of Western Christendom. Thus, two hostile civilizations, Christian

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[10] Al-Yaqubi, 2: 62–67.

[11] Al-Yaqubi, 2: 93.

[12] Abu Abd Allah ibn Muhammad ibn Umar al-Waqidi, *Futuh al-Sham*, 1 (Beirut: al-Maktaba al-Ahliyya, 1966), 7–17, quotes Abu Bakr's letters to the Arab chiefs of Yemen and to the people of Makka (Mecca) and his exhortation.

[13] Barker, "The Crusades," 41.

[1] Philip Hitti, *History of the Arabs* (London: Macmillan-St. Martin's Press, 1970), 139–168; A. A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1954), 1: 211–212.

and Muslim, existed on the shores of *Mare Nostrum*.[2] The Mediterranean, once the center of Christianity, had become its frontier, and, worse still, its unity was shattered. The result, as Pirenne has aptly noted, was that the Christians of the East were assimilated into the main body of Islam, but the Muslims who were under Christian Western powers in the modern era have never been assimilated into Christianity or Western culture.[3] The failure of Western powers in this regard is not hard to understand. While the Muslims in the seventh century offered the vanquished Christians of Syria, Palestine and Egypt the choice of the sword, conversion to Islam, or paying the *jizya* (poll tax), the European powers did not use such aggressive methods against their Muslim subjects. Had they done so, the fate of Islam and its adherents today would be different. History supports this author when he says that no one has protected the Muslims of India against the Hindus more than the British authorities. The British pursued a similar policy in Iraq, supporting the Muslims and their kingship while relegating the Jews and the Christians to the status of *aqaliyyat* (minorities).

The Arab Muslim invaders did not stop after they had occupied the countries of the East. Their main target was Constantinople, the center of Eastern Christendom. In 661, the Umayyad Mu'awiya ibn Abi Sufyan, who under Muhammad's successors Omar and Uthman had ruled in Damascus as governor of Syria, outwitted the Caliph Ali ibn Abi Talib, who was assassinated in Kufa, Iraq, and seized power from the weak and worthless al-Hasan, who had succeeded his father as caliph. Mu'waiya had already declared himself a caliph in Jerusalem. The main supporters of his power were the mostly Orthodox Christian Syrians, also called Jacobites. A consummate and shrewd politician with a deep sense of *finesse politique*, Mu'awiya married Maysun, a Syrian Orthodox (Jacobite) young woman, to win the affection and support of the Syrians.[4] But his real ambition was to dominate *Bilad al-Rum* (The Land of the Romans), i.e., the Byzantine lands. Mu'awiya realized that although the conquest of Syria and Egypt had brought the Arabs to the Mediterranean shores, they were at a disadvantage because they had no fleet and they were not familiar with maritime conditions or wars. His solution was to build ships in order to counter the Byzantine maritime power, and Alexandria in Egypt and Acre in Palestine were perfect places for this activ-

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[2] Pirenne, *Mohammad*, 152; Norman Daniel, *The Arabs and Mediaeval Europe*, 2nd ed. (London and New York: Longman, 1975), 5–10.

[3] Pirenne, *Mohammad*, 152.

[4] Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, 196–198.

ity.[5] As early as 649, when Mu'awiya was governor of Syria, his fleet seized Cyprus, an important Byzantine naval base. The next year the Muslims captured the island of Arwad (Aradus), close to the Syrian coast.[6] The first major Muslim maritime victory came in 655, at the battle Arab historians call Dhat al-Sawari [that of the masts], when Mu'awiya's Syro-Egyptian fleet destroyed a 500-ship Byzantine fleet commanded by the Emperor Constans II (sometimes called Constans III, ruled 641–668), who barely escaped with his life. The Arabs' victory represented a real threat to Byzantine naval supremacy, but they failed to use their advantage and attack Constantinople, their main target, because of dissension within their ranks. In 668–669 the Arabs, sailing from Alexandria with 200 ships, seized the island of Rhodes and destroyed its famous Colossus. They also attacked Crete and Sicily, which they had attacked and pillaged once before in 652. Their raids were not only a danger on the Aegean Sea but a prelude to their attempt to capture Constantinople.[7]

Between 668 and August 716–September 717, the Arabs conducted three major attacks against Constantinople. In 668–669, Mu'awiya sent his son Yazid against the royal city to support the land campaign of Fadala ibn Ubayd al-Ansari, who had wintered in Chalcedon, the Asiatic suburb of Constantinople where the Fourth Ecumenical Council had met in 451. The Arab forces besieged the capital but were forced to lift the siege by the tactics of the energetic new Emperor Constantine IV Pogonatus (668–685). Yazid had brought with him the aged companion of Muhammad, Abu Ayyub al-Ansari, hoping his presence might bring a blessing. More likely the presence of this aged companion of the Prophet in such a hazardous situation was intended to symbolize the holy war the Arabs were fighting against the Byzantines. Al-Ansari did not survive the difficult campaign; he died of dysentery and was buried before the walls of Constantinople.[8] In 674–680,

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[5] Paul Kahle, "Zur Geschichte des mittelalterlichen Alexandria," *Der Islam* 12 (1922): 32–35; C. Becker, *Vom Verden und Wesen des Islamischen Welt: Islamstudien*, 1 (Leipzig, 1924), 96, and by the same author, "The Expansion of the Saracens—the East," *The Cambridge Medieval History*, 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1913), 352–353; Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, 212.

[6] Hitti, *History*, 167; Ibrahim al-Adawi, *al-Imperatoriyya al-Byzantiyya wa al-Dawla al-Islamiyya*, 52–53; Asad J. Rustum, *Al-Rum: fi Siyasatihim wa Hadaratihim wa Dinihim wa Thaqafatihim wa Silatihim bi al-Arab*, 1 (Beirut: Dar al-Makshuf, 1955), 255–256.

[7] M. Canard, "Les Expéditions des Arabes contra Constantinople dans l'histoire et dans la légende," *Journal Asiatique* 128 (1926): 63–80; Vasiliev, *History*, 1: 212.

[8] Hitti, *History*, 200–202.

the Arabs attacked Constantinople and succeeded in securing a naval base in the Sea of Marmara on the peninsula of Cyzicus, but met with disaster. Their ships were destroyed by an incendiary weapon ("Greek fire") invented by Callinicus, a Syrian native of Ba'lbak.[9] Defeated, the Arabs turned southwards and occupied Rhodes, which they had already pillaged in 654. In 717 they again attacked Constantinople with reinforcement from Egyptian ships, but they were repulsed by the Emperor Leo the Isaurian (717–741), from Mar'ash (Germanicia) in Syria, who outwitted the Arab commander Maslama and saved Constantinople. The Arab ships reportedly withdrew under heavy Greek fire, and chains across the Golden Horn prevented them from penetrating the strait leading to the capital. As they withdrew, gale winds destroyed their fleet; only five Arab vessels out of 1,800 survived.[10] A final Arab assault came in 782, when the future Abbasid Caliph Harun al-Rashid, then still a prince, marched against Constantinople, reaching as far as Scutary (Chrysopolis), but the Empress Irene (798–802) arranged peace with al-Rashid and agreed to pay tribute. Thereafter, no Muslim force saw the "City of Constantine" until 1452, when the city fell into the hands of the Ottoman Turks.

Failing to capture Constantinople, which they could have used as a base to storm Europe, the Muslims turned to southwestern Europe. They found a weak spot in Spain, which they attacked in 711, and a century later they invaded Sicily in 827. It is not our intention here to detail the conquest of Spain, which has been treated by other historians.[11] Within three years, the Muslims occupied most of Spain, and in 717–718 al-Hurr ibn Abd al-Rahman al-Thaqafi became the first Muslim army commander to cross the Pyrenees into France. In 720 al-Thaqafi's successor, al-Samh ibn Malik, lured by the prospect of booty and the treasures of the churches in southern France, and encouraged by the dissension between the Merovingians and the dukes of Aquitaine, continued the raids against southern France and succeeded in capturing Septimania and Narbonne. In 731–732, Abd al-

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[9] Theophanes, *Chronographia,* ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1885). 356; Kahle, "Zur Geschichte," 12: 33; Canard, "Les Expéditions des Arabes," 63–80; Charles Oman, *A History of the Art of War in the Middle Ages*, 2nd ed., 2 (New York: Burt Franklin, 1924), 206, 209–210; Vasiliev, *History*, 1: 214; Hitti, *History*, 202.

[10] Theophanes, *Chronographia*, 395, 399.

[11] See Abd al-Rahman ibn Abd al-Hakam (d.870), *Dhikr Fath al-Andalus*, trans. John Harris Jones as *History of the Conquest of Spain* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1969, a reprint of the original published in 1858), 1–28 of the Arabic text and 18–81 of the English translation; Hitti, *History*, 493–511.

Rahman al-Ghafiqi entered France by the valleys of Bigorre and Béarn and reached Poitiers, causing a great deal of destruction. The Muslims attacked Tours ferociously, burning the Monastery of Saint Emilien and the Church of Saint Hilaire in the town. They eyed the Monastery of Saint Martin in Tours, hoping to plunder its famed treasures. But al-Ghafiqi and the Arabs could not achieve this aim because the forces of Charles Martel (d. 741), Mayor of the Palace, opposed the Muslim forces and inflicted a tremendous defeat on them at Poitiers (Tours) in 732.[12]

The Muslims, never again to conduct a great military expedition against France, retreated to Spain. As they left, they destroyed and burned everything on their way and put many to the sword. They razed the abbeys of St. Savin near Tarbe and Saint-Sever-de-Rustan in Bigorre. Aire, Bazas, Oléron and Béarn were ruined, and the abbey of St. Croix Bordeaux was consigned to flames.[13] Despite their defeat, the Arabs carried out sporadic raids against southern France. In 734 they crossed the Rhone and captured the city of Arles, plundered the Convents of the Apostles and the Virgin Mary, and demolished the tomb of Saint Césaires. They advanced to the middle of Provence, captured the town of Fretta (modern St. Remy), and soon seized Avignon.[14] Nine years later they pillaged Lyons and ravaged the country, causing incredible devastation throughout the region.[15] The Muslims were chased by Charles Martel, who recaptured Avignon and then attacked Narbonne, but despite defeating the Muslim force was unable to recapture the city.[16] Not until 759 did his son Pepin the Short (ruled 752–768) succeed in recapturing Narbonne.[17] By this action Pepin revived the

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[12] Joseph Reinaud, *Invasion Des Sarrazins en France et de France en Savoie, en Piémont et dans La Suisse Pendant les huitième, neuvième et dixième siécles de notre ère, D'aprés les Auteurs Chrétiens et Mahométans*, (Paris, 1836), trans. Haroon Sherwani (Lahore: Sh. Nuhammad Ashraf, rev. ed., 1964), 49. See the loose Arabic translation by Shakib Arslan, titled *Tarikh Ghazawat al-Arab fi Faransa, Sewisra, Italia wa Jaza'ir al-Bahr al-Mutawassit* (Cairo: Isa al-Babi al-Halabi, 1933), 99–100. Arslan adds information from other sources and footnotes to the text, but for the most part adheres to the original French work.

[13] Reinaud, trans. Sherwani, 48.

[14] Reinaud, trans. Sherwani, 57, and trans. Arslan, 104. Pirenne, *Mohammad*, 156, gives 737 as the date of the Arabs' capture of Avignon; Hitti, *History*, 501, places that event in 734.

[15] Reinaud, trans. Sherwani, 59; trans. Arslan, 106.

[16] Pirenne, *Mohammad*, 156–157.

[17] Reinaud, trans. Sherwani, 81; trans. Arslan, 113; Derek W. Lomax, *The Recon-*

process of reconquering Christian territory, which would lead the Franks across the Pyrenees into the Iberian Peninsula.[18]

Even so, the Arab marauders continued attacking Provence throughout the ninth century. In 869 they raided the island of Camargue, formed by the waters of the Rhône, where Archbishop Roland of Arles owned some land. They killed 300 of the archbishop's men, arrested the archbishop himself, and forced him onto one of their ships. When his congregation sought to ransom him, the Muslims demanded 150 gold pieces, 150 garments, 150 swords, and 150 slaves. The Christians agreed to this demand, but the unfortunate archbishop had already died of fear. His Muslim captors concealed his death, and after receiving everything they had demanded, they brought the archbishop's body from the ship, dressed in the same garments he had worn while alive, and left. When the Christians rushed to congratulate the archbishop on his safe return, they found only a corpse, and their joy turned to mourning.[19]

The point here is clear: the Muslims' intention in invading France was not simply to capture the country and convert it to Islam, but first and foremost to dominate all of Europe, turning it into another Muslim area of control, like the other countries they had already seized since the seventh century. It is significant that all of the Muslim military leaders who conducted the raids against France, southern Italy, and other parts of Europe were from the Arabian Peninsula and Syria, the centers of their religious power. After their stunning victories in the Middle East, they found it within their reach to expand their conquest into Europe, which in many ways was as weak as Egypt, Syria, Iraq, and Persia.[20] The Muslim Arabs were determined, by conquering Europe, to extend their religion to the lands of the *Kuffar* (infidels) and convert it to Islam, in accordance with the exhortation of the Quran and the Prophet Muhammad.

Like the Middle Eastern countries, Europe was suffering from disunity and dissension among its different leaders, particularly following the death of Charlemagne in 814 and the division of his empire. Moreover, the church was weakened, suffering from the incompetence and immorality of the clergy. Not until the tenth century, when the Cluniacs began their com-

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quest of Spain (London and New York: Longman, 1978), 15. Pirenne gives 759 as the date of the recapture of Narbonne by Pepin.

[18] Lomax, *Reconquest*, 15.

[19] Reinaud, trans. Sherwani, 127; trans. Arslan, 159.

[20] Reinaud, trans. Sherwani, 129–130; trans. Arslan, 114–115.

prehensive plan of reform, did anyone breathe new life into the church. By then the Franks had also gained power, and Europe was now able to defend itself and expel the Muslims. Meanwhile, the Arabs had begun suffering from dissension after the creation of a new Umayyad caliphate in Andalusia. Slowly but surely the tables turned, especially in southern France and Spain. Though the Muslims of Spain had once attacked and devastated France, they eventually became a target for the Christian Franks.

In attacking the countries of the Middle East and later Europe, the Muslim Arabs carried the sword in one hand and the Quran in the other. They conquered and plundered in the name of Allah. They offered the vanquished people three choices: converting to Islam, paying a heavy tribute, or dying by the sword. Predictably, most chose conversion. Even if they saved their lives by paying the tax, they had few rights in the Muslim state and generally lived in servitude. Thus, while the Crusaders invaded the countries of the East crying out, "Deus vult!" (God wills it), the Muslims had invaded the same countries in the name of Allah. There are striking similarities between the Arabs' invasion of the Middle East in the seventh century and the Crusaders' attack at the end of the eleventh century, but there is one fundamental difference: while the Muslims embarked upon their conquest in accordance with the divine decree of Allah sanctioned by the Quran, the Crusaders violated the divine teaching of Jesus Christ and the spirit of the Gospel. And this difference brings us to the concept of *jihad.*

In the Arabic language, *jihad* denotes struggle or the exertion of individual effort to follow the laws of Allah. But in the Quran and the Islamic *Shari'a* (law), its meaning transcends that definition, connoting a struggle or warfare against non-Muslims, considered as *Kuffar* (infidels) be they pagans, Jews or Christians.[21] To modify this concept or explain it in a relativistic manner is to convolute one of the essential religious principles of Islam. In Islam, *jihad* is a religious obligation, the duty of every Muslim believer to subdue non-Muslims and make them embrace Islam. The concept is presented in the Quran, 2:216: "Fighting is prescribed for you although it be hateful to you." Quran 9:36 urges the faithful to "fight against the idolaters in all these months (during which fighting is banned), since they themselves

[21] For an interesting analysis of this and other points on Jihad in Islam, see Robert Irwin, "Islam and the Crusades, 1096–1699," in *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 217–259. On the characteristics of Jihad, see Albrecht Noth, *Heiliger Krieg und Heiliger Kampf in Islam und Christentum* (Bonn: Ludwig Röhrscheid Verlag, 1966), 47–61.

fight against you in all of them." Every Muslim book of *fiqh* (jurisprudence) contains one or more chapters on *jihad*.[22] In fact, *jihad* was so strongly considered a divine obligation that one sect, the *Khawarij* (Kharijites, or Seceders) exalted it to the dignity of a sixth pillar of Islam. Muhammad personally sanctioned *jihad* against those who did not accept his message, saying, "I have been commanded (by Allah) to fight all people until they say 'There is no Allah but Allah' and believe in me and my message. If they do so, they and their possessions will be safe."[36] In other words, the People of the Book had little choice. They could convert to Islam, pay the tribute, or suffer *jihad* (Holy War) against them. If they chose Islam, they would enjoy freedom like other Muslims living in a Muslim state. If they paid the tribute, they would be safe but would lose many of their rights. But if they chose *jihad*, they would be regarded as polytheist infidels and would be subdued.[37]

Muhammad's attacking and massacring some Jewish tribes was a manifestation of *jihad* for the cause of Allah. According to a *Hadith* (tradition), Muhammad by the divine command of Allah fought against the Jewish tribe of the Banu Qurayza, killed its men (except those who embraced Islam), and divided its women, children and property among his followers. Returning from a campaign against the pagan tribe of Quraysh, which he defeated at the battle of the Khandaq (Trench), Muhammad laid down his arms and bathed himself. The angel Jabril (Gabriel) immediately appeared to him, flicking the dust from his hair, and said, "Why did you lay down your arms? We (Allah and Gabriel) have not done so. Go out against them." Muhammad asked, "And who are those against whom I should go?" The tribe of

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[22] See *Sahih Muslim* [The Most Correct Compendium of Traditions], 5 (Cairo: Maktabat wa Matbaat Muhammad Sabih wa Awladuh, 1915), 139–200; Shaykh Abd al-Aziz ibn Abd Allah ibn Baz, ed., *Sahih al-Bukhari*, 3 (Beirut: Dar al-Fikr li al-Tibaa wa al-Nashr, 1991), 266–308; al-Sayyid Sabiq, *Fiqh al-Sunna*, 4 (Beirut: Dar al-Fikr li al-Tibaa wa al-Nashr, 3rd ed., 1981), 35–62; Abd al-Baqi Ramdun, *al-Jihad Sabiluna* [Islam is Our Pathway] (Beirut, Mu'assasat al-Risala, 1990), especially 23–53, in which the author elaborates the right of Jihad against the infidels and the People of the Book, i.e., Jews and Christians; Rudolph Peters, *Jihad in Medieval and Modern Islam* (Leyden: Brill, 1977); Antoine J. Abraham and George Haddad, *The Warriors of God: Jihad and the Fundamentalists of Islam* (Bristol, Indiana: Wyndham Hall Press, 1989); Reuven Firestone, *Jihad: The Origin of Holy War in Islam* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); the anonymous pamphlet *al-Irhab al-Islami wa Ahl al-Kitab* [Islamic Terrorism and the People of the Book] (n.p., n.d.); Irwin, 225–231.

[36] *Sahih Muslim*, 1: 39, Al-Yaqubi, 2: 92.

[37] Abraham and Haddad, *The Warriors of God*, 36–37.

the Banu Qurayza, Gabriel indicated. So the Apostle of Allah attacked the Banu Qurayza and killed six hundred able-bodied men and took the women and children captives and divided them among his companions.[38] According to another tradition, Muhammad said "Al-Sa'a (The Last Hour or the Day of Resurrection) shall not come until you fight the Jews so fiercely that when a Jew hides behind a rock, the rock will cry out to a fighting Muslim, 'O, Muslim! Behind me a Jew is hiding. Kill him'."[39] Muhammad also evicted the Jews from his city of Medina. Finally, to keep the Arabian peninsula exclusively Islamic, he expelled all the Jews and Christians from it, swearing that he would never allow anyone in it except Muslims.[40]

According to a modern Muslim writer, Dr. Fayid Hammad Muhammad Ashur, *jihad* is one of the fundamental principles of Islamic civilization, and Islam should have dominion over other religions. The kinds and methods of *jihad* are well known but the most sublime of them all is religious war, because by fighting, the Muslim offers his soul and property for the cause of Allah. In the Islamic community *jihad* is the criterion that distinguishes between good and bad Muslims. According to a tradition of the Prophet of Islam, "The highest point in Islam is *jihad* for the cause of Allah." For this reason *jihad* has become the banner of Muslims since the time of the Prophet. *Jihad* is a religious obligation performed exclusively by Muslims, leading to a status of honor that the Quran applies to those who believe in the message of Islam. Thus, it is a pride and glory for the Muslim. He who tries to raise another trait above *jihad*, says Ashur, is in fact reducing this great honor to the level of the paganism of *Jahiliyya* (pre-Islamic Arab society) and making Islam secondary . . . The imperialist states (Western states) labeled as pirates the Muslim Mujahidin (holy warriors) in the Mediterranean, the Arabian Sea, the Arab (Persian) Gulf, and the Indian Ocean, while these noble Mujahidin were fighting against the imperialistic powers. Today we see the same phenomenon recurring after the power of imperialism has allegedly waned. The imperialistic powers are still combating the Mujahidin and preventing them from fighting for the cause of Allah. They label them as bigots, extremists, terrorists, backward, and sometimes, as Israel says, fundamentalists. These labels are evidence of great honor to

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[38] *Sahih Muslim*, 5: 159–161.

[39] Hadith 2926, in *Sahih al-Bukhari*, 2: 305.

[40] *Sahih Muslim*, 5: 159–160; Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, 10th ed., 117.

the Muslims. Unfortunately, they are also used in many Islamic countries to calumniate Islam.[41]

Thus, *jihad* has become an Islamic virtue and a spiritual way of life. Violence and pillaging, taking non-Muslims captive and dividing their property, and even killing are not merely lawful but have become marks of religious honor and bravery. Says the anonymous author of the treatise *Bahr al-Fawa'id* (Sea of Precious Virtues), "Shedding of the blood of a heretic is the equal of seventy holy wars."[42] The spirit of *jihad* has not died even to this day. There are people still living in both East and West who remember that in November 1914, the Muslim Ottoman Sultan-Caliph Muhammad Rashad V declared *jihad* against the infidel Allies while allying his government with yet another infidel nation, Germany.[43] Thus, *jihad* has been the primary force driving all Muslim wars. Philip Hitti rightly says, "To it (*jihad*) Islam owes its unparalleled expansion as a worldly power."[44]

One may ask why Islam is so militant, having striven since its inception in the seventh century to dominate. The Quran is very clear in emphasizing that Islam is the only "Truth" that ever existed, the only plan for mankind. Quran 9:33 states, "It is He (Allah) who hath sent His Apostle (Muhammad) with Guidance and the Religion of Truth to proclaim it over all religions, even though the pagans may detest it." Remarking on this passage, one Muslim scholar says, "Other religions may have a glimpse of Truth. But Islam is the perfect light of Truth . . . so Islam outshines all [other religions]."[45] With such a mindset, Muslims believe their religion will conquer the whole world, whether peacefully or by war. And since the

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[41] Fayid Hammad Muhammad Ashur, *al-Jihad al-Islami didd al-Salibiyyin wa al-Maghul* [Islamic Jihad Against the Crusaders and Mongols] (Tripoli, Lebanon: Jarrus Press, 1995), 5–7. Carole Hillenbrand, *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 92–108, gives a detailed account of Jihad since the early Islamic period and mentions Ashur briefly, 4.

[42] Quoted in Irwin, "Islam and the Crusades," 227. Irwin says this pugnacious attitude emanates from the belief that those who follow religions other than Islam are infidels or heretics who must be converted to Islam as the only true faith, and eventually the whole world must be brought under the sway of Islam.

[43] C. Snouck Hurgronje, a Dutch scholar and expert on Islam, described the futility of this action in his pamphlet *The Holy War "Made in Germany"* (London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1915).

[44] Hitti, *History*, 136.

[45] Abdallah Yousuf Ali, *The Glorious Ku'ran: Translation and Commentary* (Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, n.d.), 449, n. 1290.

Western world including America is predominantly Christian, it is seen as a polytheistic infidel world that will finally succumb to the will of Islam. Thus Muslims in Europe and America are busy building mosques, in order to convert the Western people to Islam. They see the destruction of the World Trade Center on September 11, 2001 as a manifestation of Islam's power against the infidel West.[46]

As historian J.J. Saunders has correctly said, "Of all the three great religions, Islam is the only one which was born militant." He asserts that when Muhammad was driven from Mecca and sought refuge in Medina, it was natural that he should use the enmity between the two cities to overcome his pagan foes (the tribe of Quraysh) by force.[47] Islamic history bears out this statement. Muhammad, the Prophet of Islam, personally conducted about twenty-nine raids against his enemies. But according to Muslim writers, Allah actually instigated the Muslim believers to fight, and Muhammad was merely an instrument of this divine command. (See Quran 8:65 and 48: 16–17.) According to al-Yaqubi, it was Allah who assisted Muhammad in fighting his own people, the pagan Arabs. He says that Allah caused a sword with a sheath to descend to Muhammad from heaven, carried by the angel Jabril (Gabriel). Gabriel told him, "Allah commands you to fight your own people until they confess that there is no Allah but Allah and that you are his Apostle. If they do not, you are absolved of shedding their blood and capturing their possessions."[48] The prominent Iraqi sociologist Ali al-Wardi justifies Muhammad's wars against his enemies as aspects of a social revolution similar to those carried out by revolutionaries in every age. In the beginning, he says, these revolutionaries propagated their message by peaceful means, but after winning a sufficient number of followers, they resorted to military force.[49] The German historian Carl Erdmann, however, maintains that the purpose of *jihad* was to turn the subjugated people into tributaries. Muhammad's intent, he says, was to enlarge the temporal sway of the Muslim community, not to convert unbelievers. Though the Muslims' conquests of other peoples resulted eventually in their conversion to Islam, that result was not the purpose of the Muslim holy war.[50] Nevertheless, the con-

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[46] For more on Islam's plan to dominate the world, see Abraham and Haddad, 1–24.

[47] J. J. Saunders, *Aspects of the Crusades* (Christchurch, 1962), 17–21.

[48] Al-Yaqubi, 2: 33.

[49] Ali al-Wardi, *Mahzalat al-Aql al-Bashari* [The Comedy of the Human Mind], (London: Kuffan Publishing, 1994), 187.

[50] Carl Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, Marshall W. Baldwin and Wal-

version of non-Muslims, called for in the Qur'an, was always foremost in the mind of Muhammad and his successors as an essential part of serving the cause of Allah.

Historian Thomas F. Madden observes that holy war has no place in Christianity, nor did early Christians have any idea about crusading.[51] The German historian Hans Prutz overstates the case when he says that at the root of the crusading idea was the belief that Christianity was destined to dominate the world.[52] Prutz apparently forgets that from the beginning Christianity was a universal and missionary rather than militant religion. Before ascending to heaven, Jesus told the disciples, "Go into the world and preach the good news to all creation." (Matthew 16:15) Preaching, not killing, was the way to carry God's message to mankind. Jesus's invitation to the people of the earth to accept His teaching by peaceful means is a far cry from the intention of Allah, who urged the Muslim believers to fight and kill for his cause.[53] Allah sanctions the use of force against the enemies of Islam; Quran Sura 2:194 clearly states, "If anyone commits aggression against you, fight him with the same aggression." This divine dictum cannot be reconciled with the words of Jesus, who said, "Do not resist evil," and "Love your enemies." (Matthew 5:44, 6:38; Luke 6:27, 35.) Although throughout time Christians have fought one another, they did so mostly for political or economic reasons; such action, says the German scholar Martin Hartman, represents a violation of the fifth commandment, not to mention the second great commandment: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."[54] Indeed, most Crusaders came to hate the Byzantines more than the Muslims, coveting the wealth they flaunted. Bohemond I, Prince of Antioch, and King Henry IV of Germany crusaded against the Byzantines; Bohemond particularly challenged the authority of the Emperor Alexius I Comnenus in Italy.[55] In the Fourth Crusade, knights and seamen overcame

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ter Coffart, trans. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), 4.

[51] Thomas F. Madden, *A Concise History of the Crusades* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1999), 1.

[52] Hans Prutz, *Kulturgeschichte der Kreuzzüge* (Berlin: Ernst Siegfried Mitter und Sohn, 1883), 12–13; see Erdmann, *Origin*, 3–4.

[53] Quran, 2: 216–217, 244; 3: 121; 4: 76; 8: 12–13, 39, 60, 65, 67; 9: 29, 41, 73, 111; 47: 4.

[54] Quoted in Hurgronje, *Holy War*, 81. Hartman cites Leviticus 19:18: "Do not seek revenge or bear a grudge against one of your people, but love your neighbor as yourself; I am the Lord," and Matthew 19:18, 22:39.

[55] Ralph Bailey Yewdale, *Bohemond I, Prince of Antioch* (Princeton: Princeton Uni-

their antipathies in order to subdue the Byzantines.[56] But these actions, which violate the very spirit of Christianity, were exceptions to the rule.

Defending Islam against Western writers, the Egyptian historian of the Crusades Sa'id Abd al-Fattah Ashur says they exaggerated a few isolated cases of action against the Jews and Christians in some Islamic countries. Ashur argues that although Muslims sometimes were responsible for oppression and persecution of Jews and Christians, these instances were an exception to the fundamental rule of absolute tolerance of the People of the Book (Jews, Christians, and Sabians), whom Islam always strove to protect. He contends that such action is comparable to what the successors of Emperor Constantine I did to force the pagans to embrace Christianity. Ashur here is most likely referring to the Emperor Theodosius I (379–395), an ardent champion of Christianity who, to preserve the empire and maintain the Nicene Creed as the only orthodox faith, tried to stamp out the Arian heresy. For the same reasons, Theodosius oppressed the pagans and curtailed their practice of worship. In his long and contentious struggle against the heretics, he subjected them to harsh penalties, forbidding them to hold assemblies, either public or private, and curtailing their right to bequeath and inherit property. He did not marshal armies to kill them if they refused to embrace Christianity or confess the orthodox faith of Nicaea.[57] Likewise, he did not use force to convert the pagans to Christianity.[58] One point should be made clear. Theodosius fought against the Arians not because they espoused heresy but because their teachings were disturbing both the church and the state, and he fought against the pagans for the same reason. But Muhammad, the Prophet of Islam, fought not only against the pagan Arabs but also against the Jews and the Christians, whom he considered blasphemers, although he was greatly influenced by their religious doctrines, which appear distorted in the Quran because he did not understand them or found them abhorrent.

Ashur further says Charlemagne imposed Christianity on the Bavarians, the Avars, and the Saxons, of whom he killed over four thousand at

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versity Press, 1924), 25–33.

[56] R. S. Lopez, "Fulfillment and Diversion in the Eight Crusades," in *Outremer: Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem*, B. Z. Kedar, H. E. Mayer, and R. C. Smail, eds. (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi Institute, 1982), 19–20.

[57] Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, 1: 80.

[58] Michael Grant, *The Roman Emperors* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1985), 270–274.

Verden alone.[59] Like Emperor Theodosius I, who fought to preserve the unity of the empire, Charlemagne fought against the Saxons and Avars to preserve his own kingdom. His biographer Einhard says the Saxons, like the other tribes of Germany, were fierce and unruly, given to devil worship, and hostile to Christianity. They were pagans who saw no dishonor in the violation of laws, human or divine. Charlemagne fought furiously against them for thirty-three years (772–804), and they never kept the terms of any peace he made with them. When they finally realized that their futile struggle against Charlemagne had weakened them tremendously, they promised to renounce the worship of devils and to adopt Christianity. Einhard says nothing to indicate that Charlemagne used force to convert them.[60] Charlemagne's execution of the Saxons at Verden was an inhuman, indefensible act. Mombert, the nineteenth-century biographer, says, "There are many horrors recorded in history, but hardly one more horrible than that butchery at Verden, which is and must ever remain the indelible stain on the name of [Charlemagne] and the foulest blot on his life."[61]

We should remember that this action was not intended to effect the Saxons' conversion to Christianity; rather, it was a punishment inflicted upon them for rebelling against Charlemagne. In 782 the Saxons, led by Wittikind (Widukind), revolted against Charlemagne, threatening the stability of his kingdom. He saw no other way to deal with these treacherous, ruthless, murderous people, who would surrender one day and revolt on the next..[62] Charlemagne most likely believed that the only way to stop the onslaught of these pagan tribes, who had killed and pillaged his domain for over thirty years, was to civilize them by having them embrace Christian-

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[59] Ashur, *al-Haraka al-Salibiyya*, 1: 30.

[60] Einhard, *The Life of Charlemagne* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1964), 30–32; Einhard and Notker the Stammerer, *Two Lives of Charlemagne*, Lewis Thorpe, trans. (New York: Penguin Books, 1969), 68–70; Gustave Masson, *Charlemagne and the Carlovingians* (London: S. Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1880), 4–6 (this last is adapted from M. Guizot's *History of France.*); Helmold of Bosau, *The Chronicle of the Slavs*, Francis Joseph Tschan, trans. (New York: Octagon Books, 1966), 53; and Gerhard Seeliger, "Conquest and Imperial Coronation of Charles the Great," in *The Cambridge Medieval History*, 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1913), 610–612.

[61] Richard Winston, *Charlemagne: From the Hammer to the Cross* (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1954), 161; Seeliger, 612.

[62] Winston, *Charlemagne*, 159–161.

ity.[63] Although many of them were eventually baptized, their motivation to become Christians was far from sincere.[64]

When Charlemagne began his campaigns against the Saxons and other tribes, he did not command his armies to give them a choice between facing the sword and embracing Christianity. He had sent missionaries earlier to convert the Saxons, but they were slain. If that task had been foremost in his mind, he would have not waited thirty years to finish it. Charlemagne was simply fighting a secular war to defend his own state. He was obligated to do so, for the papacy had been allied to his father Pepin, and the kings of the Franks had assumed the duty of fighting for the Roman church. The alliance, strongest under Charlemagne, shows that the Christian state exonerated those who fought against its enemies. And Charlemagne, as a Christian, evidently perceived the defense of Christendom as his first and foremost duty.[65] He was not only an avenger but an ardent propagator of the Christian faith.[66] One may argue that Muhammad and his successors fought against pagan Arab tribes much as Charlemagne fought against the pagans. But Muhammad's successors also fought against the Syrians, Egyptians, and Persians, who had no animosity toward Muhammad and his religion. And Muhammad extended the scope of his wars, fighting not only against pagans, but also against Jews and Christians who refused to accept his message.

By stating that Charlemagne converted the Saxons and other tribes by force or had them killed if they refused to embrace Christianity, Ashur implies a similarity between the actions of the Prophet and his successors and those of Charlemagne.[67] But the analogy is tenuous. Charlemagne's actions against the pagan tribes of Germany were not in conformity with the spirit and teachings of Christ. They were exclusively secular actions, based on his perception that it was his duty to fight for Christianity to preserve the church and his state. But Muhammad and his successors fought to subdue both pagans and adherents of other religions, particularly Jews and Christians, according to the commands of Allah as sanctioned by the Quran.

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[63] Warren O. Ault, *Europe in the Middle Ages* (Boston: D. C. Heath, 1946), 170–172; see J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, *The Barbarian West, 400–1000* (London: Hutchinson University Library, 1961), 102.

[64] Masson, *Charlemagne*, 6; Helmold of Bosau, 52.

[65] Erdmann, *Origin*, 22–23.

[66] Joseph François Michaud, *History of the Crusades*, trans. W. Robson, 3 (New York: AMS Press, 1973), Appendix 6, 358.

[67] Ashur, *al-Jihad*, 1: 29–30.

Even if one accepts the view of Muslim writers that the purpose of the Crusades was primarily economic, i.e., to capture the wealth of the Muslim East, he cannot overlook the fact that the Muslim Arab hordes who invaded and occupied other countries in the seventh century were motivated not by religion alone but by the prospect of booty. This was made clear by Abu Bakr (632–634), the first caliph and successor of Muhammad, in his attempt to recruit Arab men for his campaign against Syria, then under Byzantine rule. He wrote to the Arabs of Mecca, Ta'if, and Yemen, in Najd and in Hijaz, and throughout the Arabian Peninsula, calling on them to join in a *jihad* against the Byzantines and luring them with a promise of booty. The ninth century Muslim historian Ahmad al-Baladhuri (d. 892) says that these people, whether expecting rewards in the afterlife or motivated by sheer greed, responded and came from every direction to Medina.[68] When the Arabs occupied Alexandria, their commander Amr ibn al-Aas wrote to the Caliph Umar ibn al-Khattab in Medina, "I have captured a city from whose description I shall refrain. Suffice it to say that I have seized therein 400 villas with 4,000 baths, 40,000 poll-taxing paying Jews and 400 places of entertainment for the royalty." [69] And when they occupied Spain in 711, imposing the *jizya* (poll-tax) on their new subjects took precedence over converting them to Islam; indeed, many Arabs opposed converting the Spanish Christians, contending that doing so would put the heavy financial burden of financing the state on those who had been born Muslim. The conquest of Spain was not so much a religious matter as an economic venture.[70]

Muhammad himself set the precedent for his followers to exact taxes from the pagans, Jews, and Christians if they refused to embrace Islam. In Quran Sura 9:29, entitled *al-Tawba* [Repentance], Allah commands Muhammad, "Fight against those who do not believe in Allah and in the Last

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[68] Abu al-Hasan Ahmad ibn Yahya ibn Jabir al-Baladhuri, *Futuh al-Buldan*, ed. Salah al-Din al-Munajjid, 1 (Cairo: Maktabat al-Nahda al-Misriyya, 1956), 128, also ed. Ridwan Muhammad Ridwan (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyya, 1991), 115; Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, 144; Walter Besant, *Jerusalem, the City of Herod and Saladin*, 4th ed. (London: Chatto and Windus, 1899), 73–74. On the view that the causes of the Crusades were economic, see Aziz S. Atiya, *Crusades, Commerce and Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962).

[69] Hitti, *History*, 164–165.

[70] Charles E. Chapman, *A History of Spain* (New York: Macmillan, 1930), 40–41. Parts of Chapman's book are based on Rafael Altamira, *Historia de España y de la Civilizacion Española.*

Day, and do not forbid what Allah and his apostle have forbidden and do not uphold the true religion of those people of the Scriptures (Jews and Christians) until they pay the *jizya* (poll tax) out of hand in utter subjection." Thus, Islam made no distinction between pagans and the People of the Book. They were all targets for the Muslims, who were commanded to fight against them until they converted to Islam or paid tribute under duress.[71] But the holy war against the Jews was broadened to include plundering their property and taking them captive. Quran Sura 33:25–27, titled *al-Ahzab* [The Confederate Tribes], states, "He (Allah) brought down from their strongholds those who had supported them from among the People of the Book (the Jews of Banu Qurayza) and cast terror into their hearts, so that some of them you slew and others you took captive. He made you masters of their land, their houses, and their goods, and of yet another land (of the Jews of Banu Khaybar) on which you had never set foot before. Truly, Allah has power over all things." This statement makes clear that the People of the Book, their property, and their lives were cold prey for the Muslims.

Throughout their history, Muslim leaders were as interested in converting non-Muslims as in collecting taxes from them or plundering their properties. But since new converts were relieved of paying the *jizya*, the leaders discouraged conversion to Islam to keep money pouring into their coffers. Many of the converts were onetime farmers from Iraq and Khurasan (in present-day Iran) who had joined the army to escape the poll tax and obtain subsidies from the state. The state's treasury lost so much income that al-Hajjaj ibn Yusuf al-Thaqafi (661–714), the Umayyad governor of Iraq, sent the farmers back to their villages and reimposed the high taxes they had paid before their conversion. The Umayyad Caliph Umar II ibn Abd al-Aziz (717–720) reestablished the principle laid down by the Caliph Umar ibn al-Khattab (634–644), that no Muslim should pay tribute, but he insisted that if the owner of a *kharaj* (taxed land) was a convert to Islam, his property should revert to the village community, and he could then lease it.[72] In 699–700 al-Hajjaj had to subdue the Turkish governor of Kabul, Afghanistan, because he refused to pay the tribute (poll tax).[73] According to the Syrian Patriarch Dionysius Tall Mahre (d. 845), his friend the Abbasid

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[71] Al-Yaqubi, 2: 62–67.

[72] Hitti, *History*, 219.

[73] Julius Wellhausen, *Das arabischen Reich und sein Sturz* (Berlin, 1902), 144.

Caliph al-Mamun (d. 833) used to say that he did not care what religion his subjects embraced, so long as they paid the tribute.[74]

[74] Dionysius Tall Mahre, in Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, translated into Arabic by Bishop Gregorius Saliba Shamoun, 3 (Damascus: Sidawi Printing House, 1996), 21.

Matti Moosa's

*The East Before the Crusaders' Arrival**

* This material, which is presented solely for educational/research purposes, appears as Chapter 3 in Dr. Moosa's *Crusades: Conflict Between Christendom and Islam* (Piscataway, NJ., 2008) pp. 55-96.

Footnotes

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Before the Crusades, the region known today as the Middle East was plagued with constant warfare among the Byzantines, the Arabs, the Seljuk Turks, the Armenians, and others, with a great deal of violence, devastation and bloodshed. The Muslims in the East were mostly divided into two groups, Sunnites and Shi'ites, each of which considered the other as heretics. The Sunnites took their name from the *Sunna* (tradition) of the Prophet of Islam. This Sunna, containing everything that Muhammad said, did, or sanctioned, had the same spiritual authority as the Quran, except when it stood in contradiction to the holy book. The Shi'ites, on the other hand, denounced the Sunna and recognized Muhammad's cousin and son-in-law Ali as his only legitimate successor in leading the community of Islam. They based their claim on a tradition of Muhammad which the Sunnites consider fraudulent or dubious (1). Thus, the succession to Muhammad has been a religious issue dividing the Muslim community throughout the ages.

When the Franks (called *Ifranji* by ancient Arabic sources) and other Crusaders (called Pilgrims or Christians in Latin sources) arrived in the East late in the eleventh century, there were two caliphs—a Sunnite in Baghdad and a Shi'ite Fatimid in Egypt. For most of that century the Shi'ite Fatimids had controlled most of Syria, and late in the century they consolidated their power in Egypt. These two caliphs were in deadly conflict with each other not only over religious matters but over control of the Muslim East. The struggle between them was intensified by the rise of another non-Arab Muslim power, the Seljuk Turks, who converted to Sunnite Islam, occupied Baghdad in 1055, and eventually became the masters of the East. The balance of political power thus tipped in favor of the Turks. It was chiefly the Seljuk Turks that the Crusaders had to face and fight against. In brief, Syria was politically divided, and the dissension among the different Turkish [56] *atabeg*s (teachers of the children of the sultan, later given broader power as governors) and the schism between the Sunnite and Shi'ites made it possible for the Crusaders to overwhelm the Muslims (2). Before discussing the Franks' arrival in the Middle East, the Syrian chronicler Patriarch Michael Rabo (d. 1199) gives a detailed account of the turmoil and devastation caused by the Turks' penetration of the region (3). The Turks, originally from the steppes of Asia, seized control of Persia, Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia), Armenia, Syria, Palestine, Cilicia ("Kilikia"), and all the territory up to Egypt. Basing his ideas on the now-lost history of the Syrian writer Jacob of Edessa (d. 708), he says the Turks are descendants of Japheth, son of Noah, and the people of Gog and Magog named by the prophet Ezekiel (38: 2, 39: 1) and the Book of Revelation (20: 8). He discusses their social mores, their departure from their homeland, their [57] acceptance of Islam, and their rise to power in the Middle East (4). Michael Rabo mentions another more decisive penetration of the region by the Turks in the eleventh century, but does not discuss it in detail. Still, his information on this topic is important to our understanding of the Turks' rise and their domination of Asia Minor, as well as the conflict between the Turks and the Byzantines, the weakening of Armenia by the Byzantine emperor, and the collapse of Byzantine power at Manzikert in 1071, which set the stage for the battle between the Turks and the Crusaders for dominance in the region.

In Book XIII, Chapter V, Michael Rabo first mentions the Armenians' leaving their country in the time of Emperor Basil II Bulgaroctonus ("the Bulgar-slayer," ruled 976-1025) (5). He says that in 989 Emperor Basil seized the regions under the control of King Senek'erim and instead offered the Armenians places to live in Cappadocia. They began to leave their homeland and settle in Cappadocia, from which they spread to Cilicia and Syria. In Book XV, Chapter XI he states that early in the eleventh century, when the Greeks (Byzantines) wrested from the Arabs some cities in Cappadocia, Armenia and Syria, they brought a great number of people from Greater Armenia to settle these regions. Their numbers increased, and some of them went to live in Constantinople while others went to Egypt. When the Turks emigrated from Khurasan and filled these regions, as the Greeks became extremely weak and lost their powerhold, some Armenians infiltrated these regions and fortified themselves in virtually impregnable mountain strongholds. The two sons of Constantine, son of Rafan (also called Roupen or Reuben), established themselves in the mountains of Cilicia, in southeast Asia Minor (6).

Michael touches briefly upon one of the most important events in the history of the Middle East in the tenth and eleventh centuries, the Turks' penetration and settlement of Asia Minor, which became known as Turkey. As we shall see, the Seljuk Turks entered the Byzantine territory of Asia Minor not from the East but through Armenia, in the northeastern part of the country. They found in Armenia a weak spot from which to launch their attacks, beginning early in the eleventh century. If the Byzantine [58] emperors had kept Armenia strong, the Seljuk Turks would have had difficulty in overrunning it and later all of Asia Minor. As the Byzantine emperors' neglect of Armenia allowed the Seljuk Turks to penetrate the country, the Armenians migrated to Cilicia, where they settled and founded Armenian principalities. This sequence of events requires some elaboration, for it presaged the waning of the Byzantine Empire's power and hastened the rise of the Turks, who established principalities all over Asia Minor and would by the end of the eleventh century find themselves in direct conflict with the Crusaders and the Armenians, who had long espoused Christianity.

Although Christianity had been introduced into Armenia in the first century, it did not establish a firm foothold till the fourth century. Because Armenia was predominantly Christian, the Byzantine emperors used it as a buffer state between themselves and Persia, their formidable enemy. Of all the ethnic groups within the Byzantine Empire, the Armenians were the strongest (7). For centuries Armenia had been the center of conflict between the Roman Empire and Persia. To settle the matter peacefully, Rome and Persia divided Armenia between them at the end of the fourth century. The Sassanid Persians took the larger part, which became known as Persarmenia. Rome took the smaller part, including the city of Theodosiopolis (Erzerum in modern Turkey). The partition of Armenia disrupted the cultural life of its people, since Rome and Persia had different cultures. In the sixth century, Emperor Justinian I (527-565) introduced reforms with the intention of destroying some surviving local customs and transforming Armenia into a Byzantine province (8).

The situation changed when the Arabs invaded Armenia in October 640 under the Caliph Umar (reigned 634-644). The same caliph led another raid in 642-43, and a third one in 648 under Uthman ibn Affan (644-656) captured the capital city of Dvin (Dwin) (9). The Arabs killed every man they [59] could find and took 35,000 women and children into captivity and marched them to Syria; they slaughtered priests, desecrated churches, and beat and whipped many women. In the face of such calamities, the Armenians were incapable of resisting and were finally subdued by the Arabs in 652 (10). The Arabs ruled Armenia for the next two centuries. The Armenians attempted periodically to overthrow the Arabs, but their revolts were suppressed with a vengeance that caused a great deal of devastation. By the close of the seventh century the Armenians had submitted completely to the Umayyads. Their Catholicos Sahak IV was sent to prison in Damascus, and some of their princes were tortured or put to death (11). Although the Byzantine Empire lost its control over Armenia, it kept some territories where Armenian was spoken (12). We should note here that despite their religious differences with the Byzantines over the Council of Chalcedon (451), the Armenians supported them against the Arabs who invaded Syria. Several military detachments led by Armenian commanders fought alongside the Byzantines valiantly but unsuccessfully at Yarmuk in 636. One of these commanders, Vahan or Baanes, was proclaimed an emperor by his troops, but after the defeat at Yarmuk his desire to be emperor vanished, and he retired from military service to become a monk in Sinai (13).

Shortly after the Arabs occupied their country, the Armenians turned to the Byzantines for support. In 653, the Armenian Prince Theodore Rashtuni sought and finally obtained peace with the Arabs. During the time of Prince

Ashot Bagratuni (685-688), the Byzantine Emperor Justinian II [60] Rhinotmetus (685-695) sent an army against both the Armenians and the Arabs, but it withdrew after causing a great deal of destruction. The Armenians were in a bad situation, caught between the Byzantines and the Arabs. The Arab ruler Muhammad treated the Armenians badly, and Abd Allah, who succeeded him as governor in 703, proved even worse. Abd Allah, wicked, impudent, and extremely malicious, tortured the Armenian princes and plundered the possessions of many people (14). He attacked the Armenians with an army of 8,000 men, but they defeated him with a much smaller force. After hearing of this defeat, the Umayyad Caliph Abd al-Malik (685-705) ordered an invasion of Armenia. The Armenians sent their Catholicos Sahak III to negotiate with the caliph, but he died before he could fulfill this mission (15). The Armenians somehow delivered the message to the caliph, who on receiving it calmed down and called off the invasion.

When al-Walid ibn Abd al-Malik (705-715) became caliph, he decided to take revenge against Smbat Bagratuni, who unsuccessfully sought the Byzantines' aid; Smbat lost, and the Armenians were treated cruelly. In 705 Qasim, the Arab governor of Nakhjawan, summoned the Armenian leaders to the church in that province, supposedly to consult with them, but after they gathered there, Qasim had them all burned to death. The caliph abhorred Qasim's actions and promptly replaced him as governor (16). By the beginning of the eighth century the Arabs had completely ruined Armenia, eliminated many of its feudal lords, and destroyed much of its architecture. One writer notes, "The fruit of all the cultural efforts of the preceding centuries was reduced to nothing" (17). Armenia enjoyed relative peace and prosperity under Caliph Umar ibn Abd al-Aziz (717-720), whom Lewond calls the noblest among the men of his race, and under the last Umayyad Caliph, Marwan ibn Muhammad (745-750), whose brief reign ended when he lost power to the Abbasids (18). Marwan offered another Bagratuni leader, Ashot, the tide of "Prince of Princes" on the condition that he cease rebelling against the Arabs. Although Ashot refused to do so while the Arabs' [61] tyranny against Armenia continued, his compatriots doubted his loyalty because of his negotiations with the Arabs and had him blinded (19).

The Arabs' precarious rule over Armenia began to wane as the Abbasid state (750-1252) started to decay in the ninth century. The Abbasid rule of Armenia was characterized by cruelty and violence. Like their Umayyad predecessors, the Abbasid caliphs were always greedy for revenues. The first Abbasid Caliph, Abu al-Abbas al-Saffah (750-754), appointed as governor his brother Abu Jafar Abd Allah ibn Muhammad (later Caliph al-Mansur), who treated the Armenians brutally (20). After Abu Jafar, the caliph chose another governor, Yazid ibn Usyad al-Sulami, who laid even heavier taxes on the Armenians (21). Their complaints about his cruelty and ill treatment forced the caliph to replace him with Bakkr ibn Muslim al-Uqayli (22). Caliph Abu Jafar al-Mansur (754775) treated the Armenians with extreme cruelty and ordered that those who evaded the tax should be branded with lead on the neck; he even levied taxes on the dead (23). The Abbasid governors did not collect taxes personally, but entrusted the task to agents who often pocketed most of the money, with the result that the Armenians fell victim to both the agents and the governors who ignored their complaints (24).

Because of this oppression the Armenian people, led by Artawazd Mamikonian, revolted in 771 and killed the Abbasid governors and their Arab employees throughout Armenia. The Abbasids responded by sending armies into southern Armenia to put down the rebellion, and many Armenian chiefs lost their lives in the ensuing battle. The Arab forces counterattacked after their garrison in Dvin received men and ammunition from Baghdad. In the spring of 772 Caliph al-Mansur decided to crush the Armenian revolt with 30,000 troops, led by crack detachments from Khurasan under the command of Amir ibn Isma'il. On April 25, 775, the Abbasid and [62] Armenian forces fought at Bagravend; the Armenians were badly beaten and lost over 1,500 men, including their commanders Mushegh Mamikonian and Smbat Bagratuni (25). The Abbasid governor al-Hasan ibn Qahtaba al-Ta'i used this revolt as a pretext to impose still heavier taxes on Armenia (26).

Despite this defeat the Armenians revolted against Abbasid rule again, notably in the reign of Caliph al-Wathiq bi Allah (842-847), who dispatched his commander Khalid ibn Yazid al-Shaybani not only to vanquish the Armenians, but also to subdue several Muslim Arab amirs who were beginning to show their independence of the government in Baghdad. Khalid died before completing his mission and was succeeded by his son Muhammad ibn Khalid, who managed to suppress some of these amirs, including Ishaq ibn Ismael, the lord of Tiflis, who rebelled in 843 (27). Muhammad not only treated the Armenians with great cruelty but also tried to convert them to Islam by force, but they resisted, preferring death to abandoning their faith. Unable to convert

the Armenians, in 844 he brought many foreign Muslims and settled them in the province of Kadzak to dilute the Armenian population (28). The Armenians continued to rebel, and this time the Caliph al-Mutawakkil sent Abu Said al-Marwazi, who resorted to force to collect taxes. The princes of Vaspurakan bravely resisted, leading al-Marwazi in 850 to send his deputy Muhammad al-Sawafi and then another Arab chief, Musa ibn Zurara, governor of Arzun, but both failed. Al-Marwazi returned to Baghdad to inform the caliph of the situation in Armenia and the prosperity and power the Artsruni clan enjoyed in Vaspurakan, and urged him to eliminate their power because of their enmity toward the Muslims (29).

In 851 al-Mutawakkil again sent al-Marwazi to subdue the rebellious Armenian chiefs Ashot, prince of Vaspurakan, and Bagrat Artsruni, but al-Marwazi died suddenly before achieving his aim. The caliph named his son Yusuf to replace him, promising that if he captured these rebellious [63] Armenian chiefs, he would give him their estates (30). Yusuf summoned the two men and asked them to pay the back taxes peacefully. Ashot refused to see him and instead sent his mother, who urged Yusuf to take the hostages her son had given as a guarantee. Yusuf accepted and avoided fighting Ashot but, not trusting Bagrat, captured him and sent him to Samarra in chains. His cruel treatment of Bagrat enraged the Armenians, who attacked and drove him to hide in a church in Mush (in the province of Khwith) and murdered him in March 851 (31). Another reason given for Yusuf's murder is that one of his commanders, al-Ala ibn Ahmad al-Azdi, pillaged the Armenian Aqdah Monastery in Sisakan, in the mountainous district of Khwith, and tormented its monks; in response, their chief clergy roused the people of the district to seek vengeance (32). These events angered al-Mutawakkil, who decided to crush the Armenian rebels and convert them to Islam (33). In 851-852, he sent his Turkish general Bugha the Elder to subdue the Armenians. Bugha killed many people in the district of Khwith, and by 855 he had subdued most of Armenia and returned to Baghdad with a great number of captives (34). The caliph subjected these captives to all kinds of torture, trying to force them to embrace Islam, but most of them died rather than renounce their Christian faith (35).

[64] Despite their best efforts, the Abbasids found it difficult to protect and preserve their authority over Armenia. In the middle of the ninth century, the Abbasid state was plagued by many problems that encouraged its opponents to challenge its authority (36). Realizing that Armenia was very important to the preservation of their power and self-interest, the Abbasids cajoled the Armenian leaders by offering titles and precious gifts, while the Byzantines used similar tactics in an effort to win Armenia (37). Thus, in 861 al-Mutawakkil softened his policy and recognized Ashot as Armenia's chief prince, but on December 10 of that year a group of Turkish commanders assassinated al-Mutawakkil and seized control of the Abbasid state, which fell into complete political, military, and economic chaos (38). The governors of the provinces, including Armenia, were constantly rebelling against the caliphs in Baghdad. The situation encouraged the Byzantine Emperor Michael III (842-867) to invade the Abbasid territory near the Upper Euphrates in 863. The Abbasid governor of Armenia, Ali ibn Yahya al-Armani, appointed in 862 by the Caliph al-Musta'in bi Allah (862-866), opposed him but lost his life in the battle (39). The Abbasid caliphs, forced to be lenient, released the Armenian captives in the prisons of Baghdad and Samarra and allowed them to return to their country. Reportedly, most of the Armenians who had embraced Islam renounced it and returned to Christianity (40). Near the end of his reign, Caliph al-Musta'in proclaimed Ashot ("Ashot the Great," 859-890) the Prince of Princes of Armenia, Georgia, and the lands of the Caucasus (41) Ashot buttressed his new position by [65] marrying his daughters to princes of the ruling families of Soniates (Siouni) and Vaspurakan. He also won the support of the Catholicos and other Armenian leaders who endorsed his policy of circumspection toward both the Abbasids and the Byzantines (42).

Under Ashot, Armenia was in the enviable position of being courted by both the Abbasids and the Byzantines (43). In recognition of his unusual character and abilities, the Armenian princes urged the Caliph al-Mu'tamid (870-892) to proclaim Ashot their king, assuring him that they would remain his subjects and pay tribute. The caliph assented, and in 885 King Ashot I was formally crowned in the Armenian cathedral by the Catholicos Krikor II, establishing a new Armenia ruled by the Bagratid dynasty. The caliph was represented by his governor Isa ibn Shaykh al-Shaybani, who brought a crown and many expensive gifts (44). The Byzantine Emperor Basil I (867-886), an Armenian by birth, likewise recognized Ashot's suzerainty, sent him a royal crown similar to that sent by the caliph, and concluded an alliance with him. Basil wanted to insure that Armenia would always remain a close ally of the Byzantine Empire and called Ashot "his beloved son" (45). The recognition of Ashot I by both the caliph and the emperor was an important event; it asserted the national identity of Armenia and

assured its expansion under the Bagratuni dynasty (46). Armenian power reached its zenith early in the tenth century under Ashot II, the "Iron King" (914-929), who ruled north Armenia with Dvin as his capital. With Byzantine help, he managed to rid his country of the threat of Muslim onslaughts. When he visited Constantinople, the Emperor Romanus I Lecapenus (919-944) received him with great pomp and honor, and he became the first Armenian sovereign to bear the tide of Shahanshah (King of Kings) of Armenia (47). He also succeeded in becoming independent of both the Abbasid caliph and [66] the Byzantine emperor (48). In southern Armenia, the Artsrunis ruled over the much smaller area of Vaspurakan, with Van as its capital (49).

The situation changed in the second half of the tenth century as the Byzantine emperors, seeing that the Muslims' power was decaying, began attacking to regain the territories they had lost to the Arabs in the seventh century. In 943 John Curcuas, a general serving Emperor Constantine VII, invaded and occupied Miyafarqin (Amid, or Diyarbakr), Dara and al-Ruha (Edessa). Mar'ash, Samosata and Anazarba were retaken between 958 and 961 (50). The restoration of Byzantine territories continued under Emperor Nicephorus Phocas (963-969) and then John Tzimisces, who led four expeditions against the Muslims between 969 and 976 and caused so much fear in Muslim lands that the governors of Miyafarqin and Mosul were forced to pay tribute to the emperor. In 975 he led his fourth campaign into central Syria to crush Muslim power and restore Jerusalem to Byzantine hands. In a letter to the Armenian King Ashot III (952-977), whom he addresses as "Shahanshah of the illustrious Armenians and my illustrious son," Tzimisces reports on his military feats in these campaigns (51). Ashot moved his capital to Ani, which under him and his successor Smbat II (977-989) became a flourishing city (52). With many towns and fortresses in northern Syria and Cilicia, including Melitene, Edessa and Antioch, again in Christian hands, the Muslim residents were expelled and Christians, including many Armenians, moved to settle them (53). So many Armenians settled these towns and fortresses that they installed bishops at Tarsus and Antioch (54).

[67] In the first quarter of the eleventh century, the demography of the Armenian homeland changed dramatically due to the Turkish invasion and the expansionist policy of Emperor Basil II. Matthew of Edessa writes, "The savage nation of infidels called Turks gathered their forces and penetrated Armenia in the province of Vaspurakan in 1011-1012. They mercilessly slaughtered the Christian faithful with the edge of the sword" (55). The Armenian King John Senek'erim (1003-1021), the last Artsruni, sent his son David to fight the Turks, but despite David's valor and the bravery of his men, he was no match for the Turks and was forced to retreat. In this distressing situation, King Senek'erim sought help from Emperor Basil, who saw an opportunity to bring Armenia under his authority. Basil offered an agreement under which Senek'erim would hand over the territory of Vaspurakan, including 72 fortresses, 4,400 villages, and a number of monasteries; Basil in return would give Sebastea to Senek'erim. Thus, Armenia's kings and princes abandoned it (56).

Basil's successors were equally aggressive against Armenia. In 1041 the Emperor Michael IV (the Paphlagonian, 1034-1041) decided to incorporate all of Armenia into his domain but was defeated, and the next year the Armenian nobles proclaimed as king the seventeen-year-old Gagik II (1042-1045) (57). In 1045, Constantine Monomachus (co-emperor, 1042-1050, and emperor, 1050-1054) invaded Armenia and annexed the kingdom of Ani. He followed a policy of resettling Armenians in Cappadocia and Cilicia (58). He had planned to install a eunuch named Nicholas to rule Armenia in place of Gagik II, but the Armenians resisted Constantine's forces and turned them back. Matthew of Edessa says some perfidious Armenians, including "the wicked Sargis," collaborated with the Byzantines to deliver Armenia to the emperor. They sent the keys of Ani with a letter to the emperor, saying the city and the surrounding region were his. Monomachus invited Gagik to Constantinople and showed him the keys of the city and the letter he had received from these perfidious men. Gagik accused the emperor of deceit and vowed that he would never deliver his country to the emperor. Realizing, however, that his efforts were in vain, he abdicated and [68] ceded Ani to the emperor and was compensated with estates in Cappadocia (59).

Between 968 and 1045, Byzantine emperors carried out the process of annexing Armenia, believing that was the most effective way of extending their frontiers eastward and simultaneously integrating the disgruntled elements, mostly Armenians, into the military and political life of the empire. The process may actually have begun under Emperor Basil I (867-886) when the Armenian Kourtikios was given a military position in the empire's government. Under Leo VI ("the Philosopher," 886-912), the Armenian chieftain Manuel ceded Tekis to the

empire and moved to Constantinople, where he was given honors. He received new holdings in the province of Trebizond, and his two sons received high military positions. The district of Taron was annexed in similar fashion in 966. Such actions did not always please the dispossessed Armenian princes, but they had no choice under pressure from the Byzantine emperors (60). Annexation continued on a large scale during the reign of Basil II, when nearly all of the Armenian provinces in the Upper Euphrates area were annexed. Before 1022 the vast region of Taik, extending from Manzikert, north of Lake Van, to Erzerum on the upper Euphrates and Artans, northwest of Kars, was annexed. It was followed by Vaspurakan, which extended from Lake Van to the mountain range which separates present-day Turkey from Iran. Thus, when Gagik was forced to surrender Ani and his kingdom to the Byzantine Empire, the power of the Bagratid dynasty collapsed (61).

Although the displaced Armenian princes received other regions as compensation, they were dispersed, and whatever unity they had was shattered. They took with them their families and nobility, leaving Armenia almost empty of its most valiant men. We do not know how many Armenians left their homes for other regions, but the number must have been large. The repeated raids of the Seljuk Turks at the beginning of the eleventh century induced the Armenians, who had no protection, to leave. The thousands of Armenians who left their homes settled in Cappadocia, Cilicia, and northern Syria, where they established principalities and (at the end of [69] the twelfth century) the feudal kingdom of Little Armenia (62). We must emphasize that these people did not leave their country voluntarily, but rather because of either force or enticement on the part of the Byzantine emperors. Starting in the mid-tenth century, these emperors succeeded in recapturing vast territories from the Abbasids, particularly in Cilicia and northern Syria, which lost many of their Muslim inhabitants. Over the next century, the flight or voluntary movement of Muslims to other areas led the Byzantine emperors to bring Christian Armenians to settle in these regions. This resettlement policy may have worked temporarily, but in the end it proved disastrous. It marked the beginning of the end of the Byzantine Empire in Asia Minor. It tremendously weakened a great stronghold which the Byzantines depended on to serve as a buffer state between themselves and the Turks. Armenia was too weak to withstand the Byzantines or the hordes of Seljuk Turks who appeared on its eastern borders. And when Armenia was attacked, Byzantine territory was attacked (63).

Armenia's difficult situation was compounded by a religious factor that is of great relevance to the Byzantines' dealings with the Armenians and the Syrians. Like the great majority of the Syrian church, the Armenian Christians were believers in "One Nature of the God-Logos," wrongly called "monophysites" because they rejected the decisions of the Council of Chalcedon (451), while many of the natives of the region of Cappadocia, Cilicia and northern Syria were adherents of the Byzantine Church, which embraced the decisions of that council. A rift and even animosity developed between the two peoples, for the Armenians were distrustful of the Byzantines and their expansion (64). Moreover, the Armenian culture and language differed from those of the other peoples of these regions, as did the liturgy and the administration of their churches (65). The Byzantines, extremely intolerant, aimed to destroy the attitudes and lifestyle of the Armenians both in Armenia proper and in Lesser Armenia in Cilicia (66). The Byzantine Church, Greek by culture and language, tried but failed to bring the Armenians into its fold. The Armenian people, who had become dominant in the regions [70] where they had settled, were always the object of suspicion, for the Byzantine state was not sure of their loyalty. Michael Rabo, the patriarch of the Syrian Church, writes that at Manzikert the Armenian contingents rebelled because the Byzantines pressured them to accept their heresy (the faith of Chalcedon), and so "the Turks defeated the Rum" (Byzantines) (67).

Armenia faced two foes—the Byzantines and the Seljuk Turks, whose raids against Armenia constituted a real and present danger. King John Senek'erim surrendered Vaspurakan to the Emperor Basil II and accepted some Byzantine provinces in exchange, perhaps hoping to live a more peaceful life (68). The sons of Seljuk became the lords of Khurasan by 1038 and of Baghdad in 1055, making the Abbasid state and caliphs their vassals. Their proximity to the Armenian-Byzantine frontier enticed them to carry out their *ghazi* (religious activity) against the infidels. To enhance their power and prestige, the sons of Seljuk had to find an outlet for the Turkomans to conquer other lands, find pastures for their cattle, and channel their warlike activity. Armenia was theirs for the taking. When the Turks invaded Armenia, they knew the entire country was abandoned and unprotected. The Byzantines had removed the brave and mighty men from Armenia and the East, installing eunuchs in their place (69). Armenia lost its independence, but not its national spirit. Its adherence to the Orthodox faith preserved its identity, despite the continuous efforts of the Byzantine emperors and church to convert its people.

In 1038 the Seljuk Turkish chief Tughrul Beg (Bey) (1038-1063), seeking new fields to conquer after establishing his rule in Khurasan, dispatched troops against Armenia, then under Byzantine control, and ravaged it. Over the next few years the Seljuks repeatedly attacked Armenia without meeting serious opposition. In 1045-1046, Tughrul conducted further raids there, though these were aimed mainly at the Muslims of northern Mesopotamia around Mosul (70). Returning to Persia after ravaging the Mosul area, his men passed through the Armenian town of Archis (Arqa), which had a Byzantine garrison. The Turks asked the Byzantine governor, Stephen, to allow them safe passage to their homeland in Khurasan but he refused. They engaged him in battle and defeated him, then flayed his skin and stuffed his [71] body with grass. In 1048 Ibrahim Inal (Yinal), the half-brother of Tughrul Beg, attacked Armenia, sacked Erzerum, and put the magnificent and populous Armenian town of Artsn to the sword (72). The Seljuks penetrated Byzantine lands and reached Manzikert, Arzun, and even Trebizond on the Black Sea, killed a great number of Byzantines, and took many of their patricians captives (73).

Tughrul had a strong interest in Armenia, believing that the capture of this once autonomous state was crucial to checking Byzantine expansion. When he invaded it in 1048, he faced opposition from the prince of the province of Vanand (Kars), but the prince finally fell before the enormous Turkish force. Thirty young princes lost their lives, along with a great number of Armenians. In the fray Tatoul, son of the prince of Asuran, was wounded and captured by the Turks; Tughrul cut off his right arm and sent him back to Asuran (74). In 1050, Tughrul sent an envoy to the Arab governor of Armenia, Ibn Marwan, ordering him to submit and become his subject, but Ibn Marwan shrewdly gained peace by offering him plenty of expensive gifts (75). In the same year the Turks wrought havoc on the city of Melitene, killing so many people that some escaped death by hiding among the corpses. They took some captives and forced them, under threat of torture, to lead them to where the treasures of the city were hidden. They tortured many people to death, including Master Deacon Peter, who was captured while transcribing *fanqith* (Syriac prayer book). When the Turks found he had many books, they thought he was a leader of the city's Christians and ordered him to tread upon the cross. When he refused, they beat him and [72] threw him into fire, then poured boiling tar on his head until he died. Michael Rabo says that the Turks stayed ten days in Melitene, ravaging and destroying the city before burning it. They destroyed the Monastery of Ibn Jaji (founded by Iliyya ibn Jaji of Takrit in 960) and the whole countryside, during the reign of the Emperor Constantine IX Monomachus (1050-1054) (76).

In 1054-1055 Tughrul attacked Armenia in an invasion called "a venomous and deadly windstorm " (77). He assaulted Berkri, devastating it and massacring its people. He destroyed the villages and farms between Lake Van and Georgia and Arzun. For eight days he besieged Archesh (Arjish), whose weary inhabitants finally submitted, offering him gifts of gold and silver, horses and mules. They begged him to go and capture Manzikert, saying then all Armenia would submit to him. He agreed, and came to Manzikert like "a serpent filled with every conceivable wickedness " (78). Matthew of Edessa relates at length how the city was saved by one brave man who ventured into Tughrul's camp and burned a huge catapult he had erected. The inhabitants of Manzikert defied Tughrul by placing a pig on a catapult and hurling it into his camp, shouting, "O Sultan, take this pig for your wife and we will give you Manzikert as a dowry!" Enraged, Tughrul had the offenders decapitated. He left the city and went home in humiliation (79). Realizing he could not capture Manzikert, Tughrul had to be satisfied with pillaging and destroying the surrounding region (80). The Turks continued to harass the Byzantines during the brief reign of the meek, kindly, aged Emperor Michael IV (1056-1057). In 1058, the Seljuks returned to the offensive against the Armenian province of Taron.

Tughrul's nephew Alp Arslan succeeded him as sultan of the Seljuks in 1063, and soon afterwards he captured the Armenian city of Ani. Bar Hebraeus says the city was so well fortified that the Turks despaired of capturing it, but by a freak accident, one of its towers collapsed and the Turks laid a bridge across the River Aras and stormed the city. Hence, Alp Arslan was called Abu al-Fath (81). Ani must have been a glorious city, for it had [73] 700,000 houses and a thousand churches (82). Reportedly Alp Arslan ordered the churches and mansions in Ani destroyed. Matthew of Edessa says his men slaughtered the inhabitants mercilessly, mowing them down like green grass and piling them atop one another, filling the city with blood. A number of Armenian noblemen and officials were brought in chains before the sultan, while innumerable respectable ladies and their children were taken as captives to Persia. Priests were burned to death, and others flayed alive from head to toe (83). King Gagik-Abas II (1029-1064) attempted to save his Bagratid kingdom of Kars by surrendering it to Emperor

Constantine X Ducas (1059-1067), but the Seljuk Turks soon captured it. Alp Arslan conquered Armenia and devastated Syria, Cilicia, and Cappadocia. The Turks also attacked Caesarea, capital of Cappadocia, and pillaged its spiritual centers, especially the Church of St. Basil the Great, which contained the relics of the saint (84). Thus, the Seljuk Turks penetrated the boundary of Byzantium proper through Armenia in the northeastern part of the country. They had found a weak spot, largely the result of the Byzantine emperors' ill treatment of the Armenians and their neglect to fortify Armenia, the buffer that separated them from the Seljuk Turks.

Weak and unprepared, the Byzantines finally lost to the Turks, and Byzantium became Turkey. In 1071 Alp Arslan defeated the army of Emperor Romanus IV Diogenes at the Armenian town of Mantskert (Manzikert), near Lake Van (85) The battle of Manzikert was a catastrophe for the [74] Byzantines, marking the beginning of the end of their empire; moreover, it brought an end to the great role the Armenians had played in the political and military life of the empire since the sixth century, although they continued to live within its borders (86). After Manzikert, the Seljuk Turks spread throughout the eastern provinces of Asia Minor, forcing many Armenians to leave their homeland and settle in Cilicia or in the Taurus Mountains near Antioch, where they established several principalities. Some of those who settled in the Taurus region remained loyal to the emperor and even defended Byzantium against the incursions of the Turks, but those who settled in Cilicia desired independence from Byzantium.

Continued on Next Page

Matti Moosa's

*The East Before the Crusaders' Arrival**

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With the Byzantine power now broken, the Turks expanded into the interior of Asia Minor. The Seljuk chief Sulayman, son of Kutulmish (1077-1085), established the state of Rum at Iconium, in the heart of Byzantine territory. His authority extended to Cappadocia and even Nicaea, on the south side of the Bosphorus opposite Constantinople. Michael Rabo says that after their defeat, the Byzantines could no longer challenge the Turks; this statement leads us to conclude that after Manzikert, the Byzantine Empire was no more (87). Asia Minor was thus torn up between the Byzantines and the Turks, among whom the Seljuk were predominant. After the disaster at Manzikert other Turkish hordes rushed to settle in many parts of the Byzantine territory, creating havoc for the Christians. They not only took the land but ravaged it so badly that the inhabitants could not plant or harvest crops. These Muslim Turkish hordes hated Christianity so much that they used the churches as stables for their horses. They immolated priests during the Holy Communion service and carried people into slavery, without regard for their age or position. They defiled virgins, took infants away, and forced the youth to be circumcised according to the rules of Islam. One writer summarized the situation with the words of the Prophet Jeremiah: "The children of Zion, never put to the test by misfortunes, now voyaged as slaves on foreign roads. The tender mothers, in place of preparing with their hands the nourishment of the sons, were themselves nourished from [75] the corpses of these dearly loved. Such and worse was the situation at that time" (88).

Between 1083 and 1125, the Turkish hordes established permanent settlements in Asia Minor. Among these hordes were the Danishmend, who in 1085 captured Sebastea, Caesarea, Amasea, and other northern regions. Some other adventurous Turks, mainly Chaka, captured Smyrna (Izmir) and the Aegean littoral, while the Menguchek controlled Erzinjan and Colonea (89). While these events were taking place, a gang of fifty Armenian robbers had surreptitiously entered the region with the Turks and plied their trade. In the region of Mar'ash they met a young Armenian from the village of Shirka named Piladros (Philaretus), about whom we shall have more to say later (90). Thus, for over a century, the interaction of the Greeks, Turks, and Armenians dominated the entire Middle East, and the arrival of the Crusaders would add another dimension to the turbulence in the area (91).

Michael Rabo's treatment of the Byzantines and their conflict with the Turks is brief but fair. He calls the Emperor Constantine IX Monomachus (1050-1054) generous and magnanimous (92). Of Emperor Michael VI Stratioticus (1056-1057), he says that this meek old man reigned only for one [76] year, living off the sale of spoons he secretly made (93). He has nothing good to say about the Emperor Isaac Comnenus Sebastocrator (1057-1059), calling him tyrannical, arrogant and avaricious. He briefly relates how Isaac marched with an army against Constantinople and seized power from Michael VI, who then left Constantinople to enter the monastery he had built for himself, shaved off his hair, and became a monk (94). He praises Emperor Alexius Comnenus (1081-1118) as a mighty and wise man who saved Constantinople from the Franks. He fought the Franks, the Comans and the Egyptians (Fatimids), and administered his kingdom "for twenty-nine years" with skill (95). On the negative side, he points out that the emperor ordered the burning of two churches, one Syrian and the other Armenian, but does not condemn him for this action. Until Alexius' time, he says, the Syrian and Armenian churches both had congregations in Constantinople, each served by a single priest who saw to the needs of his congregation, mostly merchants. One day a priest from Syria visited Constantinople and, apparently offended at his reception by the Syrian priest there, told the Byzantines that the Syrians and the Armenians in their capital were in league with the Turks. The emperor angrily ordered that both churches be burned and expelled the

priests; the congregations, left without a shepherd of their own, joined the "heretics", i.e., the Byzantine church (96).

Michael Rabo writes at length about the Byzantines' ill treatment of his church and community, resulting from a Christological controversy that the members of the Council of Chalcedon (451) thought they had settled once and for all. Unfortunately, that council split the universal church into two camps which remain divided to this day. The Roman Catholic Church, the Greek Church, and part of the Syrian Church of Antioch adopted the decisions of the council, while the Coptic Church (the church of Egypt), along with another part of the Syrian Church, the Ethiopian Church, and the Armenian Church rejected Chalcedon. Unless one understands the Christological controversies of the fourth and fifth centuries that culminated in the decisions of the Council of Chalcedon and their effect on the different churches and communities in the following centuries, it is easy to state without qualification (as Runciman does) that Michael Rabo's treatment of [77] the Byzantines is prejudiced (97). The truth is that Michael Rabo did not hate the Byzantines as individuals or as a nation. He detested them for persecuting his own church and community over doctrinal matters dating back to the fifth century. Thus, an explanation of the doctrinal differences between the Byzantines and the Syrians is in order.

The dispute between the Byzantines and the Syrian Church centers on the manner of the union of the two natures of Christ, human and divine, in the Incarnation. Until the late fourth and early fifth centuries, theologians in both East and West had little interest in the union of the two natures. They were more concerned with the Egyptian priest Arius, who maintained that the Son (Jesus Christ) was not of the same being or substance with the Father. The Arian heresy was condemned in 325 at the Council of Nicaea, which formulated what came to be called the Nicene Creed. Then came the heresy of Nestorius, patriarch of Constantinople (428-431), who stated that the Virgin Mary had given birth not to a divine being, but to a mere man who later became Christ by adoption. Nestorius came from the theological school of Antioch, which emphasized the human aspect of Christ, whereas the school of Alexandria emphasized His divine aspect. In the language of the time, Nestorius said that the Virgin Mary was not *Theotokos* (Bearer/Mother of God) but *Christotokos*, that is, the mother of the man Christ. The controversy was ignited by a sermon by the presbyter Anastasius, whom Nestorius had brought with him from Antioch to administer his diocese. Anastasius, an exponent of the theology of the School of Antioch, argued that no man should call Mary *Theotokos* because it was impossible that God should be born of woman. This statement would have created little controversy if it had not been endorsed by Nestorius. Once Cyril, bishop of Alexandria (d. 444), heard that Nestorius held the same belief as his presbyter, he accused Nestorius of promoting an unbiblical doctrine. The Council of Ephesus (431), which condemned Nestorius' belief that Mary was not *Theotokos*, was meant to end the controversy, which had created a rift between Antioch, Rome and Constantinople on the one hand and Alexandria on the other. At the center of the controversy was the doctrine that in His Incarnation, God the word (Christ) became flesh by being born to a woman under human conditions. Thus, in the womb of Mary God the Word became man, and His divine nature was united with His human nature, which he took from Mary to form One Nature, or *mia physis* (the formula employed by St. Cyril of Alexandria, who said he borrowed it [78] from St. Athanasius of Alexandria, defender of the faith against the Arian heresy at the Council of Nicaea).

The dispute over One Nature versus Two Natures intensified, to the detriment of the church, and the Council of Chalcedon (451) was called to resolve it. This was mere wishful thinking, for politics, egotism, and the self-interest of church leaders, especially Leo I, bishop of Rome, had a powerful but pernicious influence on the determination of doctrinal issues. Motivated by his desire for revenge and his contempt for the high prestige of the See of Alexandria, Leo hoped to punish and humiliate Dioscorus, the bishop of Alexandria, and curtail the supremacy of his See. The Council of Chalcedon was merely the instrument by which he could achieve his goal, disguised by a theological veneer. The Council formulated the doctrine that in the Incarnation the two natures of Christ were united in One Person. This notion was rejected by the Egyptian and Syrian members of the council, who stood by Cyril's formula of faith. Surprisingly Dioscorus, who was at the center of the controversy, was condemned not for his beliefs but for his refusal to allow a letter by Leo of Rome, known as the *Tome*, to be read at the Second Council of Ephesus (449), at which he had presided. The formula of faith proposed by the Council of Chalcedon was endorsed by Rome and Constantinople but rejected by Alexandria and a great majority of the See of Antioch. Shortly afterward, it was also rejected by the Armenian Church (98).

The rift within the church universal, now irreconcilable, brought a great deal of trouble to the church. The Byzantine emperors caused much of the trouble, injecting politics and self-interest into the doctrinal controversy by supporting one faction against the other. The Byzantine church and emperors began to persecute those who rejected the formula of faith of Chalcedon, labeling them "Monophysites," i.e., adherents of the One Nature doctrine. The Syrian Church was so persecuted by the Chalcedonians that in the sixth century only two Syrian bishops were left to administer their flock. The story of this persecution is vividly told by the Syrian historian John of Ephesus (d. 585), who himself experienced it (99). At this point [79] the great Jacob Baradaeus (d. 578) revived the Syrian and Egyptian churches and saved them from utter annihilation. In the next century, when their homelands fell into the hands of the marauding Muslim Arabs, the Syrians, Copts, and Armenians found themselves under the heels of new masters who not only had a different religion but were determined to reduce them to the status of *dhimmi*s, subjects who would be protected if they paid taxes.

The idea that the Christians of Syria and Egypt opened their gates for the Muslim Arabs to save themselves from their Byzantine persecutors is sheer historical fallacy, promoted by ancient Muslim chroniclers and propagated by Muslim and some Christian writers to this day. Historian Philip Hitti says that Damascus, Syria's capital, surrendered to the army commander Khalid ibn al-Walid in September 635 "through treachery on the part of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, who included the father of the celebrated St. John of Damascus," but gives no documentation for this assertion. His statement, "The people of Shyzar (Larissa) went out to meet him [Khalid ibn al-Walid] accompanied by players on the tambourines and singers and bowed down before him," is based on a sole Muslim source, the ninth-century historian Ahmad al-Baladhuri (100). As for the Arabs' conquest of Egypt, the Egyptian historian Jacques Tajir has proved that no Christian Copt collaborated with the Arabs to enable them to occupy Egypt, although some welcomed the tolerance of their new masters after suffering the intolerance of their Byzantine masters (101). This is not the place to challenge these fallacies. Suffice it to say that the Muslim Arabs conquered Syria and Egypt by the sword, and there is no tenable substantive evidence that they did so [80] with the consent or treachery of some of their people. The Byzantines were so weak that the Muslim Arabs would have prevailed with or without such assistance.

The only direct testimony by a Syriac source on the Arab conquest of Syria comes from Patriarch Dionysius of Tall Mahre (d. 845), who was quite familiar with the Muslims and their affairs. He was a friend of the Abbasid Caliph al-Mamun (d. 833), who sent him to Egypt to pacify a Coptic rebellion against the Abbasids. In his history, which is lost to us (fortunately, Michael Rabo preserved parts and incorporated them into his own work), Tall Mahre relates the dissension caused within his community by the Emperor Heraclius (610-641), who tried to win the Syrians to the Byzantine fold by forcing them to accept the decision of the Council of Chalcedon. They refused, and Heraclius, enraged, issued an order that anyone who did not accept Chalcedon have his nose and ears cut off and his house looted. Out of fear many monks, including those of the Monastery of Marun, endorsed the Council of Chalcedon. The people of Homs and the southern parts of Syria also embraced Chalcedon and seized many Syrian churches and monasteries. Tall Mahre laments this persecution of the Syrian church and community: "When God, the Lord of vengeance, who alone has the control of everything, and who offers sovereignty to whom He wills and takes it away from whom He wills, and who establishes the weak in this sovereignty, saw the perfidy of the Rum (Byzantines) who plundered our churches and monasteries whenever they became powerful and treated us without mercy, He brought the sons of Ishmael (allegedly the Arabs) from the south, that through them we might have salvation from the hands of the Rum" (102). Evidently, Tall Mahre considers the Arab conquest of Syria a divine act of God meant to save the Syrians from their Byzantine persecutors. He says nothing of any Syrian collaboration with the conquering Arabs or betrayal of the country by the native civil and ecclesiastical authorities.

Much to the benefit of the Muslims and to the detriment of the Byzantines, the persecution of the Syrians by the Byzantine state and church continued up to the time of the Crusades. Michael Rabo's description of the Byzantine emperors' vicious treatment of his own church and community is not based on prejudice but rather is a statement of historical fact. The Byzantines did not see that by persecuting their fellow Christians, the Syrians and the Armenians, they were weakening themselves and offering the Turks [81] a great opportunity to fight them and devastate their lands. As the eastern part of the Byzantine Empire had once been occupied by the Muslim Arabs, in the eleventh century it fell to another Muslim force, the Seljuk Turks. When the Turks began their assault on Armenia and Byzantine territories, Michael Rabo writes, Emperor Romanus III Argyrus (1028-

1034) fought against them but was defeated and fled. After ravaging the area, the Muslims took control of Aleppo, which the Greeks (Byzantines) had already evacuated. Less concerned about the fall of Aleppo than about the Byzantines' persecution of the Christians, Michael says:

> It never occurred to the Greek (Byzantine) tyrants that the ancestors of this king (Emperor Romanus) never stopped persecuting the Christians everywhere. Today they returned to their old habits. They banished the patriarch and the bishops. Thus, God defeated them by their enemies and placed them under the control of their haters (103).

He goes on to relate at length the story of the Chalcedonians' persecution of the Syrian Patriarch Yuhanna VIII Bar Abdun (John son of Abdun) and the involvement of Emperor Romanus in doctrinal affairs. Yuhanna bar Abdun was a simple but righteous man known for his miracles, having once healed the Chalcedonian governor of Melitene of leprosy. But Nicephorus, the bishop of Melitene, was very jealous of Yuhanna bar Abdun, who he thought had attracted many Chalcedonian followers in the city, and complained to the authorities in Constantinople that he could not manage the affairs of his diocese while "that sorcerer" was in it. Emperor Romanus, who was a schoolmate of Yuhanna bar Abdun, urged the leaders of Melitene to move him to the Muslims' territory for safety. But his enemies prevailed; the emperor finally summoned Bar Abdun to appear before him in Constantinople. Accompanied by six bishops and abbots, he arrived in mid-June 1028. As it happened, there were two hundred Chalcedonian bishops there, assembled in the church of Hagia Sophia, waiting for an audience with the emperor (the Chalcedonian Patriarch of Antioch was not present). When they asked why Yuhanna bar Abdun and his clerics were there, they were told that, like the Greeks, they were Christians. Realizing that he had no case against them, Nicephorus asked someone to go through the streets crying out that these clerics did not confess Mary as the Mother of God. This false accusation apparently succeeded; people spat at Yuhanna and his companions and even hurled trash at them.

[82] The bishops kept Bar Abdun and Iliyya, bishop of Semando, on their feet all day long, questioning them on their faith. Yuhanna bar Abdun gave them two documents about the faith of his church. After reading these, the Chalcedonian bishops said they had brought him and the others here to teach them the faith, not to learn what their faith was. Through an interpreter, the bishops asked them to embrace the belief in "two natures of Christ after the union, which is the faith of Chalcedon." Bar Abdun replied, "We will never admit two natures after the union, nor will we alter the faith of our fathers." Nicephorus asked, "Don't you accept the faith of the emperor?" The patriarch said, "We obey the command of the pious emperor in everything. As to changing our faith, this is impossible." Instantly, Nicephorus stretched his hand and slapped the patriarch, who turned the other cheek. When those present saw what had happened, they were grieved and wept. One of them said, "I cannot sit in this assembly and see Christ slapped on his face and humiliated." Other bishops likewise expressed their resentment, and thus the first meeting ended. Patriarch Abdun and his companions were then moved to the Mina Monastery, and on the next day to the Monastery of St. Gregory.

In a second meeting, the Chalcedonian bishops engaged the Syrians in a lengthy debate but failed to change their faith. Then they asked them not to add olive oil to the Communion bread, and to sign the cross not with one finger (indicating the union of the two Natures of Christ in One Nature), as was their custom, but with two fingers (indicating that the two Natures of Christ remained distinct after their union). The Syrian clerics refused, and the Chalcedonians separated them, placing the patriarch Bar Abdun and Bishop Dionysius in a monastery. Emperor Romanus called four of the Syrian bishops and through an interpreter asked them to accept the faith of Chalcedon. One of them, Iwannis, replied, "We will never change our faith. Release us, or we are ready to die for the sake of Christ." The emperor then ordered them thrown into the Numera prison, where they were tortured for two months. He was angry at Nicephorus for having brought the patriarch and his bishops to Constantinople, but there is no evidence that he rebuked him or punished him for his action.

Meanwhile, Nicephorus succeeded in getting some of the bishops to proclaim the faith of Chalcedon, saying he did not want them to change their faith but only to offer honor and homage to the emperor; he had them sign their change of faith and brought their signatures to the emperor. The emperor sent a messenger to offer Patriarch Yuhanna Bar Abdun the See of Antioch if he would embrace the faith of Chalcedon. The patriarch answered, "I have a see in both earth and heaven and do not want any other. [83] If you want me to change my faith in order to gain a see rich with money and a great congregation, know that I will never change my faith

even if you offer me your throne." The emperor then asked about the other bishops' admission of the faith of Chalcedon, but they said they could not make any statement while the old man (Patriarch Yuhanna Bar Abdun) was present. Nicephorus ordered the patriarch transferred from prison to his residence in Constantinople. He spat in his face and insulted him, saying, "Where are those who thronged around you in Melitene? I am the one who brought you here, O hypocrite." He hoped to provoke the patriarch to condemn the recreant bishops, thinking such action would convince the emperor to issue a death sentence against Abdun. The patriarch said, "My Lord has not ordered me to curse my persecutors, but according to the law He established, I should love my enemies. If your Lord has ordered you to hate and persecute, you should know better." After insulting and humiliating him, Nicephorus sent the patriarch to the Monastery of Gaius in Bulgaria, where he died on February 22, 1031, the festival day of the Presentation of the Lord in the Temple (104).

The persecution of the Syrian clerics did not end with the death of Yuhanna bar Abdun but extended to his successor Dionysius Haya (1032-1042). Haya, abbot of the Monastery of Lazarus in the district of Jubas, was chosen as patriarch and ordained at the Monastery of Mar Demete. The Chalcedonian congregation of Melitene then sent word of his ordination to Constantinople, and the emperor ordered him arrested and taken to the capital. Some prominent Syrians of Melitene, members of Haya's church, warned him, and he immediately crossed the Euphrates river to the city of Amid in the Muslims' region. The Byzantine governor of Melitene sent gifts to the governor of Amid, urging him to execute the emperor's order and deliver Haya to the Byzantine authorities. The governor replied, "Our laws do not permit us to arrest those who find refuge with us and deliver them to their enemies. Nor do they allow us to force anyone to embrace any [84] doctrine." The Byzantines were ashamed, although generally they knew no shame or reproach. Haya spent the rest of his life in Amid, where he died and was buried (105).

Michael Rabo says the persecution of the Syrians continued under Emperor Constantine X Ducas (1059-1067), when the Chalcedonians also acted against the Armenians under the rule of the Rum (Byzantines). He calls this persecution more cruel than that carried out by ancient pagans against the Christians. Although the Christians had suffered attacks and loss of property at the hands of the Turks, their oppression by the Chalcedonians was harsher. The Patriarch of Constantinople—probably John VIII Xiphilin (1063-1075), although Michael Rabo does not name him—decided to persecute the Syrians and the Armenians in Constantinople who refused to embrace the "heresy" of the Greeks, i.e., the faith of Chalcedon, but without avail. Finally Mari, one of the patriarch's assistants, gathered the books and vessels from the Syrian and Armenian churches and burned them. His men poured the Holy Body and Blood (of the Eucharist) and the Holy Chrism on the floor and trod upon them. Immediately, says Michael Rabo, divine justice came upon this patriarch, who died in his bed without being sick (106).

Meanwhile the Turks, taking advantage of the quest for power of Isaac Comnenus (1057-1059), attacked Byzantine territory, looting, destroying, and burning many regions. They attacked Melitene without resistance. But the Byzantines' political problems and their humiliation by the Turks did not stop them from persecuting the Syrians. Soon they attacked Patriarch Athanasius V Haya and some of his bishops, including his nephew, Bishop Ignatius III of Melitene (d. 1094). The patriarch, meek and inclined to asceticism, was renowned for his profound knowledge of philosophy, rhetoric, logic, and Biblical studies. He and some bishops were arrested by the Byzantine authorities and imprisoned for five months in the Matran Monastery (the Monastery of Saint Ebdocos [Eudocos] of the Rum, near Melitene), then transferred to Constantinople. When they reached Arqa, west of Melitene, Patriarch Athanasius died, and his body was returned for burial at the Monastery of St, Harun (Aaron) al-Shaghr in the Blessed Mountain near Melitene. His nephew Bishop Ignatius, sent to Constantinople to be questioned about his faith, wrote a ten-page tract summarizing the faith of [85] his church and describing the distress he had suffered because of his arrest. In this tract (parts of which Michael Rabo incorporated into his *Chronicle*), Ignatius says the Greek authorities took him with other bishops to Constantinople and they appeared like common criminals before the Greek Patriarch, who accused them of upholding an opposing doctrine. Nicolaus, the Greek bishop of Melitene, pointed to Ignatius, saying, "This is the one who will win the whole city of Melitene to his doctrine because he is learned and discerning."

The patriarch asked Ignatius and his colleagues to teach him about their faith, and after stating the Nicene Creed, Ignatius explained the doctrine of his church about the Oneness of the Natures of Christ after the Incarnation. He

said that Christ is one nature made from two, the divine and the human, both of which are perfect, as the holy Fathers had said. These two natures constitute One Nature of the Incarnate Word and One Person, without change and confusion. He added that his church recognized only three universal Councils (those of Nicaea, Ephesus, and Constantinople) and did not accept the Chalcedonian definition of the faith purporting two Natures, two Essences, two Activities and two Wills of the Incarnate Word. Ignatius laments that although he and the other bishops with him did not yield on any point of faith to the Greeks, they were exiled to Agaius in Macedonia, where they remained for three years and were insulted and humiliated for no reason except their faith. Upon Emperor Ducas's death in 1067, Queen Eudocia, intent on consolidating power, ordered that all prisoners and exiles be released. Accordingly, Ignatius and his colleagues were freed and returned to Melitene, unknown to the Chalcedonian patriarch. Ignatius thanks God that he did not yield to the Chalcedonians, despite their tempting propositions: "By God's grace we have kept our Orthodox faith and did not mingle with the heretics" (107).

Some emperors, notably Justinian I and then Heraclius in the seventh century, tried but failed to win the Syrians to the Chalcedonian fold. Instead of unity and peace, Heraclius caused more dissension, which led to Monothelitism and the rise of the Maronite Church and community (108). Five centuries later, Emperor Manuel I (1143-1180) made a similar effort; when [86] Michael Rabo visited Antioch in 1172-1173, the Byzantines used the opportunity to begin a debate with him regarding the faith (109). Michael Rabo wrote down his confession of faith and handed it to the Byzantines, who sent it to Constantinople. The emperor asked a learned man named Christophorus to write a response to the patriarch, and in 1173 he sent an emissary named Theorianus to Nersis, the Armenian Catholicos, and to Michael Rabo. On reaching the Roman citadel, Theorianus sent word to Michael Rabo that the emperor wanted him to come to Syria because for various reasons he could not go to Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia), but the patriarch declined. Theorianus returned to Constantinople and soon came back with another message from the emperor, asking Michael Rabo to set the time and place for a meeting. Michael sent his disciple the monk Tadrus (Theodore) bar Wahbun to meet with Theorianus; Theodore was detained after reaching Melitene, but Christophorus carried his letters to Constantinople (110). When the two sides met, Bar Wahbun defended the orthodoxy of his church's belief in the "One Incarnate Nature of God the Word" by citing Aristotle's philosophy, especially regarding the division (whether intrinsic or accidental) of essences into corporeal and incorporeal. Theorianus asked, "What business have we with this pagan Aristotle?" Nersis, the Armenian Catholicos, replied, "You tried to attack us with your riddles, thinking that we are ignorant and have no answer. Now that we have presented proofs to refute you, you attempt to dodge the issue and find excuses." On returning to Constantinople, Theorianus wrote Michael Rabo that the emperor wanted him to agree to ten points, five on doctrine and the rest concerning rituals. From this letter, reported by Bar Hebraeus in his biography of Michael Rabo, it appears the emperor presented nothing new. He wanted the patriarch to accept the Chalcedonian view on "the Unity of the Two Natures of Christ in One Person" and (among other things) to stop adding to the Trisagion the phrase, "Thou who were crucified for us have mercy on us" (111). Naturally, the patriarch was not willing to concede on these points. [87] In a gracious gesture, the emperor invited the patriarch to Constantinople to discuss matters of faith. He gave him a choice, either to accept the doctrine of Chalcedon or to remain faithful to his own doctrine. The patriarch answered, "We are desirous to achieve unity of faith with anyone who keeps without change the belief of Athanasius and Cyril in the One Incarnate Nature of God the Word" (112).

This whole episode shows clearly that the Byzantines regarded the Syrians and Armenians, who rejected Chalcedon, as recalcitrant and even antagonistic to their church and state. They never understood that these doctrinal differences and the controversies resulting from them were instrumental in the downfall of their state in the East, which they lost first to the Muslim Arabs and later to the Muslim Turks. Indeed, as late as the thirteenth century, Jacques De Vitry (d. 1240), bishop of Acre and later of Jerusalem, wrote that there were irreconcilable disputes between the Armenians and the Greeks (Byzantines) regarding their rites and practices (113). We should note here that Emperor Manuel's real motive in communicating with the Syrian Patriarch Michael Rabo and the Armenian Catholicos Nersis was to effect unity of the Syrians and the Armenians with Constantinople, because he needed their cooperation against the Turks. But this effort was too little and too late, for the two groups had been divided since the fifth century.

The Byzantines' ill treatment of the Armenian church and people because they rejected the faith of Chalcedon made Armenia a cold prey for the hordes of Seljuk Turks. This was especially crucial to the Byzantines, for the Armenians had their own state and principalities in Cilicia, whereas the Syrians had neither. As Emperor John I Tzimisces (969-976) added territories in Syria to his empire, the Byzantines continued persecuting the non-Chalcedonian churches and communities even after the Armenians moved their capital to Ani. They made trouble for several Armenian kings, especially Gagik I of Ani (989-1020), whom they tried to force to accept their faith (114). Matthew of Edessa vividly relates the effort of Emperor [88] Constantine X Ducas (1059-1067) and the Patriarch John VIII Xiphilin (1063-1075) "to destroy the faith of the Armenians," i.e., to make them embrace the Chalcedonian faith. The emperor hoped that Atom and Abu Sahl, sons of King Gagik I, and the *vardapet* (monk) James of Sanahin, who had accompanied them to the capital, would recognize the faith of Chalcedon and receive baptism according to the Roman faith, but they refused. They told the emperor that they were unable to do anything of this sort without their former king Gagik II (1042-1045) (115).

The emperor did not want Gagik II to come to Constantinople because he knew that he was a brilliant philosopher and formidable theological debater. Instead, he debated regarding the two natures of Christ with the *vardapet* James, who seemed somewhat inclined toward accepting the Chalcedonian faith. James drew up a document of reunion of faith between the Armenian and Byzantine churches, which the emperor ordered deposited at the Church of Saint Sophia. In 1065 or 1066, Gagik II hastened to Constantinople to meet with the emperor, asked to see the document James had drafted, and tore it in two and threw it at the emperor's feet. Pointing at James, he said that this man was only a monk who knew little about the true faith of the Armenian Church, and that there were many Armenians who would not accept the compromise he had drafted. He then reprimanded James: "How dare you write this document and get yourself involved in such nonsense?" Turning again to the emperor, Gagik said, "I am king and a son of kings of Armenia, and all Armenians obey my commands. I am well versed in the Old and New Testaments, and all the Armenians are witnesses to the truth of my words. I shall present a discourse concerning the faith to the Romans (Byzantines) and to the emperor and patriarch." He then proceeded to deliver a brilliant and decisive Christological discourse before the emperor and the Greek learned men and rhetoricians, convincing them of the orthodoxy of the faith of the Armenian Church. Pleased with his arguments, the emperor established peace and friendly relations with the [89] Armenians. He bestowed many gifts on Gagik II, Atom and Abu Sahl, and the Armenian clergy exalted Gagik for his vigorous defense of their faith (116).

The abuse of the Armenians and their faith did not stop with Gagik's discourse in Constantinople. Leaving the capital with his retinue, Gagik came to the city of Caesarea in Cappadocia. There he heard that the Chalcedonian bishop Mark had a dog which he had named 'Armen,' clearly insulting the Armenians. Gagik requested and received an invitation to be the bishop's guest. While at the house, he asked the bishop to call his dog, but the dog did not respond because he did not call it by name. At Gagik's insistence, the bishop called out "Armen, Armen!" and the dog immediately responded. Outraged, Gagik asked his men to place both the bishop and his dog in a bag. They did so and began calling the dog by name. Angered at being confined in the bag, the dog attacked the bishop and tore his flesh, killing him (117). The Byzantines never forgave Gagik II. In 1097 they ambushed him as he went to pay a friendly visit to the Armenian Prince Abu al-Gharib in Tarsus. Three Byzantine brothers treacherously knocked him off his horse and took him prisoner, strangled him with a rope, and hung him from the ramparts. Philaretus (Brakhamius, or Varham), the Armenian ruler in Anatolia, who had professed the Byzantines' faith to further his political career, had a hand in his murder (118).

The Byzantines' alienation of Armenia and its people worked to the decided advantage of the Seljuk Turks. Canard rightly says, "The favor the Byzantines granted to the Chalcedonian clergy explains in part the success of the Seljukids in Armenia" (119). It is ironic that despite their doctrinal differences, the Byzantine emperors relied on the Armenians, particularly Philaretus, to ward off the Seljuks' attacks (120). But they acted too late to survive the onslaught of the Turkish hordes. The final calamity came in 1071, when Alp Arslan defeated and captured the Emperor Romanus Diogenes at Manzikert, north of Lake Van. No one has explained the enormity of this disaster and its impact on the Christian population of the East so well as the [90] Byzantine chronicler Michael Attaleiates. Writing under the emperor Michael Parapinakes (1071-1077), he says, "Under this emperor almost the whole world, on land and sea, occupied by the impious barbarians (Turks) has been destroyed and has become empty of population, for all Christians have been slain by them in the whole East, completely crushed

and reduced to nothing" (121). The Seljuk Turks moved through Anatolia without resistance and in 1077 set up their state of Rum, i.e., Byzantium. Some of the Armenians left their homeland to seek refuge in other parts of Asia Minor, mainly Cilicia; others moved to Egypt, where the Armenian Badr al-Jamali (1074-1194), rose to eminence in the Fatimid state. The defeat of the Byzantines at Manzikert was a blow to the Armenians, who for years had resisted Muslim raids on their country and defended the frontiers of the Byzantine Empire. But the Byzantines, unable or unwilling to defend the Armenians against the Turks, destroyed their national entity and demolished the strong wall of partition built by their courageous and valiant warriors. Thus, when Byzantium collapsed under the Turks' attack at Manzikert, they suffered what has been called the worst disaster in European history (122).

Michael Rabo relates the actions of two Armenian rulers, Philaretus and Gabriel, who interfered in the affairs of both the Syrians and the Armenians. Both men were politically ambitious, willing to do anything to further their power, even to reject the faith of their church. They were opportunists, pure and simple. They ingratiated themselves with the Byzantine emperors when they appeared powerful, but defected to support the Seljuk Turks when they were on the rise. Not only did they embrace the Chalcedonian faith of the Byzantines, but one of them, Philaretus, recanted Christianity altogether and became a Muslim.

The ambitious Philaretus was an army general in the service of the Emperor Romanus IV Diogenes, who reportedly raised him to the rank of Domestic for his bravery and sagacity (123). In the chaos after the Byzantines' loss at Manzikert in 1071, Philaretus joined a gang of robbers who recognized his talents and chose him as their leader. As they established [91] strongholds in Cilicia, their numbers grew. Philaretus assembled an army of mercenaries, including Armenians, Byzantines, and even Persians and Turks. In relating the events of 1073-1074, Matthew of Edessa says, "the impious and most wicked Philaretus, who was the very offspring of Satan, began his tyrannical rule," adding that when the Emperor Romanus Diogenes fell, "this perfidious man, who was a precursor of the abominable Antichrist, and possessed by demonic and extremely monstrous character, tyrannically ruled over the land" (124). Aiming to be independent of the Byzantine state, he refused to recognize the new Emperor Michael VII Ducas Parapinakes (1071-1078) and carved out for himself a small state around Mar'ash, Ra'ban, and Albistan. In 1077 Philaretus took control of Edessa, sending one of his officers, Basil, to seize the city and become its governor. Basil, whose father Abu Ka'b had lived in Edessa and built up its defenses, assembled a cavalry force and marched against the city, besieged it for six months, and captured it after the residents killed their Byzantine governor Leon (125). When the last Byzantine governor of Antioch was murdered in 1078, the city's Armenian majority, fearing the Seljuk Turks might occupy it, handed it over to Philaretus (126). By 1084-1085, he became a power to be reckoned with. Emperor Alexius I Comnenus, aware of his exploits and his control of many fortresses in Cilicia, tried to win his allegiance with gifts. Philaretus visited Constantinople and was received warmly by the emperor, who presented him with gold and arms and appointed him Sebastus (127). The emperor relied on him to protect his domain, which extended from Kharput to Tarsus, including Melitene, Mopsuestia (al-Mississa), and Ayn Zarba (Anazarba) (128).

[92] Meanwhile, Philaretus lost support in Edessa by abandoning the Orthodox faith of its Syrian and Armenian citizens and embracing the Byzantine faith. After the Seljuk Sultan Malikshah took control of Armenia and most of the Byzantine Empire in 1086-1087, Philaretus tried to ingratiate himself with the sultan by soliciting his benevolence and peace on behalf of the Christian population. Leaving a Byzantine deputy in his stead, he took a great quantity of gold, silver, choice horses and mules, and precious garments and went to meet Malikshah in Persia. In his absence, one of his officers, Parsama, murdered Philaretus's deputy and seized control of Edessa. On learning of this incident, Malikshah refused to see Philaretus and treated him with contempt. Desperate, Philaretus recanted his Christian faith, which "he had not held in pure manner to begin with, and he became cursed by both God and man" (129).

Evidence from various sources suggests that as the Turks laid waste the territory surrounding Antioch, so that he had no peace, Philaretus contemplated circumcision and a conversion to Islam. Ibn al-Adim states that when Malikshah reached Edessa, Philardos (Philaretus) handed the city over, embraced Islam at the hands of the sultan, and went with him to the fortress of Ja'bar (130). Bar Hebraeus substantiates this sequence of events and says 'Pilardos' promised to pay *jizya* (poll-tax) and proclaim the authority of the Abbasid Caliph al-Muqtadi (1075-1094), but adds that the sultan gave him Mar'ash instead of Edessa (131). Ibn al-Athir says that Philaretus

(whom he calls Qaladros and al-Firadros) ruled Hisn Ziyad, Edessa and Antioch, and Sultan Malikshah allowed him to keep Edessa until his death in 1090, when he gave it to the amir Buzan (132). Philaretus was clearly a shrewd [93] politician and tactician. Ready to sacrifice his faith and even his men to stay in power, he collaborated with both the Turks and the Byzantines when the time was right and thus managed to control a vast region of Lesser Armenia, although the state he had founded was ephemeral and began to crumble even before his death in 1090 (133).

Philaretus several times interfered in the affairs of the Syrian Church by supporting rebellious bishops who tried to usurp the office of the patriarchate. The first was a cleric named Abdun, a relative of Patriarch Yuhanna bar Abdun and an abbot of the Monastery of Ibn Jaji, near Melitene. Ambitious and troublesome, he sought the patriarchate after the death of Patriarch Yuhanna Ibn Shushan in 1072. But the bishops detested him because of his imprudence and chose Basil, deputy abbot of the Monastery of Mar Barsoum. Basil, a kind and meek person, made Abdun bishop of Semando, perhaps to appease him and rid the church of his annoyance. When Basil died in 1076, Abdun again sought to become patriarch. He offered an enormous bribe to Philaretus, who arrested ten bishops in the region of Melitene and imprisoned them to force them to accept the wretched Abdun as patriarch. He paid each bishop a hundred dinars, but they continued to reject Abdun. Finally the bishops yielded to Philaretus's pressure and named Abdun patriarch, although they still considered him illegitimate. But as soon as they escaped Philaretus's presence, they met and ordained Lazarus, abbot of the Monastery of Mar Barsoum, who became known as Patriarch Dionysius Lazarus (134).

The avaricious Philaretus again meddled in the affairs of the Syrian Church when Mark, abbot of al-Barid Monastery in the province of Melitene, coveted the patriarchate. Like Abdun, he sought the support of Philaretus to achieve his ambition, offering him two thousand dinars of his own and a thousand more from the monastery's treasury. Mark put pressure on two bishops (one the bishop of Arqa) and, at Philaretus's [94] command, they accepted him as patriarch in 1084. But other bishops rejected Mark, who (along with Abdun) continued to stir rebellion within the church. To end the turmoil, the bishops met and chose the lesser evil, ordaining Mark as patriarch and calling him Dionysius. After Mark's death in 1090, Abdun again attempted to usurp the patriarchate, but the bishops rejected him and chose Athanasius Abu al-Faraj Bar Camra, a monk from the Monastery of Mar Barsoum. But when they summoned him to be ordained, he refused for nine months because of the turmoil created by the unruly Abdun. They finally sought the help of Gabriel (Khoril), the Armenian governor of Melitene, who ordered that Athanasius be ordained. Realizing that he had lost his chance to be patriarch, Abdun called on Gabriel and offered him two thousand dirhams (drachmas) to annul the ordination of Athanasius Abu al-Faraj and make himself patriarch instead. Gabriel refused because the ceremony had been performed in his city. The greedy Gabriel expected the new patriarch to bring him money and gifts as a gesture of thanks, but when this did not happen, he summoned Athanasius from his residence in Mar Barsoum Monastery. When the patriarch arrived, Gabriel welcomed him and asked his blessing. The patriarch scorned Gabriel's welcome, saying, "We have nothing to do with you. You are Greek (Chalcedonian) and we are Syrians." Angry and intent on humiliating the patriarch, Gabriel ordered him detained in the house of a prostitute. In response, the patriarch ordered that all churches be closed and church bells silenced until he was released. To end the dilemma, the Syrian faithful collected four hundred gold dinars and paid the "accursed" Gabriel, who then ordered the patriarch released (135).

Gabriel was no less opportunistic and avaricious than his lord, Philaretus, whom he succeeded as governor of Melitene. Like Philaretus, he deserted the Armenian Church and embraced the Byzantine faith to promote his political ambition. William of Tyre rightly observes that Gabriel was Armenian by birth, language, and habit, but Greek in faith, but erroneously calls him a Greek nobleman (136). Gabriel had no allegiance to the Greeks or the Turks, only to himself. He too interfered in the affairs of the Syrian Church, most notably by having Bishop Sa'id Bar Sabuni murdered forty [95] days after his ordination, while Melitene was under attack by Kilij Arslan I, Seljuk Sultan of Rum (1072-1107). After Metropolitan Ignatius of Melitene died in September 1095, he was succeeded by Sa'id Bar Sabuni, an erudite man well-versed in both Syriac and Greek. He was ordained a bishop on Assumption Day in the town of Qanqart in the district of Amid (Diyarbakr) and took the name Yuhanna (John). Significantly, Gabriel had approved of his ordination, apparently hoping to appeal to the people of Melitene despite his new Byzantine faith. But the Syrians of Melitene criticized his rule, considering him an apostate for having abandoned the belief in One Nature of Christ after the Incarnation (137).

In 1095, the year the Crusades were launched, while the Turks under the Seljuk Sultan Kilij Arslan I were attacking Melitene, Gabriel entered the city and had the gates locked. He asked the bishop (Sa'id bar Sabuni) to stand beside him and watch the guards. The bishop took the situation seriously and encouraged the people to defend the city. Meanwhile, Kilij Arslan sent a deacon to negotiate with the bishop, and with Gabriel's permission, the bishop received the deacon. Gabriel hid and listened as the deacon delivered Kilij Arslan's message: "If you deliver the city to the sultan, he is ready to grant you safety and bounty. Otherwise, he will take the city by the sword. Blood will be shed, and God will take revenge on you for the shedding of blood." The bishop replied, "Have no delusion. No one has ever conquered this city, and no one will ever be able to do so. There is enough food stored in it for more than ten years." He then dismissed the deacon and said to Gabriel, "My Lord, you have heard what was said. It is better to deliver the city of our own free will than to lose it by the sword."

Soon afterwards, on Friday, July 4, 1095, as Bishop Sa'id Bar Sabuni conducted the service of the Third Hour at the wall of the city, Gabriel and the Byzantines saw how devoted the congregation was to him and decided to kill him. As the bishop descended from the wall, he was told that Gabriel had ordered the killing of one of the faithful. The bishop and a priest hastened to intercede on behalf of the wronged man. They found Gabriel on a horse, surrounded by infantrymen. The bishop implored him, "Blessed Sultan, have mercy on this poor man. It is not appropriate to have a killing [96] inside and outside the city." But then the ignoble Gabriel asked, "And do not you yourself want to deliver the city to the Turks?" Burning with rage, he ordered an armor-bearer to strike the bishop with an arrow, but he refused. Gabriel then grabbed the bow from him and struck the bishop dead. The priests scattered and the city shook. Out of fear, the people hid among the reeds of the field where the bishop had been martyred. Two days later they brought him to his final resting place, in the Great Church of al-Sa'id (138). Justice ultimately prevailed over Gabriel. The Turks tortured him violently, and some Christians beat him, seeking revenge for the murder of the righteous Bishop (Sa'id Bar Sabuni) and other crimes he had committed. They insulted him profusely, and made him swill bitterness. They took him to an isolated stronghold (the Qati'a fortress), where his wife had given birth. The Turks told him to ask his wife to deliver the fortress to them, but he tried to double-cross them by sending a message saying exactly the opposite. On discovering his deception, the Turks killed him and threw his body to the dogs (139).

Footnotes

The East Before the Crusaders' Arrival

by Matti Moosa

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1 On this subject, see Matti Moosa, *Extremist Shi'ites: The Ghulat Sects* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1988).

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2 For more information see H. A. R. Gibb, *The Damascus Chronicle of the East* (London: Luzac and Company, 1967), 14-40, and "The Caliphate and the Arab States," in *A History of the Crusades*, Marshall W. Baldwin, ed. 1 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), 81-98; Claude Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord á l'Epoque des Croisades* (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1940), 193-196; Harold S. Fink, "The Role of Damascus in the Crusades," *The Muslim World* 49 (1959): 43, Hans Eberhard Mayer, *The Crusades*, John Gillingham, trans. 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 4-6; Edward Peters, ed., *The First Crusade*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991), 1-16. There were at least ten different petty states in the Jazira and Mosul, Syria including parts of Lebanon, and one Kurdish petty state in Miyafarqin (Diyarbakr). See Wafa Juni, *Dimashq wa al-Mamlaka al-Latiniyya mundhu Awakhir al-Qarn al-Hadi Ashar hatta Awakkir al-Qarn al-Thani Ashar al-Miladiyyayn 1089-1174* (Beirut: Bar al-Fikr, 1997), 38.

3 Michael Rabo (the surname means "the Great" or "the Elder"), Patriarch of Antioch from 1166 to his death in 1199, is best known for his history, which extended from the creation of the world to his lifetime. There is only one copy of the manuscript, transcribed in 1598 by Bishop Mikha'il al-Urbishi, in the Syrian library of al-Ruha (Edessa), with nineteen pages lost. The manuscript was discovered by a French scholar, Rev. J. B. Chabot, who translated it into French and published it as *Chronique de Michel le Syrien Patriarche Jacobite d'Antioche, 1166-1199*, 4 volumes (Paris, 1899-1910). The term *Syrien* is an interpolation; the manuscript is titled *Khtobo d'Makthabanuth Zabne d'Seem l'Mor Mikha'il Rabo Phatriarcho* (The Book of the Chronicle Written by Mar Mikha'il the Great, the Patriarch). Bishop Gregorius Saliba Shamoun published an Arabic translation, Tarikh Mar Mikhail al-Suryani al-Kabir (Damascus: Sidawi Printing House, 1966). Unless otherwise noted, all references here are to the Syriac text (in Volume 3); references to the French translation will be indicated by a capital "F."

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4 Michael Rabo, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, 3: 566-571 (149-159F).

5 Michael Rabo, 558-559 (133F), repeated in Book XV, Chapter VIII, 589 (187-188F).

6 Michael Rabo, 594-595 (198F). Michael Rabo frequently refers to the Byzantines as "Greeks."

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7 Peter Charanis, *The Armenians in the Byzantine Empire* (Lisbon: Livraria Bertrand, 1963), 12.

8 A. A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, I (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1964), 313.

9 Ahmad ibn Yahya ibn Jabir al-Baladhuri, *Futuh al-Buldan* [Conquest of Countries], Salah al-Din al-Munajjid, ed. 1 (Cairo: Maktabat al-Nahda al-Misriyya, 1956), 234-242. According to the eighth-century Syriac Chronicle written by a Syrian monk from the Monastery of Zuqnin, the Arabs in the time of the Caliph Umar ibn al-Khattab besieged the city of Dvin, a few miles south-east of Yerevan. See *The Chronicle of Zuqnin Parts III and IV A. D. 448-775*, translated from the Syriac into English with notes and introduction by Amir Harrak (Toronto: Pontifical In-

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stitute of Medieval Studies, 1999), 143.

10 On the calamities the Armenians suffered in these Arab invasions, see *The History of Lewond (Ghevond), The Eminent Vardapet of the Armenians*, trans. Rev. Zaven Arzoumanian (Philadelphia, 1982), 51-52 (Lewond, a seventh-century writer, witnessed these invasions). See also Yovhannes Drasxanakertc'i, *History of Armenia*, Krikor H. Maksoudian, trans. (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 107-108; H. Francois Tournebize, *Histoire Politique et Religieuse de Armennie* (Paris, 1900), 96.

11 Drasxanakertc'i, *History*, 107; Frédéric Macler, "Armenia," in *The Cambridge Mediaeval History*, 4 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1923), 156.

12 Charanis, *The Armenians*, 12; M. Canard, "Arminiya," *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, 1 (1960): 635-636; K. L. Astarjian, *Tarikh al-Umma al-Armaniyya* (Mosul: Matba'at al-Ittihad al-Jadida, 1951), 162-164; Abd al-Rahman Mahmud al-Abd al-Ghani, *Armenia wa Alaqatuha al-Siyasiyya bi kul min al-Byzantiyyin wa al-Mmlimin 653-664* (Al-Kuwait, 1989), 74-80. The latter two works elaborate on the Muslims' invasion of Armenia and discuss various source materials on the subject.

13 David Marshall Lang, *The Armenians: A People in Exile* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1981), 52; *Armenia: Cradle of Civilisation* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1970), 175.

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14 Drasxanakertc'i, *History*, 107.

15 *History of Lewond*, 62-63.

16 *History of Lewond*, 64-65.

17 N. Marr, "The Caucasian Cultural World and Armenia," *Journal of the Ministry of Public Instruction*, 57 (1915): 313-314; see Vasiliev, *History*, 1: 314.

18 *History of Lewond*, 70, 113-117; Thomas Artsruni, *History of the House of the Artsrunik*, Robert W. Thomson, trans. (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1985), 171.

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19 Macler, "Armenia," 4: 157-158; Astarjian, *Tarikh*, 164-166.

20 *History of Lewond*, 122-128,134, and Baladhuri, *Futuh al-Buldan*, 1: 246,

21 *History of Lewond*, 123-128; Drasxanakertc'i, *History*, 260; Baladhuri, *Futuh al-Buldan*, l: 246.

22 *History of Lewond*, 128; Baladhuri, *Futuh al-Buldan*, 1: 247; Astarjian, *Tarikh*, 166.

23 *History of Lewond*, 122-123.

24 J. Laurent, *L'Arménie entre Byzance et I'Islam depuis la conquête arabe jusqu'en 886*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1980), 207. Ghani, *Armenia*, 82, n. 5, says Armenian writers have exaggerated the high-handedness of the Abbasids' policy on collecting taxes from the Armenians.

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25 *History of Lewond*, 134-135; Baladhuri, *Futuh al-Buldan*, 1: 247; R. Grousset, *Histoire de l'Armenie des Origines à 1071* (Paris: Payot, 1947), 326. Astarjian, *Tarikh*, 167, puts the Armenian losses at 3,000 men.

26 Baladhuri, *Futuh al-Buldan*, 1: 237; Grousset, *Histoire*, 325; Laurent, *L'Arménie*, 128; Ghani, *Armenia*, 85.

27 Ahmad ibn Yaqub ibn Wadih, *Tarikh al-Yaqubi* (hereafter cited as al-Yaqubi), 3 (Al-Najaf, Iraq: Matba'at al-Ghari, 1939), 206.

28 Grousset, *Histoire*, 355; Ghani, *Armenia*, 113.

29 Drasxanakertc'i, *History*, 118-119; J. Laurent, *L'Arménie*, 128; M. Ghazarian, *Armenien unter der Arabischen Herrschaft* (Marburg, 1903), 51; Ghani, Armenia, 114.

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30 Grousset, *Histoire*, 375; J. Laurent, *L'Arménie*, 175.

31 Baladhuri, *Futuh al-Buldan*, 1: 248; M. Canard, "L'Arménie et le Califate Arabe de Ter-Levonian," *Revue des Études Byzantines* 13 (1978-1979): 387-407. Astarjian, *Tarikh*, 167-168, gives a similar account, saying Yusuf treacherously invited Ashot and Bagrat to an excursion and then arrested them, but then Ashot escaped, and the enraged Armenians annihilated Yusuf s army and murdered him as he hid.

32 Baladhuri, *Futuh al-Buldan*, 1: 248; Ghazarian, *Armenian*, 51; Grousset, *Histoire*, 358; Laurent, *L'Arménie*, 201; Ghani, *Armenia*, 116; Macler, "Armenia," 160.

33 Ghani, *Armenia*, 117, relies on Armenian sources but expresses doubt about their statements that al-Mutawakkil planned to convert the Armenians. His position is understandable; as a Muslim, he would naturally seek to portray the caliph in a favorable light. But al-Yaqubi, 3: 212, states that al-Mutawakkil was known for his persecution of the Christians. He ordered that no Muslim should seek the help of a Christian and that the newly built churches should be demolished.

34 Vladimir Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History* (London: Taylor's Foreign Press, 1953), 118. This book is a partial translation of the Arabic history *Jami al-Duwal* by the twelfth-century writer Ahmad ibn Lutf Allah Munajjim Bashi.

35 Drasxanakertc'i, *History*, 119-124; Artsruni, *History*, 189-194, 215-218; Baladhuri, *Futuh al-Buldan*, 1: 248; Laurent, *L'Arménie* 36; Grousset, *Histoire*, 362; J. Catholicos, *Histoire de Arménie*, M. J. Saint Martin, trans. (Paris, 1841), 108-110; Ghani, *Armenia*, 119. Al-Ghani's defense of al-Mutawakkil on this matter is tenuous.

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36 Faruq Umar, *al-Khilafa al Abasiyya fi Asral-Fuda al-Askariyya*, 2nd ed. (Baghdad: Matba'at al-Muhanna, 1977), 66.

37 Ghani, *Armenia*, 121.

38 Al-Yaqubi, 3:216.

39 Drasxanakertc'i, *History*, 125; Izz al-Din Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamilfi al-Tarikh*, 2nd ed., 5 (Beirut, Dar al-Kitab al-Arabi, 1967), 231-232. Throughout this work, all other quotations from this source will be drawn from *H. R. C. Or.*, 1 and 2; Abu Jafar Muhammad ibn Jarir al-Tabari, *Tarikh al-Umam wa al-Muluk*, 7 (Cairo: Matba'at al-Istiqama, 1939), 420; Grousset, *Histoire*, 378; Laurent, *L'Arménie*, 250-253.

40 Drasxanakertc'i, *History*, 125-126; M. Canard, "L'Arménie et le Califate Arabe," 13: 397; Catholicos, *Histoire*, 121-122; Grousset, *Histoire*, 369.

41 Drasxanakertc'i, *History*, 128; Minorsky, *Studies*, 118; Vasiliev, *History*, 1:314; D. Lang, *Armenia: Cradle of Civilisation*, 187-188, and *The Armenians*, 53; Astarjian, *Tarikh*, 113-114, 170; Catholicos, *Histoire*, 122.

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42 Astarjian, *Tarikh*, 170; Laurent, *L'Arménie*, 107; Catholicos, *Histoire*, 120.

43 J. de Morgan, *Histoire du peuple Arménien depuis les temps plus reculés de des annals jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris: Berger-Levrault, 1919), 123-125; Ghani, *Armenia*, 125.

44 Drasxanakertc'i, *History*, 128; Vasiliev, *History*, 1: 314; Catholicos, *Histoire*, 123; de Morgan, *Histoire*, 416.

45 Catholicos, *Histoire*, 126; Grousset, *Histoire*, 395-396; Vasiliev, *History*, 1: 314; Canard, "Arminiya," 637; Lang, *Armenia*, 188; Ghani, *Armenia*, 125.

46 George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, Joan Hussey, trans. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1957), 211.

47 Minorsky, *Studies*, 119; Tournebize, *Histoire*, 113.

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48 Steven Runciman, *The Emperor Romanus Lecapenus and His Reign: A Study of Tenth-Century Byzantium* (Cambridge, 1929), 125-133, 151-174; Catholicos, *Histoire*, 283-284; Nicolas Adontz, "Asot Erkat ou de fer Roi d'Arménie de 913 a 929," *Byzantion* (1935): 22-24; Vasiliev, *History*, 1: 314; Astarjian, *Tarikh*, 171.

49 Canard, "Arminiya," 1:636.

50 Ostrogorsky, *History*, 245-246.

51 Ara Edmond Dostourian, trans., *Armenia and the Crusades, Tenth to Twelfth Centuries: The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa* (Latham, New York: University Press of America, 1993), cited hereafter as Matthew of Edessa, 28-33; Ostrogorsky, *History*, 252-257, 260-264. For a detailed account of Tzimisces's fourth campaign into Syria, see Umar Kamal Tawfiq, *Muqaddimat al-Udwan al-Salibi* (Cairo: Dar al-Ma'arif, 1966), 141-160; Tournebize, *Histoire*, 118-119.

52 Astarjian, *Tarikh*, 185-190; Tournebize, *Histoire*, 119-120.

53 Nicolas Iorga, *L'Arménie Cilicienne* (Paris: J. Gamber, 1930), 87-88.

54 Sirapie Der Nersessian, *The Armenians* (New York: Praeger, 1970), 44.

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55 Matthew of Edessa, 44.

56 Matthew of Edessa, 45-46; Tournebize, *Histoire*, 124-125.

57 Matthew of Edessa, 62ó63, says Gagik was fifteen. See Canard, "Arminiya," 1: 638.

58 Ostrogorsky, *History*, 294; T. S. R. Boase, "The History of the Kingdom," in *The Cilician Kingdom of Armenia*, T. S. R. Boase, ed. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1978), 2.

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59 Matthew of Edessa, 70-73, 76; R. Grousset, L'Empire du levant d'Orient: Histoire de la Question (Paris, 1964), 157; Astarjian, *Tarikh*, 197-198; Ghani, *Armenia*, 211. On the eunuch Nicholas, see Matthew of Edessa, 72, n. 1, and Canard, "Arminiya," 1: 638; Tournebize, *Histoire*, 126-129.

60 Charanis, *The Armenians*, 48.

61 Matthew of Edessa, 73.

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62 Charanis, *The Armenians*, 51.

63 Vasiliev, *History*, 1: 355.

64 Minorsky, *Studies*, 52.

65 Jacques De Vitry, *The History of Jerusalem* (London, 1896), 81; James H. Forse, "Armenians and the First Crusade," *Journal of Medieval History* 16 (1991): 13-32, esp. 17-20; V. Kurkijian, *History of Armenia* (New York, 1958), 52, 231, 235, 311-316.

66 Romilly Jenkins, *Byzantium: The Imperial Centuries, A.D. 610-1071* (New York, 1969), 333-336.

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67 Michael Rabo, 578 (169F).

68 Grousset, *Histoire* de I'Armenie, 153ó154.

69 Matthew of Edessa, 76.

70 Minorsky, *Studies*, 54; Claude Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey* (New York: Taplinger Publishing Company, 1968), 20-47, and 68-69.

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71 Matthew of Edessa, 74; Tournebize, *Histoire*, 129.

72 Matthew of Edessa, 76.

73 Claude Cahen, "The Turkish Invasion: The Selchukids," in *A History of the Crusades*, Marshall W. Baldwin, ed., 1: 144; Macler, "Armenia," 166-167; Vasiliev, *History*, 1: 355.

74 Astarjian, *Tarikh*, 199.

75 Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 72. This work was translated by Ernest A. Wallis Budge (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1932, 2 vols.). Volume I contains the English translation, and Volume II the Syriac text, based on the Syriac MS in the Bodleian Library, Huntington No. 52, which shall be cited here throughout. In a Note to the Editor in Volume I, Budge says that he based his translation not on this MS but on another version written in Nestorian script and edited by Rev. Paul Bedjan. Thus, his page references to the Syriac text, inserted in parentheses in his English translation, may not coincide with the Bodleian MS. References here to the English translation will be indicated by a capital "E."

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76 Michael Rabo, 3: 572-574 (159-160F).

77 Matthew of Edessa, 86.

78 Matthew of Edessa, 86; Cahen, 1:144; Minorsky, *Studies*, 54, a. 1.

79 Matthew of Edessa, 88.

80 Athir, *al-Kamilfial-Tarikh*, 8: 67.

81 Bar Hebraeus, 75 (216E), gives the date as 1063. Matthew of Edessa, 107-108, also relates the fall of Ani. *Chronicle of the Anonymous Edessan*, in *AnonymiAuctori Chronicon Ad Annum Christi Pertinens*, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Oriental-

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ium, Vol. 15, ed. J. B. Chabot (Louvain, 1916), 47, seems to confuse Malikshah, the son of Alp Arslan, whom he calls Abu al-Fath, with Sulayman ibn Kutulmish, a cousin of Tughrul. According to the late Syrian Church Patriarch Aphram Barsoum, the Anonymous Edessan was a monk from the Mar Barsoum Monastery near Melitene, probably bom at Edessa in 1160; his *Chronicle* is especially valuable because he was an eyewitness to many of the events he describes. The section on the Crusades, partially translated by A. S. Tritton and annotated by H. A. R. Gibb, was published as "The First and Second Crusades from an Anonymous Syriac Chronicle," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1933), 1: 69-101, 2: 273-305. Rev. Albert Abouna published an Arabic translation with copious and useful notes as *Tarikh al-Ruham al-Majhul*, Vol. 2 (Baghdad, 1986); Tournebize, *Histoire*, 133-134.

82 Matthew of Edessa, 102-103.

83 Matthew of Edessa, 103-104.

84 Vasiliev, *History*, 1: 355.

85 On the capture of Romanus Diogenes, his conversation with Alp Arslan, and his fate when he was released, see Matthew of Edessa, 86-88. Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 76-78 (219-223E), says he drew his information from two manuscripts, one Arabic and the other Persian, but does not identify them. See Os-

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trogorsky, *History*, 304, and Christopher J. Walker, *Armenia: The Survival of a Nation* (London: St. Martin's Press, 1980), 30-31.

86 Charanis, *The Armenians*, 54, says when Henry of Flanders invaded Asia Minor after Constantinople fell in 1204, the Armenians (who neither liked nor trusted the Byzantines) offered him support and helped him take Abydus, which had been entrusted to an Armenian garrison.

87 Michael Rabo, 575, 577-579 (165,168-172F).

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88 M. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie depuis l'antiquité jusqu-au XIXe siècle*, 1 (St. Petersburg: MM Eggers et companie, 1849), 349-350, cited in Speros Vryonis, Jr., "The Nomadization and Islamization in Asia Minor," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 29 (1975): 51.

89 Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 1 (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1965), 72.

90 Michael Rabo, 3: 580 (173F).

91 On the Armenians' treatment by the Byzantine emperors and their migration to the western and southern regions of Asia Minor due to the expansion of the Seljuk Turks, see Runciman, *Emperor Romanus Lecapenus*, 125-133, 151-174; Macler, "Armenia," 167-182; Canard, "Arminiya," 1: 636; Matthew of Edessa, 28-33; Ostrogorsky, 252-257; Tawfiq, *Muqaddimat al-Udwan al-Salibi*, 141-160; Iorga, L'Arménie, 87-88; Nersessian, *The Armenians*, 44; Lang, *The Armenians*, 52-57, and *Armenia: Cradle of Civilisation*, 196-201; Vasiliev, *History*, 1: 355; Grousset, 1: 620-622; Aliyya Abd al-Sami al-Janzuri, *Imarat al-Ruha al-Salibiyya* (Cairo, 1975), 37. On Manzikert, see Claude Cahen, "La Campagne de Manzikert d'aprés les sources musulmanes," *Byzantion* 9 (1934): 613-642, and "The Turkish Invasion," 1: 148-149; Peter Charanis, "The Byzantine Empire in the Eleventh Century," in *A History of the Crusades: The First Hundred Years*, M. W. Baldwin, ed., 1 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), 192-193.

92 Michael Rabo, 571 (152F).

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93 Michael Rabo, 574 (160F).

94 Michael Rabo, 575-576 (165F).

95 Michael Rabo, 598 (204F). In fact, Alexius Comnenus reigned for thirty-seven years.

96 Michael Rabo, 585-586 (185F).

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97 Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 2: 489, Appendix 1 of the Syriac sources.

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98 On the opposing views at the Council of Chalcedon, see R. V. Sellers, *The Council of Chalcedon* (London: SPCK, 1953), and *Two Ancient Christologies* (London: SPCK, 1954); A. Grillmeir and H. Bacht, *Das Konzil Von Chalkedon: Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Wurzburg, 1954); V. C. Samuel, *The Council of Chalcedon and the Christology of Sevems of Antioch* (Madras: The Christian Literature Society, 1977), and *The Council of Chalcedon Re-Examined* (Madras: The Senate of Serampore College, 1977).

99 R. Payne Smith, trans., *The Third Part of the Ecclesiastical History of John of Ephesus*

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(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1860), 1-49. See also the work by an anonymous eighth-century monk, *The Chronicle of Zuqnin, Parts III and IV, A.D. 488-775*, trans. Amir Harrak (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of

Mediaeval Studies, 1999).

100 Philip Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, 10th ed. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1970), 150-152. See Baladhuri, *Futuh al-Buldan*, 1: 156.

101 Jacques Tajir, *Aqbat wa Muslimun mundhu al-Fath al-Arabi ila Am 1922* [Copts and Muslims From the Arab conquest to the year 1922] (Jersey City: The American, Canadian, and Australian Coptic Association, 1984), 40-51. This work, which Tajir presented to the Sorbonne University in Paris as a doctoral dissertation in 1948, was published in French and Arabic in Egypt in 1952, but the Egyptian government to this day has banned it. I apologize for having written earlier in a short article that the Copts welcomed the Arabs. I had no access then to Tajir's book. See Matti Moosa, "Origins of the Christian Minorities in the Middle East," *Bibliophilus* 1: 2 (Spring 1982): 85.

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102 Michael Rabo, 409-410 (412-413F), also in Gregorius Saliba Shamoun, trans., *Tarikh Mar Mikhail al-Suryani al-Kabir* (Aleppo: Dar Mardin, 1966), 2: 302.

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103 Michael Rabo, 559-560 (136-137F), erroneously gives the date of Romanus's battle against the Muslims as 1037 rather than 1030.

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104 Michael Rabo, 560-565 (136-145F). In his biography of Yuhanna Bar Abdun, Bar Hebraeus gives the date of his death as February 2, 1034; Michael Rabo, listing the names of the patriarchs of the Syrian Church to his lifetime at the end of his *Chronicle*, gives 1004 as the date of Bar Abdun's ordination as patriarch and 1031 as the date of his death, which is more plausible. On the question of dates, see Chabot's French translation, 139, n. 1. Yahya ibn Sa'id al-Antaki, *Tarikh Yahya ibn Sa'id al-Antaki* (Beirut: Matba'at al-Aba al-Yasu'iyyin, 1909), 252, discusses the persecution of Patriarch Yuhanna and the six bishops in the time of Emperor Romanus III Argyrus.

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105 Michael Rabo, 565ó566 (147F). In his *Ecclesiastical History*, Bar Hebraeus gives the dates of Haya's patriarchate as 1034-1044.

106 Michael Rabo, 576 (166F).

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107 Michael Rabo, 576 (166-168F). For a short biography of Ignatius III, bishop of Melitene, see Aphram Barsoum, *al-Lulu al-Manthur fi Tarikh al-Ulum wa al-Adab al-Syrianiyya* (Aleppo, 1956), 459, n. 1, and Moosa, 138.

108 Moosa, *The Maronites in History* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2005), especially chapter 12.

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109 Michael Rabo does not discuss his communication and subsequent debate with Manuel I, but they are treated briefly by the Anonymous Edessan, 311 (352A), and thoroughly by Bar Hebraeus in the biography of

Michael Rabo in his *Ecclesiastical History*, translated into Arabic by Aphram Barsoum. This translation, handwritten by Barsoum as a monk in 1909, is now in my possession.

110 The Anonymous Edessan, 311-314 (350-352A), gives the text of the letter that Michael Rabo wrote about the faith and asked Theodore bar Wahbun to deliver.

111 For an explanation of the Trisagion and the controversy it created, see

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Moosa, *The Maronites*, chapter 8, especially 69-73.

112 Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical History*, biography of Mar Michael Rabo. Commenting briefly on this episode, the Anonymous Edessan, 311 (350A), asks, "How could the Chalcedonians be expected to agree to the creed of the faith of the Orthodox?"

113 Vitry, *History of Jerusalem*, 81.

114 Gustave Leon Schlumberger, *Recits de Byzance et des Croisades*, 1 (Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1917), 127.

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115 Dostourian, *Matthew of Edessa*, 2: 314, n. 6, says Gagik II (1042-1045) married the daughter of David, the eldest brother of Atom and Abu Sahl. The Byzantine Emperor Michael IV claimed that King John-Smbat of Ani, who died childless in 1040, had named him as successor to the Armenian throne, but the patriotic Armenians chose the king's nephew Gagik instead. In 1043-1044 the Emperor Constantine IX Monomachus (1042-1055) claimed authority over Armenia, and in 1045 Gagik abdicated and went into exile. See Matthew of Edessa, 144-145; Lang, *The Armenians*, 56.

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116 Matthew of Edessa, 111-120.

117 Matthew of Edessa, 121-123. Steven Runciman, *Byzantine Civilisation* (London, 1933), 288-289, says, "Gagik caused a scandal when he invited Bishop Mark of Caesarea to dinner and murdered him by tying him up in a sack with his dog, all because the Bishop, feeling about the Armenians much as eighteenth-century Englishmen felt about Scots, had called that dog 'Armenian.'"

118 Matthew of Edessa, 144-145; Grousset, *Histoire* de I'Amenie, 1: 620-622.

119 Canard, "Arminiya," 1: 638.

120 Iorga, *L'Armenie Cilicienne*, 89.

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121 Vasiliev, *History*, 1: 355.

122 Grousset, *L'Empire du Levant*, 119, and *The Epic of the Crusades*, trans. Noel Lindsay (New York: Orion Press, 1970), 3.

123 Anna Comnena, *The Alexiad*, trans. Elizabeth A. Dawes (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1928), 153. For a sober evaluation of the Alexiad see James Howard Johnson, "Anna Komnena and the Alexiad," in *Alexios I*

Komnenos, ed. Margaret Mullet and Dion Smythes (Belfast: Belfast Byzantine Enterprises), 1996, entire chapter 13, 260-302.

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124 Matthew of Edessa, 137, openly criticizes Philaretus for warring against the Christian faithful and for forsaking the faith of his church and embracing the faith of the Romans (Byzantines), calling him "a superficial Christian disavowed by both Armenians and Romans." Indeed, to Matthew he was not a true Armenian.

125 Matthew of Edessa, 142-143; L. Bréhier, *L'Eglise et l'Orient au Moyen Age: Les Croisades*, 6th ed. (Paris: Lecoffred, J. Gabalda, 1928), 285.

126 Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, 153, says that Philaretus could not bear the humiliation of the Emperor Romanus Diogenes, whom he exceedingly loved, and so instigated a rebellion and made himself master of the province of Antioch. Matthew of Edessa, 141, appears to agree, saying that Philaretus gathered 700 perfidious apostate Romans (Byzantines) on the pretext of starting a campaign, but his purpose was to capture Antioch.

127 Bar Hebraeus, 81 (229E).

128 On Ayn Zarba and other towns in the region, see Robert W. Edwards,

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The Fortifications of Armenian Cilicia (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collections, 1949).

129 Matthew of Edessa, 152153; J. Laurent, "Byzance et Antioche sous le curopalate Philarète," in *Revue des études arméniennes*, 9 (1929): 61-72; Boase, "The History of the Kingdom," 4.

130 Kamal al-Din Ibn al-Adim, *Zubdat al-Halab min Tarikh Halab*, ed. Sami al-Dahhan, 2 (Beirut: al-Matba'a al-Catholikiyya, 1954), 100.

131 Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 81 (231E), adds, "This wretched man finally perished. It is said that he believed once again in Christ and died a Christian." See the Anonymous Edessan, 49 (68E); Rubens Duval, *Histoire Politique, Religieuse, et Littéraire D'Edesse* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1892), 277; J. B. Segal, *Edessa The Blessed City* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), 221-223.

132 See Athir, *al-Kamil*, 1: 237, 244, and, by the same author, *al-Tarikh al-Bahir fi al-Dawla al-Atabegiyya*, ed. Abd al-Qadir Ahmad Tulaymat (Cairo: Dar al-Kutub al-

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Haditha, 1963), 6-7; Jamal al-Din Muhammad ibn Salim ibn Wasil, *Mufarrij al-Kurub fi Akhbar Bani Ayyub*, ed. Jamal al-Din al-Shayyal, 1 (Cairo: Matba'at Fu'ad al-Awwal, 1953): 19.

133 Grousset, *L'Empire du Levant*, 177-197; Sa'id Abd al-Fattah Ashur, *al-Haraka al-Salibiyya: Safha Mushriqa fi Tarikh al-Jihad al-Arabi fit al-Usur al-Wusta* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Anglo-al-Misriyya, 1963), 98-100; Janzuri, *Imarat al-Ruha al-Salibiyya*, 39-42.

134 Michael Rabo, 581-582 (174-175F); Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical History*, biographies of the patriarchs Basil, Abdun and Dionysius Lazarus, covering the years 1074-1077. On Philaretus's support of Abdun, see The Anonymous Edessan, 294 (332A).

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135 Michael Rabo, 583-585 (180-181F); Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical History*, biography of Athanasius Abu al-Faraj Bar Camra; the Anonymous Edessan, 292-294 (329-332A).

136 William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, trans. Emily Atwater Babcock and A.C. Krey, 1 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943), 450, 522.

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137 Michael Rabo, 384 (179-181F). The Anonymous Edessan, 49 (67A), calls Gabriel a Chalcedonian who administered the affairs of Melitene. See Bar Hebraeus, 83 (236-237E); Runciman, *History*, 1: 195-196, 202, 320-322; Cahen, "The Turkish Invasion," 164; Harold S. Fink, "The Foundation of the Latin States, 1099-1118," in Baldwin, 1: 380; Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades*, 2: 868, and *L'Empire du Levant*, 184.

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138 Michael Rabo, 586-587 (185-186F). The Anonymous Edessan, 63-64 (75E, 83A), says Satan entered this accursed man (Gabriel) who maliciously murdered the bishop (Ibn Sabuni). Gabriel was finally killed and his household exterminated. Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 81 (233E), says this accursed governor harbored a bitter feeling in his heart against the holy man and became mightily furious when he saw him. He reviled him, smote him with a spear, and killed him.

139 Michael Rabo, 590 (189F).

Matti Moosa's

*The Crusaders Take the Offensive**

* This material, which is presented solely for educational/research purposes, appears as Chapter 10 in Dr. Moosa's *Crusades: Conflict Between Christendom and Islam* (Piscataway, NJ., 2008) pp. 299-339.

Footnotes

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After the crusading forces crossed the Bosporus, their military operation began in earnest. Because they were many in number and short of provisions, they could not stay in one place. They hoped the emperor would arrive with Raymond of Saint-Gilles so that they could begin their attack on Nicaea. According to Anna Comnena, they split into two contingents which reached Nicaea by different routes, passing by Civitot. One group, led by Bohemond [of Taranto] and Godfrey [of Bouillon], went through the province of Bithynia (1). When they reached Nicomedia, the largest metropolis of this province, Peter the Hermit, who had spent the winter there with a few survivors of his pilgrimage, came out to greet them. He now joined the Crusaders and was warmly welcomed by all. Hearing the story of the catastrophe his men had suffered, the Frankish leaders sympathized with him and offered him generous gifts (2).

Nicaea, the first target of the crusading army, was greatly revered by the Christian church as the historic meeting place of the First Ecumenical Council in 325. Now it was held by the Turks, serving as the capital of the Seljuk Sultan Kilij Arslan I (1092-1107). Unless they captured the city, the Franks' leaders would find it difficult to march through Asia Minor to Antioch, for Kilij Arslan could cut off their communications with the Byzantines. The task was not easy. Although the inhabitants were mostly Christians, there were Turks serving in various capacities, including government officials of the Seljuk court and members of a Turkish garrison. And the city was difficult to attack. Lake Ascanius lapped at its walls and formed a natural fortification for the city. A ditch full of water blocked the entrance on three sides. As Stephen of Blois wrote to his wife, the city's marvelously [300] constructed walls, so high that the inhabitants feared no outside attack, were guarded by over three hundred towers (3). War machines for hurling missiles from the walls and niches for marksmen with crossbows made it extremely difficult for an enemy to move forward without being struck down from the top of a tower (4). But the Franks were determined to capture Nicaea.

The Latin sources say that Godfrey, accompanied by Tancred, Robert of Flanders and others, went to Nicomedia and stayed there three days. Finding the mountainous route to Nicaea was almost impassable he sent 3,000 men to open a path. Eventually, on Wednesday, May 6, 1097, Godfrey's army reached Nicaea. His men suffered from lack of food and provisions, but the stressful situation was alleviated when Bohemond arrived, bringing abundant supplies. On Ascension Day, May 14, the Franks began to invest the city, building wooden machines and towers in order to break down the walls (5). Bohemond attacked from the north, Godfrey and the Germans from the east, Raymond of Saint-Gilles and Bishop Adhemar from the south, all with no imminent threat from the Turks. The time for the siege of Nicaea was well chosen (6). Kilij Arslan was busy fighting the [301] Danishmends for the possession of Melitene (Malatya), whose commander Gabriel had courageously resisted him and fortified the city. While attacking Melitene, the sultan learned of the Crusaders' movement. When he could not take Melitene, he withdrew to his own territory, assembled a large army, and went to Nicaea to fight the Franks (7). With his capital city under siege, Kilij Arslan sent two messengers to tell its inhabitants he was coming to their aid with a mighty force and to offer words of encouragement. But one drowned in the lake and the Franks captured the other, from whom they learned about the approach of Kilij Arslan's army (8).

As Raymond of Saint-Gilles began to make camp on the south side of Nicaea, he suddenly faced the troops of Kilij Arslan. Divided into two groups, they descended from the mountain and fell upon the Frankish army. The

Turks' plan was for one contingent to fight Godfrey and the Germans, while the other would enter Nicaea by the south gate and rout the unsuspecting enemy (9). When Raymond saw the Turks advancing toward the gate, he attacked fiercely and defeated them, killing many while the others fled. The Franks took tens of thousands of captives and seized large quantities of gold and silver. But Kilij Arslan did not give up easily. Three days after this defeat he rallied the survivors and, with the help of fresh troops, returned to fight with high spirit (10). The Turks brought ropes with them, planning to lead the defeated Franks back to Khurasan (Persia) as captives. But as they descended the mountain, the Franks captured and beheaded them, and hurled the severed heads into the city with slingshots to strike terror among the Turkish garrison. Then Raymond of Saint-Gilles and Bishop Adhemar met and decided to weaken the city by attacking the tower near the Turks' camp and having tunnels dug to undermine the foundation. With a great effort, the miners succeeded in undermining the foundation and set fire to the beams and poles that held up the city walls. All this happened at night; the Turks managed to rebuild the walls in great [302] haste, but could not stop the attacking Franks at daybreak (11). Meanwhile, Robert of Flanders, Stephen of Blois, and Roger of Barneville arrived, adding to the strength of the Franks' forces. Nicaea was by now totally surrounded, so that no one could get into or out of the city by land. The author of the *Gesta Francorum* declares, "I do not think that anyone has ever seen, or will ever again see, so many valiant knights"(12). The battle was fierce, and there were numerous casualties on both sides. As the Franks assailed the city with war machines, they were at times driven back from its strong walls. One would grieve, says Fulcher of Chartres, to see how the Turks killed Franks in close to the wall. They lowered iron hooks on ropes and snatched up the bodies of the slain Franks, which no comrade dared wrest away, then stripped them and threw them outside the walls (13).

Although the Crusaders' armies surrounded the city on three sides, the side facing the lake was exposed to the attacks by the Turks, who launched boats and brought food and other necessities to their besieged comrades. The Frankish leaders sent messengers to Constantinople to ask Emperor Alexius to have boats brought to the harbor town of Civitot and then dragged overland by oxen to the lake (14). The emperor responded immediately and sent his well-armed Turcopole mercenaries with the boats. His men did not launch the boats at once, but instead set out on the lake at night. By daybreak, the boats reached Nicaea. When the Turks inside the city saw the boats they were frightened, not knowing whose boats they were. Realizing that no outside help was coming, the Turks in the city sent the emperor a message offering to surrender the city to him if he would let them go free with their wives and children. The emperor, whom the author of the *Gesta Francorum* calls a fool as well as a knave, told them to depart unhurt and without fear. "He had them brought to him under safe-conduct, and kept them carefully so that he could have them ready to injure the Franks and obstruct their crusade" (15). Ordericus Vitalis, more temperate, says "the emperor, who secretly envied the success of the [Crusaders], [303] agreed to the terms of the besieged and ordered Tatano (Taticius) his general to bring to Byzantium in safety those citizens of Nicaea who were ready to surrender themselves and their property, and to be careful that no injury was done to the city" (16).

These statements reveal the Latin writers' distrust of the emperor and the manner in which the city of Nicaea surrendered to him. They treat him contemptuously, calling him "fool," "knave," and "jealous." Guibert of Nogent calls him "the tyrant" who responded to the appeal of the Turks and set them free without punishment (17). Peter Tudebode accuses the emperor of deception and injustice for letting the Turks leave Nicaea freely (18). Fulcher of Chartres says that when the Turcopoles captured the city, they also seized all its treasure in the name of the emperor. Alexius ordered that gifts be presented to the Frankish leaders, including gold, silver and raiments, but to the foot soldiers he gave only copper coins (19). According to Anselm of Ribemont, Latins and Byzantines fought side by side to recover the city. Inside and outside the walls, carrying crosses and imperial standards, they cried together, "Glory to thee O Lord!" After capturing the city, the princes of the army met the emperor, who had come to render them thanks. "Having received from him gifts of inestimable value, the princes returned, some with kind feeling, some otherwise" (20). Stephen of Blois says that when the emperor heard of the surrender of Nicaea, he did not dare enter his own city, fearing that the inhabitants, who held him with utmost reverence, would smother him in their exaltation. He stayed on the island of Pelecanus, where he received all the Frankish princes; when Stephen and Raymond of Saint-Gilles went to see him and celebrate his great victory, he showered them with gifts (21). Guibert of Nogent says, "... the tyrannical prince was extremely pleased to have regained the city, and gave our leaders countless gifts. He also made substantial charitable

contributions to all the [304] poorest people" (22). Matthew of Edessa says simply that the Franks handed over Nicaea to the Emperor Alexius (23).

Some Franks who were neither powerful nor poor were overlooked by the emperor and felt envy and hostility toward their leaders. Guibert of Nogent calls the emperor's action unjust; these overlooked Frankish warriors deserved the same gifts as the others. After all, they had fought the battles and, in the seven-week siege of Nicaea, carried "the burden and heat of the days" (Matthew, 20:12) (24). Many of these Franks suffered martyrdom; says the author of the *Gesta Francorum*, "They gave up their blessed souls to God with joy and gladness, and many of the poor starved to death for the name of Christ. All these entered Heaven in triumph" (25). When Nicaea capitulated on June 19, 1097, some of the Crusaders' leaders were unhappy that the emperor had taken possession of the city and all the glory they thought should have been theirs.

According to William of Tyre, the wife of Sultan Kilij Arslan had remained in the city up to the time of its capture and suffered hardship. When she saw the towers come tumbling down, she became exceedingly terrified and tried to flee. But the Franks had boats guarding the lake and prevented those besieged from leaving the city. When the guards discovered her trying to escape, they seized her and kept her under strict guard with the other prisoners. After the city surrendered to the emperor, however, she and her two sons along with many others were set free and taken to Constantinople, where they were treated with mercy and generosity (26).

Anna Comnena gives a different account of Nicaea's surrender. The emperor had planned to seize Nicaea, once part of his empire, even before the armies of Bohemond and Godfrey crossed over to Asia Minor. Despite his negotiation with the Franks' leaders and their oath of allegiance, he considered them ambitious and avaricious, declaring with exaggeration that "they would sell their wives for a penny-piece" (27). Moreover, he realized that the sheer size of the Frankish army, which dwarfed his own, made him look weak. He crossed over to Pelecanus, close to Nicaea, to learn how the Franks were faring and get news of Kilij Arslan's expedition and the state of [305] affairs inside the city. He thought that allowing the Franks to recapture Nicaea would bring humiliation on him. Wanting the victory laurels for himself, he hoped secretly to take Nicaea rather than receive it from the Franks in accordance with their pledge.

To achieve his plan he sent his general and confidant Manuel Butumites to the inhabitants of Nicaea, whom Anna calls barbarians, to promise them complete immunity and warn them that they would endure terrible suffering and fall by the sword if the Franks took the city. Thus, their only salvation was to surrender the city to him. When he heard that Kilij Arslan was helping the inhabitants by bringing in food and provisions by boat, the emperor thought the Franks would never be able to capture the city. So he had light boats built and pulled by oxen to the lake, and manned them with heavily armed soldiers under the command of Butumites. Then he summoned Taticius and Tzitas from the continent and sent them with 2,000 brave peltasts to Nicaea. When they reached the city, they were to march forward slowly and fix their palisades opposite a tower called Gonates and then, by agreement with the Franks, attack the walls in close formation. When Taticius reached Nicaea with his troops, he sent word to the Franks of the emperor's orders, and they and the Byzantines attacked together. The Turks in Nicaea were terror-struck when they saw so many boats with the emperor's standard hoisted by the soldiers. Despairing when they realized no help was forthcoming from the sultan, they decided it was more prudent to surrender the city to the emperor. Butumites, on learning of their willingness to surrender, sent word that he wished to meet with the inhabitants. Making a suitable speech, he showed them a document sealed with gold, in which the emperor promised them immunity and great gifts. He also offered money and honor to the wife and sister of Sultan Kilij Arslan and had them taken to Constantinople (28).

Despite what Anna Comnena says, Emperor Alexius could not have retaken Nicaea without the Franks, for it was they who besieged the city and forced the inhabitants to surrender. Indeed, her account exposes her father's duplicity. She says that as soon as Butumites entered Nicaea, he ordered Taticius to attack the walls of the city, which was about to fall into his hands. He was to persuade the Franks to prepare for the assault, but he should encourage them simply to make an attack on the walls, encircle them, and start the siege at sunrise. This strategy, she says, "was really advice to make the Franks believe that the city had been taken by Butumites [306] in battle and to keep secret the drama of treachery the Emperor had arranged. For the Emperor did not want the Franks to know anything of what Butumites had done" (29). Thinking the emperor's men held the city, the Franks asked Butumites for permission to enter and worship in its churches. Once in the city, Butumites had the gates opened,

and the emperor named him Duke of Nicaea. Butumites, who distrusted the Franks, let them enter the city only ten at a time (30).

The emperor, staying at Pelecanus, wanted all the Frankish counts who had not yet sworn fealty to him to do so. He told Butumites to urge them not to start for Antioch before taking leave of him and promised that if they obeyed, he would shower them with gifts. When Bohemond, whom Anna Comnena consistently portrays as ambitious and greedy, heard gifts and money mentioned, he was the first to respond. Tancred alone refused to take the oath of fealty, despite the urging of his friends and the emperor's kinsmen, saying he owed allegiance only to Bohemond and would keep it to his death. Anna Comnena reports that Tancred conceitedly told the emperor, who was sitting in a large royal tent, that he would swear the oath if he gave him this tent full of money and as much more as he had given the other Franks. George Palaeologus, a distinguished man and trusted friend of the emperor, tried to throw him out. But the emperor rose and separated the two. Bohemond also chided Tancred: "It is not fitting for you to behave in such an impudent way to the emperor's kinsman." Ashamed at having behaved as if he were drunk, Tancred, recognizing the disgrace of his insolence toward Palaeologus, and influenced by the counsel of Bohemond and others, took the oath (31).

Tancred's rash conduct may be blamed on his lack of foresight or his hatred of the Byzantines. Despite his respect for and veneration of his uncle, he apparently felt that Bohemond had acted unreasonably in taking the oath when he was in a position to dictate his will to the emperor and perhaps fulfill his desire to be the Domestic of the East. But Bohemond knew his limitations. He realized that if he and the other Frankish leaders were to reach Jerusalem and liberate it from the Muslims, they needed Alexius more than he needed them, for without his help, their journey through [307] Turkish-held Asia Minor would be impossible. No doubt he also realized that challenging the emperor's authority in southern Italy, as he and his father had done, was totally different from challenging his authority in his own domain. So he rebuked Tancred for his reckless and unseemly behavior. Young Tancred did not agree with the other Frankish leaders, particularly his uncle Bohemond (32). Despite the contradictory claims and behavior of both the Franks and the emperor, the conquest of Nicaea was of tremendous importance to Alexius. The city was almost within sight of the walls of Constantinople, and the Turks' presence had been a constant menace to the capital. With Nicaea taken, Alexius could breathe freely (33).

Toward the end of June 1097, the Crusaders left Nicaea and marched through Asia Minor. Unlike Nicaea, where the Turks could slip in and out of the city in small groups, the Crusaders now had to face the Turks in the open. Though outnumbered, the Turks enjoyed some advantages; they had swifter horses and greater mobility, and they were fighting on their own territory. But not all was bad for the Crusaders. The Turks lacked the unity they needed to challenge them. In fact, for many years before the Crusaders arrived in Asia Minor, the Turks had been embroiled in bitter disputes. The Abbasid caliphs had claimed authority over the Muslim East, but they were challenged by the Seljuk Turks, who embraced Islam and in 1055 occupied Baghdad, where they became the real power and reduced the caliphs to a mere religious symbol. The Seljuk Turks themselves formed two groups, one in Baghdad and the other in Asia Minor, in what came to be known as the Rum Seljuk Sultanate of Konya (Iconium). There were also petty Turkish states all over Asia Minor whose rulers were independent of the Seljuk Turks in Baghdad and even rebelled against them. The fact that these feudal lords were constantly fighting each other made them easy prey for the Crusaders. And when Sultan Alp Arslan died in 1092, his sons became engaged in a bitter struggle over control of his domains. But when they finally perceived the danger from the Crusaders and faced the possible loss of their territories, they closed ranks to fight them (34).

After taking leave of the emperor, the Crusaders left Nicaea and marched into the interior part of Romania (Asia Minor). The emperor [308] assigned Taticius and some troops to them, partly to facilitate their march and partly to take over any territory they might take from the Turks (35). They reached the river Sangarius, where they camped for three days (36). After resuming the march and crossing a bridge near the village of Leucae, the army split into two columns, probably to facilitate forage. One column, commanded by Bohemond, included Stephen of Blois, Robert of Normandy, and Tancred; the other, under Raymond of Saint-Gilles, included Godfrey, Hugh the Great, Robert of Flanders, and Bishop Adhemar. One column marched eastward and the other westward, with the intention of meeting at Dorylaeum, near present-day Eskisher (37). When Bohemond's forces reached Dorylaeum, they were surprised to find that some adventurous Franks had already been there and lost about forty men in a skirmish with the Turks; Bohemond had not expected to meet them in battle so quickly. The loss

of Nicaea had apparently awakened the Turks to the imminent danger from the Franks and the possible loss of territory to them. Consequently, the Seljuk Sultan Kilij Arslan and the Turkish Amir Ghazi Danishmend had formed a joint front against the Franks.

On June 30 the Turkish forces massed at Dorylaeum to fight the invaders (38). Bohemond's camp was surrounded by Turks, howling and shouting in an unknown language. To Fulcher of Chartres, they were howling like wolves and furiously shooting a cloud of arrows (39). Bohemond addressed his knights in true Christian spirit: "Gentlemen, most valiant soldiers of Christ, you can see that we are encircled and that the battle will be hard, so let the knights go out to fight bravely, while the foot soldiers are careful and quick in pitching the camp" (40). Guibert of Nogent says Bohemond told his men, "If you keep in mind the expedition that you joined, having considered why [309] it was necessary, then go forward. Attack them like men, and defend your honor and your life" (41). When Bohemond's camp was arranged in good order according to the rules of military science, Sultan Kilij Arslan appeared with a large contingent of Turks, perhaps more than 360,000 (42). Encouraged by the arrival of such a huge force, and with Kilij Arslan "rejoicing like a lion in the strength of his army" (43), the Turks attacked Bohemond's army from every direction, throwing darts and javelins and shooting arrows from an astonishing range. The Crusaders were surprised at the multitude of Turks, Arabs, and other Muslims covering the mountains, hills, valleys, and plains near Dorylaeum. Frightened and trembling, they huddled like sheep in a fold. Surrounded by the enemy, they could not turn in any direction. This happened, says Fulcher of Chartres, because some of them had been defiled by sin, luxury, and avarice (44). Despite the ferocious attack, the Crusaders fought valiantly as one man. The women in their camp rendered a great help by bringing water to the fighting men and encouraging them to defend themselves (45).

Seeing that the Turks were fighting very bravely, Bohemond sent an urgent request for aid to the other column of Crusaders commanded by Raymond of Saint-Gilles, which was camped six or seven miles away. [310] Godfrey and Hugh the Great arrived first, and then the bishop of Le Puy. Raymond of Saint-Gilles followed them to Dorylaeum with a large cavalry force. The infantry remained behind to guard the tents (46). Meanwhile, a secret message of encouragement was passed to the fighting Crusaders: "Stand fast all together, trusting in Christ and the victory of the Holy Cross. Today, please God, and you will receive great wealth" (47).

The arrival of the column led by Godfrey and Raymond of Saint-Gilles changed the whole situation in favor of the Crusaders. Forming one body, they were now ready for battle. The author of the *Gesta Francorum*, describes the Crusaders' formation. On the left wing, on which he fought, were Bohemond, Robert of Normandy, Tancred, Robert of Anse, and Richard of the Principate. Raymond of Saint-Gilles, Robert of Flanders, Hugh the Great, and Godfrey took positions on the right (48). Adhemar, bishop of Le Puy, came down from the mountain and surrounded the startled Turks. In their distress, the Crusaders turned to God for mercy. Their patron, Adhemar, with forty bishops and many priests, all in white vestments, asked God to destroy their enemy (49).

On July 1, 1097, the Franks and Turks met in a ferocious battle. The Turks were soundly defeated and took flight (50). They left behind great quantities of gold and silver, numerous animals (asses, pack-horses, and camels), tents, and pavilions of various colors and unusual shapes, which the Franks had never seen before. The Franks carried these off and returned to their camp (51). The contemporary Latin sources do not provide casualty figures for either side, but say that the Franks lost two distinguished knights, Godfrey of Monte Scaglioso and Tancred's brother William, who was killed by an [311] arrow (52). William of Tyre says the Turks lost three thousand powerful and illustrious men, while the Franks lost only four thousand "of our common people and those of the lowest rank, both men and women... according to the recollection of aged men, only two of higher rank perished" (53). Guibert of Nogent says that the savage people (Arabs) showed their backs to the Christians and ran like rabbits, and so many fleeing Muslims were killed that the Crusaders did not have enough swords to do all the killing (54).

The battle of Dorylaeum marks the first military success of Christianity over Islam in the East in which the Franks played a decisive role. Since Manzikert in 1071, the Byzantines, having lost most of Asia Minor to the Turks, had grown apathetic and resigned to the idea that they could not resist the Turks or regain what they had lost. This attitude seems to underlie Emperor Alexius's warning to the Franks about the strength and war tactics of the Turks. Since he did not have a military force strong enough to regain his lost territories, he expected the Franks to restore them to him. Because the Byzantine Christians had become spiritually apathetic about retaking

their country from the Muslims, it fell to the Western Christians, the Franks, to shoulder this responsibility. Reading the Latin sources, one senses that the Franks' fight at Dorylaeum was charged with great spiritual enthusiasm. They were fighting in the name of Christ and for the Cross. Their victory, says Fulcher of Chartres, strengthened the glory of Christianity: "Gladdened by such a victory, we all gave thanks to God. He had willed that our journey should not be brought entirely to naught, but that it should prosper more gloriously than usual for the sake of that Christianity which was His own. Wherefore from East to West the tiding shall resound forever" (55). Guibert of Nogent wrote of the Franks' victory:

> Here we can clearly see the signs of Christian power. And if we marvel at the inequality of a battle between so few men and so many, we must attribute the results entirely to the aid of Christ. For if in the ancient text it is said of the Jews, who had not yet separated from God, "one will pursue a thousand, and two will put to flight ten thousand," [312] (Deuteronomy, 32:30) then it seems to me no less true of this victor, since human understanding cannot hope to fathom how so many men could be defeated by so few (56).

Although the Franks believed that they were the valiant soldiers of Christ and had gained victory in His name and His cross for the glory of Christianity, they did not conceal their admiration and even envy at how valiantly the Turks fought. The author of the *Gesta Francorum* exalts the Turks for their skill, power, and courage, but says still the Franks beat them. He wishes that they too were Christians. Nobody can deny, he says, that if the Turks stood firm in the faith of Christ, and were willing to accept one God in three persons (the Trinity), and believed that the Son of God was born of a virgin mother, and that He suffered, rose from the dead, and ascended to heaven and then sent the Holy Ghost to His disciples, and that He reigns in Heaven and earth, "you could not find stronger or braver or more skillful soldiers" (57). The author reveals his ignorance of Islam, saying the Muslims believe that Jesus was born of a virgin, but according to the Quran, "Jesus is like Adam in the sight of Allah. He created him of dust and then said to him: 'Be', and he was" (58). His admiration of the Turks is so great that he even considers them of the same ethnic origin as the Franks. He says that there is a saying that the Turks are of common stock with the Franks, and that no men except the Franks and themselves are naturally born to be knights (59).

One of the consequences of the battle of Dorylaeum, says Grousset, is that it settled the question of power in the Near East for more than a century. The Franks' victory was a harbinger of the creation of a new power which was to prevail for generations to come. In this sense, the victory at Dorylaeum offset the Byzantine defeat at Manzikert. Dorylaeum so demeaned Turkish power that until 1187, when Saladin finally evicted the Franks from Jerusalem, the Muslims gave way not only to the Franks, who conquered all Syria including Palestine, but to the Byzantines, who regained most of their provinces in Asia Minor (60).

[313] The Franks' victory was so great that for four days and nights after their defeat, "the foes of God and sacred Christianity" fled helter-skelter (61). Sultan Kilij Arslan, who, "frightened out of his mind, fled Nicaea after the end of its siege" (62), met ten thousand Arabs who asked him with bitter sarcasm, "O unhappy man, more miserable than all our people, why are you fleeing in terror?" The sultan answered that just when he thought he had defeated the Franks and prepared to have them bound together in pairs as captives, he looked back and saw swarms of Franks covering the mountains, hills, valleys and plains, and he and his men were terribly frightened and took flight. He added, "If you will believe me and trust my words, be off, because if they know that you are here, hardly one of you will escape with his life." When the Arabs heard his words, they retreated and scattered throughout Rum (Asia Minor) (63). To cover up their defeat, whenever they reached a town or castle where Syrian Christians lived, the fleeing Turks cunningly told them they had defeated and conquered the Christians, who had all disappeared or hidden themselves in holes. These simple Christian folk, taken by surprise, received them into their gates. The Turks took their vengeance on these simple people and pillaged their churches and houses and whatever they could find of value—horses, asses, mules, gold and silver. They also kidnaped Christian children and burned everything that might be of use to the Franks as they fled, terror-stricken, before the Franks' vanguard (64).

Charles Oman says Dorylaeum can be called a chance victory. The Crusaders should have been defeated because they split into two disconnected columns and marched haphazardly through an area unknown to them. Godfrey had to march six or seven miles to reach Bohemond's column, and the Turks wasted much time vainly searching

for the right column, while Bohemond's messengers were asking Godfrey to come to their aid. Moreover, the Franks were totally unable to cope with the Turks' unexpected formation. They did not even try to use their infantry and cavalry simultaneously to return the Turks' showers of arrows and spears. In fact, after holding out for five hours, Bohemond's column would have broken up and suffered disaster if it were not for the comrades who came to their [314] aid. Oman concludes that the Franks' victory was "undeserved, yet it gave the Crusaders a free passage through Asia Minor" (65). This interpretation is doubtful and should not be taken at face value. Oman's estimate of the distance between Bohemond's force and the others does not square with the *Gesta Francorum* (66). R. C. Smail asserts that although the Franks were close-packed and disorganized and their most adventurous knights failed to challenge the Turks, the Turks could not destroy them. Once Godfrey's force arrived, the Franks represented a formidable power; in a few hours the deadlock was broken and they won the battle (67).

The Franks continued to pursue the Turks, but faced great hardships. They passed through uninhabited territory where they suffered from lack of food and water. To relieve their hunger they had to rub their hands with spikes of cactus or corn (68). They lost many knights to thirst and hunger. They also lost most of their horses, and their cavalrymen had to go on foot. Because they had lost their horses, the Franks used oxen, goats and sheep and dogs as pack animals, and some armed knights even used oxen as mounts (69). Despite these hardships, the Franks marched on until finally, toward the middle of August 1097, they reached Iconium (Konya) 70. They found that its inhabitants had already fled into the neighboring mountains with all the possessions they could carry. The Franks were worn out and needed rest. Godfrey had been wounded few days earlier by a bear while hunting. Raymond of Saint-Gilles fell gravely ill, and Bishop William of Orange administered the last rites of the dead to him (71). On the advice of the [315] Armenians living near Iconium, the Franks carried skins filled with water to last them a day's journey. They reached a river where they rested for two days and then journeyed to Heraclea (modern Erghli), thirty hours from Iconium (72). At Heraclea there were a considerable number of Turkish troops, mostly Danishmends and men of Hasan of Cappadocia, who had fled at the approach of the Crusaders. The Turks laid an ambush, but the Crusaders discovered it, defeated the Turks, and routed them. They then entered the city, where they remained four days (73).

In mid-September 1097, Tancred and Godfrey's brother Baldwin split off from the main army at Heraclea and entered the valley of Botrenthrot, or Podandos (modern Gealek Boghaz), at the entrance to one of the passes of the Taurus Mountains, on the road to the Cilician coast (74). Their objective was Mar'ash, inhabited mostly by Armenians; the bulk of the army was to advance northward to Caesarea, then join Tancred and Baldwin at Mar'ash and together strike at Antioch. But Tancred broke away from Baldwin's forces and led his knights to Tarsus, famous as the birthplace of St. Paul (75). The army rested for three days at Mar'ash, where Fulcher of Chartres left the main force and joined that of Baldwin (76). But why did the Frankish army divide itself at this point? William of Tyre says some knights left the main body of the army to explore the country and learn more about its pathways before trying their fortune (77). Some modern writers believe that [316] the Frankish army split up to facilitate the search for food (78. But this does not make much sense, since sending Tancred and Baldwin in a different direction with a small force could not have solved the food-shortage problem. The division of the army at Heraclea was motivated mainly by strategic and political factors (79).

To reach Syria, the Franks had to pass through the province of Cilicia, inhabited mostly by Christian Armenians who had immigrated there in the eleventh century, either voluntarily or on the orders of the Byzantine emperor. It was sound strategy to win these Armenians to their cause and establish a stronghold against the Turks. Few Armenians lived in Cappadocia, to which the remnants of Kilij Arslan's army had fled after Dorylaeum, hoping to unite with other Turks and create a new military front, which the Franks certainly did not wish to face. Cilicia thus offered the Franks a better opportunity to consolidate their power and win the support of the Armenian princelings, with whom they had already communicated when they marched into Asia Minor (80). Matthew of Edessa writes that when the Frankish army, numbering about 500,000, marched through Bithynia, the Armenian princes, Thoros, ruler of Edessa, and Constantine, ruler of the territory of Kopitar, a fortress in the Taurus Mountains in northern Cilicia, were informed by letter of their coming (81). Unfortunately, he does not say who wrote this letter or under what circumstances. We may only speculate that the Franks informed these Armenian princes of their coming in hopes of getting them to form a united front against their enemy, the Turks.

After Tancred broke away from Baldwin's company, Baldwin, aided by an Armenian guide named Panoratius who was thoroughly acquainted with the region, marched by the *Via Regia* and caught up with him at Tarsus (82). Soon the two leaders were embroiled in a quarrel over possession of the city, to be discussed later. At this point we must ask why Tancred and Baldwin split. Ralph Bailey Yewdale asserts that Bohemond's design upon Antioch first became evident during the Franks' march through Asia Minor, and that Tancred and a group of Norman troops broke away from Baldwin's force and marched southward to Cilicia to secure the strategic route [317] leading to Antioch, suggesting that Tancred's action was intended to promote his uncle's interest in carving out a principality there for himself (83).

Robert L. Nicholson argues that the struggle between Tancred and Baldwin over possession of Tarsus was motivated by self-aggrandizement, at the expense of both the Byzantine and the Seljuk Turks. He says Tancred, who had sworn fealty to Emperor Alexius, was not honest enough to keep his word. He had taken the oath at Constantinople but, finding himself near to Antioch and outside the emperor's jurisdiction, regarded it as no longer binding. Thus, Tancred became Bohemond's willing instrument in invading Cilicia and paved the way for him to capture Antioch (84). Nicholson also dismisses the idea that Baldwin accompanied Tancred out of jealousy, saying he did so to promote the interest of his own Lorraine group, which did not want Tancred to control Cilicia and facilitate the aims of his uncle Bohemond. If this was Tancred's objective, then Baldwin's group must also have aspired to a territorial base in the region (85).

Whatever the reasons were, as the Frankish leaders left Asia Minor for Syria, their attitudes toward the Emperor Alexius and each other were drastically changed. They were motivated by individual ambition to carve out for themselves principalities in the East. Pursuing material benefits, they had put their self-interest above all else (86). Rivalry between Baldwin's Lorraine group and Tancred's Norman group for the control of the major cities of Cilicia, as a step toward control of Syria and its major city, Antioch, must have been the main reason why the two forces, which had left Heraclea together, parted company soon afterwards. The rivalry is confirmed by the fact that when the two leaders reached Tarsus, they began to quarrel over control of the city. Although Tancred's force was much smaller than Baldwin's, he was determined to establish himself at Tarsus before anyone else could challenge him (87).

[318] Tancred reached Tarsus and for seven days laid siege to the city. Most of its inhabitants at this time were Christian Armenians and Greeks, but there were also some Turks who controlled the fortresses and oppressed the Christians. With threats and harsh language, Tancred urged the people to raise his standard on the highest tower, to signify that they had surrendered to him. They acquiesced, on condition that he would protect them until Bohemond's force arrived and would not compel them to leave their houses or estates against their will. Tancred accepted these conditions (88). But while he was still at the city gates, Baldwin arrived from another direction. When he saw from afar a camp at the city gates, he thought it was Turkish. Likewise, Tancred, seeing a large force advancing toward the city, thought it was Turkish and alerted his men to be ready to fight (89). But when he saw that it was Baldwin's men, he received them with affection and hospitality. The two leaders joined forces and continued the siege of the city (90). Baldwin, who had designs on Tarsus, asked Tancred to make a friendly agreement to share the city, but Tancred refused. The Turkish inhabitants fled the city as the Christians came out into the night shouting, "Come on, unconquered Franks, come on! The Turks have all gone because they are much afraid of you" (91).

Tancred and Baldwin seemed unable to settle their dispute over Tarsus. It was left to the Christian population of the city to resolve the problem. At dawn the dignitaries of Tarsus came out and told the two, "Sirs, let be. We desire and seek to have for our ruler and lord the man who yesterday fought so gallantly against the Turks, i.e., Tancred" (92). But Baldwin objected, saying that he and Tancred should seize and plunder the city, and whoever took the most should claim the whole city for himself. Tancred nobly replied that he had no wish to plunder Christians, and that the men of Tarsus had chosen him to be their lord. But in the end, says the author of the *Gesta Francorum*, Tancred could not stand up to the superior strength of Baldwin's forces and so left the city with his men to capture the two towns of Adana, at the foot of the Taurus mountain, and Mamistra (Mopsuestia, the modern al-Missisa), east of Adana on the right bank of the River Jihan, with many castles which surrendered to him directly (93). Fulcher of [319] Chartres does not discuss the rivalry between Tancred and Baldwin, but praises the latter as a most capable knight. He says that Baldwin took the city of Tarsus from Tancred and,

leaving guards in it, returned to the main army (94). Evidently, Baldwin succeeded in frustrating Tancred's ambition to establish a principality for himself at Tarsus.

After Tancred left, Baldwin took possession of Tarsus. He ordered its citizens to open the gates and let his forces in, and, lacking the confidence to challenge him, they obeyed. The Turks, who controlled most of the towers and fortifications, were suspicious of these Christians. When they saw that there was no hope of outside help, they began to steal out of the city with their wives, children, servants, and belongings (95). Soon after Tancred left, three hundred Normans from Bohemond's expedition arrived at Tarsus, apparently to reinforce Tancred's forces. Baldwin, now in control, refused them entrance to the city. Weary and short of supplies, they implored him to let them lodge in the city and purchase food. Baldwin's forces within the city sympathized with these men and urged him to let them in, but he was adamant. The Christians of Tarsus, motivated by brotherly charity, lowered baskets full of bread and wine in skins from the wall by ropes.

By chance, the Turks who had stealthily left Tarsus saw the 300 Normans sleeping outside the gates, fell upon them, and murdered them all. The next day the citizens and Baldwin's men discovered the massacre. Outraged at this atrocity, Baldwin's men rebelled against him and the other chiefs. The situation had become too tense, and Baldwin had to act. He managed to quiet the foot soldiers, who were still holding their arms, and began to protest his innocence. He swore that his only reason for barring the men from entering the city was that he had promised to let no one enter the city until the duke [Godfrey] arrived. Finally, by flattering and persuading certain nobles, he placated his men (96). As he was speaking, he pointed to several towers still controlled by the Turks. His men now turned their rage against the Turks. Their fury was increased when some Christian women of the city appeared and showed that the Turks had cut off their noses and [320] ears. Baldwin's men, no longer able to control their emotions, fell upon the Turks left in Tarsus and massacred them without pity (97)

Baldwin soon received unexpected reinforcements. Three miles from Tarsus, a fleet appeared on the sea entering the bay of Mersin, at the mouth of the Cydmus river just below the city, and his men rushed to the shore to investigate. The sailors were Christians, Flemish, Dutch and Frisian pirates who had plied the seas for eight years. They regretted their sinful acts, had repented, and were en route to Jerusalem to worship. When Baldwin's men saw they were men of faith, they received them with the kiss of peace and led them to Tarsus. The pirate captain, Guinemer (also called Guynemer, Guymer or Winemer), a Boulognian, recognized Baldwin, the son of his lord, Count Eustace. Guinemer, a rich man with many followers, pledged that he and his companions would take up the cross and fight alongside the Crusaders. Five hundred of the men with Baldwin and Guinemer were selected as a garrison to guard Tarsus after the others had left the city (98). The episode of Guinemer, related by Albert of Aachen, has been viewed with some suspicion, even regarded as a fabrication, in conflict with attested facts. Babcock and Krey write, "Albert of Aachen is undoubtedly guilty of embellishing the original facts with fanciful details, not all of which are accepted by William of Tyre" (99).

The Latin sources give differing accounts of Tancred's march to Adana and his actions there. Ralph of Caen says that after leaving Tarsus, Tancred marched northeast to Adana at the request of the Armenian Ursinus (Oshin), who had recently captured the city from the Turks, and arrived there on September 22, 1097 (100). Oshin, identified as the Armenian lord of Lamport and a scion of the Hetumid family, asked Tancred to place his forces at his disposal to attack the neighboring city of Mamistra, held by the Turks (101). Tancred, desiring the Armenians' friendship and cooperation, agreed, and the combined forces attacked Mamistra the next day. [321] The people of Mamistra promptly surrendered to Tancred and declared him their governor (102).

Albert of Aachen and William of Tyre say that Tancred was unable to enter Adana because it had already been seized by a certain Burgundian knight named Guelf. Apparently Guelf and some followers, having split off from the main Frankish army, by chance came to Adana and took it from the Turks by force. When Tancred learned that the city had fallen into the hands of the Franks, he dispatched messengers to ask Guelf to open its gates for him and his troops. Guelf agreed and provided Tancred and his men with food, some at no charge and some at a fixed price. He was generous to Tancred because he had laid his hands on the treasures of the city, which he found full of gold, silver, flocks and herds, grain, wine and oil. Tancred then left the city and marched along the royal highway to Mamistra. Arriving there in October 1097, he made his camp nearby and began his attack. The Turks resisted, but Tancred overwhelmed them and many of them fled. Within a few days, he captured the city

and slew the infidels inside it (103). He found vast amounts of riches and provisions in the city and divided them among his men.

While he was at Mamistra, Tancred learned that Baldwin had left Tarsus and was on his way there. Baldwin's march was not easy, for he had to cross two rivers. Moreover, Tancred had already ordered the inhabitants of Adana and Mamistra to remove all the bridges, so that Baldwin's forces could not use them (104). Tancred, angered by Baldwin's arrival, wanted to fight. Richard of the Principate (Richard of Salerno) and Robert of Anzi urged him to retaliate for what Baldwin had done to him at Tarsus. Heeding their advice, Tancred sent a troop of archers to wound the horses of Baldwin's men, which were foraging in the pastures, or to capture and drive them out. Tancred himself took 500 knights and fell upon Baldwin's camp. He surprised the sentries, who were killed before they could seize their weapons. But Baldwin's men resisted. A fierce struggle ensued and both sides fought furiously, as if they were bitter enemies. Baldwin's forces captured Richard of the Principate, while Tancred's men seized Gilbert of Montclair, and both camps were dismayed by the apparent loss of these distinguished men. Recognizing that his small force was no match for [322] Baldwin's men and could not endure the stress of battle, Tancred retreated to Mamistra. Finally, he and Baldwin realized that they had come to the East to fight the Turks, not each other. They exchanged messengers and asked for terms of peace. Prisoners on both sides were returned, Tancred and Baldwin reconciled, their armies took the kiss of peace, and harmony was restored (105).

The Latin sources also differ about what Baldwin and Tancred did after leaving Mamistra. The *Gesta Francorum* is silent on the subject. Fulcher of Chartres says that Baldwin gathered a few knights and set out toward the Euphrates, where he took many towns, the most desirable being Turbessel (Tall Bashir), whose Armenian inhabitants surrendered peacefully. He then relates Baldwin's actions concerning Edessa (106). William of Tyre says Baldwin went to Mar'ash, where the main army had just arrived, to see his brother Godfrey. He heard that Godfrey had fallen ill and tried to visit him, but when he heard that Godfrey was recovering, he decided to seek new adventures. Baldwin's wife Gutuera (Godihelde), who had accompanied him on the Crusade, died at Mar'ash and was buried with due rites and honor. Baldwin wanted to go on to Syria, but many Franks, put off by his arrogant treatment of Tancred at Tarsus, refused to join him. Even Godfrey severely reprimanded him for his action. But Baldwin acknowledged his bad behavior toward Tancred and was pardoned, winning back the good will of all. Absolved of his guilt, Baldwin finally convinced a few comrades to accompany him on his expedition. William says no more about Baldwin's actions until he reached Edessa (107).

Ralph of Caen says Baldwin left Mamistra and crossed the Euphrates, intending to claim a principality for himself, which he deemed more important than conquering Cilicia. Baldwin probably thought Tancred might well challenge him for control of Cilicia, whose inhabitants were mostly Greek and Armenian, and he marched toward Edessa to avoid a conflict with him. On the way he attacked the city of Artasium (Artah), northeast of Antioch, but the Turks succeeded in besieging his force (108). Meanwhile, Tancred was [323] also marching toward Artah. When his forces reached the city, the Turks, mistaking them for the main Frankish army, became frightened and retreated. Tancred easily entered Artah and rescued Baldwin. Once again the two rivals came face to face at Artah, and their old hostility rekindled. The Turks, realizing that only a small Frankish force had attacked Artah, returned to fight. But instead of storming the city, for reasons unknown they suddenly left, and the Frankish leaders resumed their quarrel.

The deadlock was finally broken when Tancred wisely left the city to Baldwin. He marched around the Gulf of Issus and captured several towns, including Alexandretta (modern Iskenderun), aided by the naval forces of Guinemer, who had supported him at Tarsus (109). He was welcomed by the Armenian population, who had long sought freedom from their Muslim overlords (110). Having achieved this memorable feat, Tancred left Alexandretta and turned northward to join the main Frankish army (111). After Tancred's departure from Artasium, Baldwin also left to join the main army at Mar'ash, leaving his kinsman Baldwin of Le Bourg in control of the city (112). The conflict between Tancred and Baldwin shows that they sought to claim principalities for themselves in the East. They apparently forgot that their main mission, and that of the whole Frankish expedition, was to liberate the Holy Sepulcher from the Muslims and reclaim Jerusalem. Clearly, self-interest and worldly ambition took precedence over spiritual principles.

The main Frankish forces, commanded by Raymond of Saint-Gilles, Bohemond, Godfrey, Stephen of Blois, and many others, entered the land of the Armenians, thirsting for the blood of the Turks. They came to a well-fortified castle but failed to capture it. An Armenian native named Simeon wanted ownership of the castle, so that he could keep it from falling into the hands of the Turks. The Frankish leaders granted that right, and he dwelled among his people. The Franks left and after a pleasant journey came on September 27, 1097, to Caesarea (modern Kayseri) in Cappadocia, a region in central Anatolia. From there they marched to Comana (Placentia), a city of great splendor and wealth, which quickly surrendered. A knight named Peter of Aups (Aulps, or Alfia, according to Ordericus Vitalis) asked the Franks to let him hold the city in fealty to God, the Holy [324] Sepulcher, and the Emperor Alexius, and they gave it to him with good will. Meanwhile, Bohemond heard that the Danishmend Turks were in the area and had besieged the city. He and his knights prepared to attack them wherever they were, but he could not find them (113).

On October 5-6, 1097, the Franks marched to Coxon (modern Göksun), a fine, wealthy city whose Armenian inhabitants surrendered voluntarily (and gladly) to their fellow Christians. They stayed there three days, enjoying rest and plentiful provisions. While they were there Raymond of Saint-Gilles received reports that the Turkish garrison guarding Antioch had fled the city. He held a council with his Provecals and sent Peter of Castillion, William of Montpellier, Peter of Roaix, and Peter Raymond of Hautpoul (Hauteville), along with 500 knights, to explore the road, scout the territory, and take possession of the city. Reaching a castle near Antioch held by the Paulicians, they learned that the Turks inside the city were preparing to defend it. Leaving the expeditionary force under the cover of darkness, Peter of Roaix passed near Antioch and entered the Rugia (Riha) valley, east of Antioch, where he found a number of Turks. He killed many and drove away the rest. When the Armenian inhabitants saw that Peter of Roaix had defeated their enemies, they immediately surrendered Rugia and other castles to him (114).

Those who had stayed at Coxon now left the city and marched to Mar'ash (Germanicia). They had to go by a rough road across the anti-Taurus range, which the author of the *Gesta Francorum* calls "a damnable mountain" and Peter Tudebode calls "the devilish mountain" (115). This journey was perhaps the worst and most hazardous the Crusaders ever made. The mountain was high and rocky, so precipitous that no man would dare to overtake another on the rough-hewn trails. The path was so narrow that the men collided with each other and were badly bruised. As horses plunged over the cliff and pack animals dragged one another down, the helpless knights could only wring their hands in shock and grief. They were so miserable, frightened, and uncertain of their fate that they sold their shields, breastplates, helmets, and valuables for whatever they could get. [325] Those who could not sell their worthless arms threw them away and marched on. After barely surviving the fearful passage, they reached Mar'ash on October 13, 1097 (116).

Mar'ash was ruled by the Armenian governor Tatoul, formerly an official of the Byzantine Empire (117). The Christian inhabitants came to meet the Franks outside the city walls, rejoicing and bringing plentiful supplies. The army stayed in Mar'ash waiting for Bohemond, who was still pursuing the Danishmend Turks. Albert of Aachen says the main army then departed Mar'ash and marched to the city of Artasium, which Robert of Flanders took with the help of the Armenian inhabitants (118). On the evening of October 20 the Franks entered the valley of the Orontes (al-Asi) River, on whose left bank stood Antioch, the largest city and capital of Syria (119). The next day they pitched their camp (120).

The stage was now set for a significant historical event, the establishment of the first Frankish principality in the East. The Crusaders' stated goal was to free Jerusalem from the Muslims. But before they even got there, one of their leaders, Baldwin, stayed behind to establish his rule in Edessa; another, Bohemond, would make himself ruler of Antioch prior to the march on Jerusalem.

As we have already seen, Baldwin joined the main army at Mar'ash but stayed there only a few days. Instead of preparing to take part in the siege of Antioch, Baldwin, following the advice of an exiled Armenian noble, Pancratius (also Pakrad or Bagrat, the brother of Kogh Vasil), turned southward to capture the two fortresses of Tall Bashir and Ravendan (Turbessel and Ravendel in the Latin sources; the Arabic souces refer to Rawandan), situated on the Euphrates river (121). Albert of Aachen and William [326] of Tyre call Bagrat a valiant warrior but a perfidious man, very sly and of questionable loyalty, who escaped (or was released) from the prison of Emperor Alexius and joined the crusading army at Nicaea (122). Baldwin used him as a guide and liaison with

the Armenian inhabitants of the region, who received Baldwin with jubilation. The Syrian Orthodox inhabitants, whom writers call "Jacobites," were unsure of Baldwin's intentions because he belonged to the Roman Catholic Church, which held the Chalcedonian faith which they had rejected, but they did not oppose or antagonize him (123).

After capturing the two fortresses, Baldwin delivered Tall Bashir to an Armenian prince named Fer and turned Ravendan over to Bagrat, who installed his son there with an Armenian garrison. Bagrat may have needed Baldwin's help to maintain his family's authority over its principality near the Euphrates; Baldwin hoped to ingratiate himself with the Armenians to carve out a principality for himself in Edessa (124). Their relationship was at first amicable, but Matthew of Edessa says Baldwin ruined Bagrat and pillaged his territories (125). Baldwin evidently suspected that Bagrat was using him to gain control of all the territories near the Euphrates, and once he established his authority there, he would turn against Baldwin and intrigue with the Turks to further his designs. He also heard from the inhabitants of the region that Bagrat and Kogh Vasil had burdened them with heavy taxes. Bagrat's hopes were ended when two Armenian princes, Fer and Nichsus, allied themselves with Baldwin; they told him of Bagrat's perfidious actions and intrigues with the Turks and of his lying to the Emperor Alexius, for which he was imprisoned. Warned not to trust such a treacherous person, Baldwin grew suspicious of his friendship and loyalty. Worse still, he learned that Bagrat and Kogh Vasil were secretly plotting with Bohemond to deliver Edessa to him. On hearing these reports, Baldwin's brother Godfrey was enraged and sent an army to destroy their forces. Baldwin moved quickly, sending troops to Ravendan to arrest Bagrat and bring him to justice. He tortured him in an effort to learn the truth, but Bagrat said little. He escaped to the mountains and took refuge with his brother Kogh Vasil, [327] whereupon Baldwin seized Ravandan and pillaged it (126). Baldwin's cruel treatment of Bagrat evidently convinced the Armenians that he had come not to help them against the Turks but to seek power and wealth at their expense (127).

Baldwin received full support from the Christian inhabitants of the region, who desired nothing more than to rid themselves of the Muslim yoke. The appearance of a Christian leader like Baldwin was more than a blessing to them. Ordericus Vitalis says Baldwin was a knight of great stature and lofty spirit, well versed in letters. He was a man of outstanding valor and integrity, and of illustrious descent, being a scion of the stock of the Emperor Charlemagne (128). The townspeople of Edessa saw him as the Frank most suited to be in charge of their city. They paid him full homage, cooperated with him, and furnished him with troops. The reports of his courage and achievements also reached the Christians of Edessa, who thought this mighty leader would redeem them from servitude and offer them freedom (129).

Some historical background of Edessa is in order. The Anonymous Edessan says that in 1087 the Seljuk Sultan Malik Shah Abu al-Fath captured Antioch and sent one of his commanders, Mujahid al-Din Buzan, to capture Edessa. The Edessans expected the Byzantine emperor to send a force to save the city, but no aid came. They surrendered the city willingly to Buzan on Wednesday, March 3, 1087. Buzan stationed some Turks in the fortresses of Edessa and appointed Tadrus (Theodore), who was in fact the Armenian Thoros, son of Hatim or Hetum, as curopalates (Guardian of the Palace) and commander of the city (130). When Malik Shah died in 1092, a struggle for power ensued between his son Berkyaruk (1094-1105), who succeeded him, and his brother Taj al-Dawla Tutush, ruler of Syria (1078-1095) (131). Tutush seized several towns, including Edessa, and had Buzan [328] beheaded in 1094 for his support of Berkyaruk (132). He appointed Thoros as the city's commander (133).

Tutush's son Ridwan, ruler of Aleppo (1095-1113), and several of his father's men like Yaghi Siyan, lord of Antioch, fled to seek refuge with Thoros in Edessa. Thoros planned to hold them as prisoners, but some noblemen of the city persuaded him to return them safely to their respective cities. Meanwhile, Thoros tried to fortify the city. But a Turkish commander who had captured the Citadel of Maniaces told the neighboring amirs Sukman, the son of Artuk, lord of Diyarbakr, and Balduk, lord of Samosata, what he had done, and they raised forces in an effort to capture Edessa. Ridwan and Yaghi Siyan attacked Edessa with 40,000 men, causing Sukman and Balduk to flee, but failed to capture the city. Peace was brought to Edessa through the efforts of Mkhitar, a Christian officer in the army of Sultan Berkyaruk, and perhaps through a payment of money by Thoros. The Citadel of Maniaces was delivered to Thoros, who also took other citadels and villages (134). Still,

he was harassed by the neighboring Turkish lords and did not feel safe in Edessa. The Franks' arrival was happy news to him and the Christian inhabitants of the city, and Thoros invited Baldwin to come to his aid (135).

The Latin sources say Thoros, a feeble old man and childless, wanted Baldwin to possess the city and all of his domains as a permanent inheritance, as if he were his own son (136). Thoros had many enemies in Edessa, particularly the Armenians, who considered him a miscreant for deserting the faith of his own church ("monophysitism") to embrace the Chalcedonian faith of the Byzantine church (137). Quite possibly the immediate reason [329] that led him to ask Baldwin for help was a report that Kerbogha, the Turkish governor of Mosul (d. 1102), had assembled a great army and was marching toward Antioch, which the Franks had besieged. Plainly Thoros needed Baldwin's support against the Turks as much as Baldwin needed his help to establish himself in Edessa. Thoros's embassy to Baldwin was headed by the city's bishop and twelve dignitaries. After consulting with his men, Baldwin accepted their invitation (138). Guibert of Nogent says a knight in Thoros's household heard him say that since he was old and childless, he wanted a Frank to come to Edessa and defend him against the Turks, and he would treat him as his own son. The knight then repeated what Thoros had said and Baldwin, believing him, accompanied the knight to Edessa, where he was welcomed and adopted by Thoros (139).

Baldwin left for Edessa with a band of knights (140). Fulcher of Chartres says that as soon as they crossed the Euphrates and arrived in territory controlled by the Turks, they saw that Balduk, the Turkish lord of Samosata, had laid an ambush for them. A certain Armenian offered them shelter in his own castle, where they hid for two days. On the third day the Turks came galloping up to the castle and plundered the livestock in the pasture. Though few in number, Baldwin and his men managed to drive off the Turks and then proceeded to Edessa. En route they passed through Armenian towns whose people received them with joy, coming out carrying crosses and banners, and kissing their feet and garments for the love of God, believing them to be their saviors against the Turks (141). When he arrived in Edessa in February 1098, Baldwin was received by the people with great joy, arousing the jealousy of Thoros, who had invited Baldwin thinking that he would protect him against the Turks and they would divide the revenues, and that after his death, since he had no heir, Baldwin would take over the city (142). Albert of Aachen says that Thoros promised Baldwin gold, [330] silver, precious stones, thousands of horses, and a great quantity of arms, if he would defend the city and its people against the Turks (143). Matthew of Edessa says simply that Thoros acted in a friendly manner towards Baldwin, offered him gifts, and formed an alliance with him (144).

The Syriac sources, however, say that when the people of Edessa heard that the Franks had besieged Antioch, they told Theodorus (Thoros), the son of Hatim (Hetum), to ask the French to send them troops to protect their city from the plundering Turks. He did not like the idea, but when he saw that he could not overcome their argument and they might contact the Franks without his consent, he gave in to their demand. Frightened because many citizens hated him, he sent an embassy to ask Godfrey, the Frankish commander, to send troops to protect his country. When Godfrey read his letter, he and his men rejoiced, saying, "as Edessa believed in Christ before Jerusalem, so did the Lord Christ hand it to us before Jerusalem." Godfrey sent his brother Baldwin, a believer, God-fearing and brave man, to take charge of the government of Edessa (145). The Syriac sources make clear that the people of Edessa, not Thoros, initiated the request for protection by the Franks. Moreover, they differ from the Latin sources in saying this appeal was addressed to Godfrey, and that he sent Baldwin to take the government of Edessa.

Upon arriving in Edessa, Baldwin offered his services to Thoros. The citizens of Edessa received the Franks with kindness, gave them comfortable quarters, provided them with plentiful food, and offered them good wages, trusting them to defend the whole province (146). Despite the citizens' warm welcome and generous treatment, Baldwin soon found his relations with Thoros less than amicable. He had not imagined, when he received the invitation to come to Edessa's aid, that Thoros expected him simply to be his mercenary fighting the Turks. Being a prominent Frankish prince, Baldwin, perhaps humiliated at being asked to serve as a mercenary, wanted full control of the city's affairs, while he may also have entertained the ambitious idea of converting it into a Latin city. He threatened to leave Edessa, but the people insisted that Thoros keep Baldwin and even adopt him as his [331] son and heir, since he was old and childless. The members of the city council and many dignitaries urged him not to let such a noble and brave man forsake them, but to make him his partner in the

government of Edessa (147). In view of these demands, Guibert of Nogent says, Thoros adopted Baldwin as his son and proclaimed him heir to the government of Edessa. The adoption ceremony took place in the Armenian church, according to Armenian traditions. Thoros directed Baldwin to strip naked and put on a linen inner garment, a kind of tunic. He embraced him and confirmed the entire transaction with a kiss, and old men and women did the same (148). Significantly, the Armenian Matthew of Edessa and the Syriac writers do not mention such an event, nor does Fulcher of Chartres, Baldwin's chaplain. Beaumont questions the account of Baldwin's adoption, saying that surely Fulcher would have known about it. But he might have suppressed it to save space (Fulcher's writing is marked by terseness) or considered it to be nonessential, or beneath the dignity of a Frankish knight (149).

Perhaps to appease those people of Edessa who disapproved of his relationship with Baldwin, Thoros sent him on an expedition against Balduk, the lord of the fortress of Samosata on the Euphrates. The fortress had belonged to Edessa, but Balduk captured it and used it to harass Edessa and exact annual tribute from Thoros. Accompanied by Constantine, lord of nearby Gargar and a vassal of Thoros, Baldwin set out to recover the fortress. But the attack was repulsed because the Armenians with him fled, awed by the power of the Turks. Baldwin managed to take the nearby village of St. John, where he stationed a large part of his force to harass the Turks, and returned to Edessa (150). Thoros received him with great honor, and the clergy and people went out to meet him, singing hymns accompanied by trumpets and drums (151). Yet why, if he had been defeated by the Turks, did they receive Baldwin with such honor? Kugler argues that the citizens of Edessa believed Baldwin's defeat was caused by the cowardice of [332] the Armenian troops who accompanied him, and not by the inability of Baldwin and his knights (152).

Despite his show of good will towards Baldwin, the people of Edessa conspired to get rid of Thoros. In fact, the antagonism against him intensified soon after Baldwin's arrival in Edessa. Some hated him because he was a miser and had burdened the subjects with heavy taxes to pay the ever-greedy Turks. Some said he had used the infidels' power to oppress the Christians (153). But most people hated him because they considered him a miscreant who had abandoned the faith of his church to ingratiate himself with the Byzantine emperor and preserve his position as governor of Edessa (154). Both Latin and Syriac sources mention a conspiracy against Thoros. Fulcher of Chartres says that fifteen days after the Franks' arrival, "the wicked citizens plotted to slay their prince [Thoros], because they hated him, and to elevate Baldwin to the palace to rule the land" (155). The Anonymous Edessan writes,

> When the Franks had been for some time in Edessa the callous Edessans began to provoke strife and dissension between the Franks and Thoros. Their hearts were filled with wickedness. Their cruelty reached a point that they conspired to kill the governor and have the Franks rule over them. They did this not from love of the Franks but from bad will because they disliked Thoros. Like wild beasts they raged and excited and inflamed one another. Many of them congregated and agitated in the place where |Thoros] usually descended from the high fortress at the source of the fountain. When he came to that crowd, he fled to the lower fortress above the eastern gate of the city which he had built and already finished. When they attacked him he asked them to pledge to let him, his wife and his sons go without taking any possessions. They promised and swore to do so. Accordingly, he opened the gate for them. But they did not honor their pledge and acted perfidiously toward him. They tied him with a rope and let him down from the high wall which overlooked the city while he was naked except for a loin cloth. While they let him down [here two pages of the Syriac text [333] are missing]... son of Hatim... and destroyed his house. Baldwin then took the possessions of Thoros and seized the city's two fortresses (156).

Thus, the Anonymous Edessan agrees with Albert of Aachen that the plot against Thoros was concocted without reference to Baldwin. Both sources describe the agitation in the city and Thoros's attempt to be released without his possessions. Curiously, while the Latin sources say Thoros was childless, the Anonymous Edessan refers to his sons.

Matthew of Edessa gives an entirely different account, implicating Baldwin in the plot that led to the murder of Thoros, which he says occurred during Lent. He states that forty men who planned to kill Thoros in a Judas-like act went to Baldwin to persuade him to agree to their evil scheme and promised to deliver Edessa into his hands.

Baldwin approved their vicious plot, in which the Armenian Constantine, lord of Gargar, was also involved. These men incited the people of the city against Thoros and gathered in the inner citadel, where he was violently attacked. They pillaged the homes of his officers and seized the upper citadel. Matthew says Thoros appealed to them not to harm him but to let him go with his wife to the city of Melitene, on condition that he surrender the citadel and the city to them. The plotters swore on the Holy Cross, and Baldwin swore by all the saints, not to harm him. Then Thoros handed the citadel over to Baldwin. But on the Tuesday of the celebration of Passion Week, the townsmen, armed with swords and clubs, attacked Thoros. They threw him down from the rampart into the midst of the crowd. They wounded him and killed him with the sword. Thus, the people of Edessa committed a great crime in the sight of God. Moreover, they bound Thoros's body and dragged it through the city (157).

The divergence of Matthew's account from those of Albert of Aachen and the Anonymous Edessan is obvious. Why he implicates Baldwin in the plot is unclear. Beaumont says Matthew's account reveals his hostility toward Baldwin; he questions its accuracy because, he says, Fulcher of Chartres says nothing of Baldwin's involvement in Thoros's murder, adding that he had no reason to mention it at length (158). This is not quite the case; Fulcher of Chartres discusses the plot against Thoros, but says Baldwin and his men were sad because they were unable to obtain mercy for him. Perhaps, [334] as Baldwin's chaplain, Fulcher suppressed this heinous episode because it defiled the name of his lord. But if he wished to be truthful, why did not he not defend Thoros or explain Baldwin's willingness to become the lord of Edessa after Thoros's murder (159)?

It appears Baldwin's aim was to use the people's distrust of Thoros and anger at their treatment by him to win their love and support. He was reluctant to rescue Thoros, knowing that his life was in danger, and advised him to surrender to the conspirators. Albert of Aachen says Baldwin told Thoros that the citizens of the province were plotting against him and, armed with all kinds of weapons, had rushed to the citadel in tumultuous agitation, and that this event grieved and distressed him. Baldwin further told Thoros that if he could set himself free or abdicate his power, he would not hesitate to come to his rescue (160). Baldwin seems not to have been sincere about saving Thoros's life. William of Tyre says the people were angry at Thoros and determined to overthrow him. Fearing for his life, he summoned Baldwin, poured out his treasure before him, and begged him to intercede with the people for his life. Although Baldwin was willing to try to protect Thoros, he soon realized that his effort would be in vain because the people of Edessa were so angry with him. He urged Thoros to try to flee to safety. But Thoros did not heed his advice and was finally murdered by his own people (161).

Ordericus Vitalis says Thoros was murdered at the instigation of one Tobias, a chief citizen of Edessa. Tobias gave a lengthy diatribe against Thoros and the citizens, inflamed against him, rushed upon him and cut off his head. Tobias took the head and asked the citizens to guard the palace and its treasures, promising that he and his companions would bring the Franks (meaning Baldwin) with joy and peace. Then he invited Baldwin to govern the city (162). It seems highly doubtful that Baldwin, who was so much loved and admired by the citizens of Edessa, could not convince them to let Thoros leave the city unharmed. Whatever the case may be, Baldwin with insincere reluctance agreed to become the lord of Edessa. On March 8, 1098, the citizens proclaimed him their new governor and swore full allegiance to him. They led a grand procession to the citadel and lavished on [335] him the treasures that their former lord Thoros had stored up all his life. Ordericus Vitalis says the native Christians, delighted to be ruled by a Christian prince, gave thanks to God, while the Turks were downcast at having lost their power over the worshipers of Christ, whom they had oppressed. Baldwin entered the city in triumph and was received in the palace of the governor amid the cheers of the citizens, as peace and security were restored (163).

Thus Edessa became the first Latin principality in the East. Baldwin had set the precedent; other Latin leaders would likewise carve out principalities for themselves, including Antioch, Tripoli and, most important, the kingdom of Jerusalem. Let us recall that when the Frankish leaders were in Constantinople, they swore fealty to Emperor Alexius and pledged to restore to him the lands and cities they liberated. Edessa was still under the emperor's authority, and Thoros had ruled it in his name as the Byzantine governor. Baldwin should have handed it over to the emperor, but he did not. Having won the city without a fight and with the people's consent, perhaps he thought he was not bound by the oath the Frankish leaders had sworn. Or he may have reasoned that Thoros was governor only in name and had no legal allegiance to the emperor, so that becoming ruler of Edessa after his

murder was not a usurpation of his rights. Moreover, Alexius was in no position to demand his rights to Edessa. It was too far from Constantinople, and he could not send an army to challenge Baldwin and affirm his legitimate right to the city. So he chose to overlook at least temporarily what had happened in Edessa, leaving himself leeway to affirm his rights in Syria in the future (164).

Now that he was the undisputed Count of Edessa, Baldwin endeavored to protect his principality. He had only a few Frankish knights and did not fully trust the people of Edessa after seeing what they had done to Thoros. He was also surrounded by the Turks, who were a permanent menace to his new principality. So he decided to take control of Samosata, whose lord Balduk was a threat to Edessa. But Balduk, realizing that Baldwin was not Thoros and that he lacked the power to fight the new Frankish lord, proposed to sell Samosata to Baldwin for 10,000 pieces of gold. Baldwin, thinking Samosata was fortified and could not easily be taken by storm, [336] decided after much deliberation to pay that sum from the treasury left by his predecessor and took possession of the fortress. He soon gained prestige by freeing a number of Armenian hostages, mostly Edessans, who had been held in the citadel of Samosata. The citizens of Edessa regarded him as lord and father, and were ready to fight for his welfare and glory. Balduk was summoned to Edessa, where he and his bodyguard became the mercenaries of Count Baldwin (165).

After Samosata Baldwin moved against Saruj (on the road leading to Aleppo), whose lord was the Artukid Balak (Belek, or Balas in the Latin sources), son of Bahram. When the people of Saruj heard of Baldwin's war preparations and his plan to besiege the city, they were terrified and agreed to surrender the city and pay him tribute. He returned to Edessa covered with glory (166). Ibn al-Athir does not mention either Baldwin or Belek in his account of the surrender of Saruj, which he says occurred in 1101. He says that when the citizens of Saruj learned that the people of Edessa, most of whom were Armenians, had surrendered their city to the Franks, Sukman, son of Artuk and lord of Diyarbakr (1101-1104), assembled an army of Turkomans to fight the Franks but was defeated. The Franks then marched on Saruj and captured it; they killed many of its men, took the women captive, and plundered the city (167). After Saruj, Baldwin continued to consolidate his power by capturing al-Bira, an important strategic position on the road to Aintab on the eastern bank of the Euphrates in 1099. He was constantly fighting the Turks on his frontiers and enlarged the boundaries of the Christian territory (168).

By 1099, Baldwin's rule covered the whole country of Edessa, which "extended from the frontiers of the principality of Antioch to the verge of Kurdistan" (169). He never forgot that he had become the ruler of a Christian city. He sought to win the support of the clergy by increasing their [337] endowments and providing them with necessary resources, and urged them to celebrate divine services daily for the salvation of the faithful (170). To ingratiate himself with the Armenians and legitimate his rule, Baldwin married an Armenian, Princess Arda, the daughter of Taphnuz or Tafroc (171 Her father, Prince Thoros I (not to be confused with Thoros of Edessa, who adopted Baldwin) was the son of Constantine and ruler of Partzapert (1100-1129) of the Roupenid dynasty (172). Ordericus Vitalis, evidently confusing the two men, says the daughter of the wicked duke [Thoros] was baptized and married the handsome Baldwin, whom she had secretly loved, unknown to her father, during his lifetime (173).

Baldwin's honeymoon with the Armenians did not last. They soon realized that they had exchanged an Armenian-Byzantine ruler for a Latin ruler. Their admiration of Baldwin was dimmed by the fact that he was an ambitious man whose objective was to carve for himself a principality at the expense of the Byzantine emperor. They had sworn fealty and allegiance to him and were ready not only to help him in his war against the Turks but to die for him. How could they not trust and love a Latin prince who had married an Armenian princess (174)? It did not take long for the Armenians to turn against their cherished Latin prince when they found that he was determined to make Edessa a Latin city. In the summer of 1098, the Crusaders had begun to flock there in great numbers to enter Baldwin's service. He lavished on them rich gifts which they badly needed, since the long journey through Syria had depleted their resources. Edessa was so full of Franks that it was difficult to find accommodations for many of them.

[338] The newly arrived forces gave more strength to Baldwin, who reduced the whole region to his authority. But in time, although they were guests, they stirred resentment among the citizens by their domineering attitude. With the honors Baldwin lavished on them, they became a Latin aristocracy, alienating itself from the Armenian

majority (175). As Latins they were adherents of the Chalcedonian doctrine, but they did not maltreat the non-Chalcedonian Armenians and Syrians as the Byzantines had done. But as Baldwin's compatriots, they controlled the city's economy. They took over most of the farms that had belonged to the city; the Armenian peasants now worked for the Latins, their new feudal lords, who imposed on them heavier taxes than Thoros (176). Still worse, Baldwin alienated the prominent citizens of Edessa by preferring the counsel of his knights, who looked down upon the Armenians (177).

The tables now turned against Baldwin, and the natives plotted to kill him. They secretly contacted the Turkish Artukids to help them eliminate Baldwin and all the Franks, but the plot was foiled when an Armenian exposed the conspirators to Baldwin, who punished them severely. He had the ringleaders blinded. Others were exiled, and their goods were confiscated. Some who appealed to Baldwin to keep them in the city were compelled to forfeit their treasures, which were added to his own. In this manner Baldwin acquired about 20,000 pieces of gold. To the natives of Edessa, he became a cruel, avaricious tyrant, and they regretted having helped him take over their city (178). To their utter disappointment, they discovered that the Franks were in fact more brutal than the Byzantines (179). Baldwin's name wrought fear among the citizens of Edessa and the region. Even his father-in-law, fearing Baldwin might ask him for the rest of his daughter's dowry, which though promised had not yet been paid, fled secretly into the mountains where he had a stronghold of his own (180).

[339] Baldwin's marriage to the Armenian Princess Arda had been a political stratagem to strengthen his position as lord of Edessa. But after he became king of Jerusalem in 1100, he had no more use for the Armenians or his Armenian wife. William of Tyre says Arda went to Constantinople to raise money to relieve the poverty of her community, but once there she fell into a life of prostitution, and Baldwin accused her of adultery in order to get rid of her. There is no evidence to substantiate this accusation, and Baldwin must have had other motives for dismissing his wife, most likely the desire to marry a richer woman of higher rank (181). Arnulf, the Latin patriarch of Jerusalem, whom William of Tyre describes as wicked and impious, was instrumental in inducing him to shed his wife and marry another (182). Baldwin's new wife was Countess Adelaide of Sicily, the widow of Roger I, who died in 1101. This marriage brought him more power and wealth (183). The Church of Rome accused Baldwin of bigamy, a mortal sin and a violation of canon law. Faced with possible condemnation by the church, Baldwin had no choice but to divorce Adelaide, who returned to Sicily in April 1117, sad and sorrowful at having lavished her wealth on him (184). It is said that in the last year of his life Baldwin took Arda back, but this makes little sense; doing so would be an admission that he had falsely accused her of adultery, and that he was desperate for her money (185).

Although there were many very able Frankish leaders more illustrious than he, Baldwin was particularly fortunate in being able to found a powerful and wealthy principality. He started out on the Crusades a penniless young man, dependent on the charity of his brothers, not realizing he would win a bigger prize than any of them. Yet his name and career will be marred by the fact that he did not join the Crusaders who battled their way into Antioch and then Jerusalem. Whether it was through sheer luck or political acumen and consummate statesmanship, Baldwin would succeed his brother Godfrey as king of Jerusalem in 1100. In him, says Steven Runciman, "the Crusade could recognize the ablest and most astute of its statesmen" (186).

Footnotes

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1 Anna Comnena, *The Alexiad*, trans. Elizabeth A. Dawes (London: Rutledge & Kegan Paul, 1967), 269. William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, trans. Emily Atwater Babcock and A.C. Krey, 1 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943), 147, includes Robert, count of Flanders, and Bishop Adhemar of Le Puy among this group.

2 William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 147.

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3 Heinrich Hagenmeyer, ed., *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088-1100* (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1879), 138-139; Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae Expeditionis pro Ereptione Emendatione et Restitution Sanctae Hierosolymitanae Ecclesiae*, R. H. C. Occ. 4: 314, in Krey, *The First Crusade*, 108; J. A. Brundage, "An Errant Crusader: Stephen of Blois," *Traditio* 16 (1960): 385.

4 Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum Qui Cepernut Iherusalem* (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1968), 25.

5 *Gesta Francorum*, 13-14. The author does not say how Bohemond obtained these provisions. Fulcher of Chartres, *Fulcheri Carnotensis historia Hierosolymitana (1095-1127) mit Erläuterungen und einem Anhange*, ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg: Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1913), trans. Frances Rita Ryan as *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem 1095-1127* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1969), 82, says during the siege of Nicaea food was brought by seagoing ships with the emperor's consent. Ordericus Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of England and Normandy*, trans. Thomas Forester, 3 (New York: AMS Press, 1968), 93; also trans. Marjorie Chibnall, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, 5 (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1996), 51-52, says there was a great scarcity of bread in the camp until the emperor's supplies arrived. See Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds of God through the Franks*, trans. R. Levine (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1997), 62; Peter Tudebode, *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere*, J. H. Hill and L. L. Hill, eds. (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1974), 31.

6 Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 315; Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*

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(New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1964), 1: 177.

7 Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia and the Crusades, Tenth to Twelfth Centuries: The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa,* trans. A. E. Dostourian (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1993), 163-164.

8 William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 154-155, presents the text of Kilij Arslan's message.

9 Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia*, 25; Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds*, 62-63; Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 320-324.

10 Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia*, 166.

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11 *Gesta Francorum*, 15-16; Ordericus Vitalis, trans. Forester, 3: 93, trans. Chibnall, 5: 53; Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds*, 63; Peter Tudebode, *Historia*, 33; Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia*, 26.

12 *Gesta Francorum*, 16. William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 152-186, gives a more detailed account of the siege and capture of Nicaea than any other Latin source.

13 Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia*, 82.

14 *Gesta Francorum*, 16; Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia*, 82; Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds*, 64; Ordericus Vitalis, trans. Forester, 3: 96, trans. Chibnall, 5: 55.

15 *Gesta Francorum*, 16-17.

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16 Ordericus Vitalis, trans. Forester, 3: 96-97, and trans. Chibnall, 5: 57.

17 Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds*, 65.

18 Tudebode, *Historia*, 33.

19 Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia*, 83; Letter of Stephen of Blois to his wife Adela, in Hagenmeyer, *Die Kreuszzugsbriefe*, 140; Krey, 108-109; Brundage, "An Errant Crusader," 385.

20 Anselm of Ribemont, in Krey, 106.

21 Stephen of Blois, letter to his wife, in Hagenmeyer, *Die Kreuszzugsbriefe*, 140; Krey, 108-109; Brundage, "An Errant Crusader," 385.

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22 Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds*, 65.

23 Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia*, 166.

24 Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds*, 65; Henry of Huntingdon, *The Chronicle of Henry of Huntingdon*, T. Forester, trans. (London: Henry G. Bohm, 1853), 228.

25 *Gesta Francorum*, 17; Tudebode, *Historia*, 33.

26 William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 165, 168.

27 Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, 272.

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28 Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, 268-272.

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29 Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, 73.

30 Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, 275.

31 Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, 275-276; Ralph of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi*, R.H.C. Occ., 3: 618-620; R. L. Nicholson, *Tancred: A Study of His Career and Work in their Relation to the First Crusade and the Establishment of the Latin States in Syria and Palestine* (New York: AMS Press, 1978), 32; Krey, 110 and 289, n. 25.

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32 For more on this subject, see Nicholson, *Tancred*, 1, 25, 32-34.

33 Charles Oman, *A History of the Art of War in the Middle Ages*, 2nd ed., 1 (New York: Burt Franklin, 1924), 239.

34 See Claude Cahen, "The Turkish Invasion: The Selchukids," in *A History of the Crusades*, M. W. Baldwin, ed. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), 1: 161-166; Krey, 112-113.

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35 Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia*, 83; Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, 276. William of Malmesbury, 431, puts the number of Franks who left Nicaea at 700,000, which seems highly exaggerated.

36 *Gesta Francorum*, 18; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 1: 183.

37 Ordericus Vitalis, trans. Forester, 3: 99, and trans. Chibnall, 5: 59. For the routes taken by the two columns, see Oman, *History*, 1: 239-240, and Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 1: 183-184.

38 Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 1: 184-185; Sa'id Abd al-Fattah Ashur, *al-Haraka al-Salibiyya: Safha Mushriqa fi Tarikh al-Jihad al-Arabi fi al-Usar al-Wusta*, 1 (Cairo: Maktabat al-Anglo-al-Misriyya, 1963): 166.

39 *Gesta Francorum*, 18; Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia*, 85. Probably the Turks were shouting the Muslim war cry Allah Akbar [Allah is the Greatest].

40 *Gesta Francorum*, 18-19; Tudebode, *Historia*, 34.

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41 Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds*, 65.

42 Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia*, 84, esp. n. 7, puts the number at 360,000 and gives the names of some Turkish leaders in garbled form. *Gesta Francorum*, 20, and Tudebode, *Historia*, 36, also say the enemy force included 360,000 Turks, Persians, Paulicians, Saracens [Muslims] and Agulani, not counting Arabs. The author of the *Gesta Francorum* apparently did not know that the Turks and Arabs were Muslims, or that the Agulani were not a sect or nation, but a particular group of fighting men. His mention of Paulicians in the Turkish army is curious; they were heretical Armenians who were persecuted by the Byzantine church and state. Some of them may have converted to Islam and therefore joined the Turks. On the Agulani and Paulicians, see Runciman, *The Medieval Manichee*, 59-62. Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds*, 67, and Ordericus Vitalis, trans. Forester, 3: 99, and trans. Chibnall, 5: 59, put the number at 460,000. William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 170, 173, says the Turks numbered 200,000, including 150,000 horsemen, while the Frankish forces, cavalry and infantry, numbered barely 50,000. Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia*, 21, says Bohemond's soldiers saw 150,000 Turks (Kilij Arslan's horsemen) approaching his camp in battle formation. This number seems exaggerated.

43 Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, 277.

44 Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia*, 85-86.

45 *Gesta Francorum*, 19; Tudebode, *Historia*, 35. On the women who went with the Crusaders, see Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 2: 336-337.

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46 Oman, *History*, 1: 277.

47 *Gesta Francorum*, 19-20; Tudebode, *Historia*, 35; Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds*, 66-67.

48 *Gesta Francorum*, 20.

49 Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia*, 85-86.

50 Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia*, 86-87; Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 331; Oman, *History*, 1: 239-240; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 1: 184-186; R. C. Smail, *Crusading Warfare 1097-1193* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956), 168-170; Ferdinand Chalandon, *Histoire de la première croisade jusqu'à l'élection de Godefroi de Bouillon* (Paris: A. Picard, 1935), 169-170; René Grousset, *Histoire des croisades et du royaume franc de Jérusalem*, 1 (Paris: Librairie Jules Tallander, 1934-1936): 31-36.

51 Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia*, 87; Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia*, 166; William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 172.

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52 *Gesta Francorum*, 21; Tudebode, *Historia*, 36; Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds*, 68; Ordericus Vitalis, trans. Forester, 3: 102, and trans. Chibnall, 5: 63.

53 William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 173, esp. n. 15, most likely based his information on oral tradition.

54 Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds*, 67. For detailed account of the battle of Dorylaeum see John France, *Victory in the East: A Military History of the First Crusade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 170-187.

55 Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia*, 86.

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56 Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds*, 68.

57 *Gesta Francorum*, 21.

58 Sura of Imran, 3: 59.

59 *Gesta Francorum*, 21; Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds*, 68, likewise says the Turks believed that they shared a common ancestry with the Franks.

60 Grousset, *Histoire des croisades*, 1: 12-13, and *The Epic of the Crusades*, trans. Noel Lindsay (New York: Orion Press, 1970), 19.

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61 *Gesta Francorum*, 22; Peter Tudebode, *Historia*, 37.

62 Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds*, 68.

63 *Gesta Francorum*, 32; Tudebode, *Historia*, 37-38; Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds*, 68; Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia*, 28; Oman, *History*, 1: 277.

64 *Gesta Francorum*, 23, Tudebode, *Historia*, 38; Ordericus Vitalis, trans. Forester, 3: 103, and trans. ChibnaU, 5: 65.

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65 Oman, *History*, 1: 277-27 8; John France, *Victory in the East*, 170-175 and 180-184.

66 See William B. Stevenson, "The First Crusade," *The Cambridge Medieval History*, 5 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957), 287, n. 1.

67 R. C. Smail, *Crusading Warfare*, 169; Stevenson, "First Crusade," 286-287.

68 Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds*, 69, n. 137, says these were spikes of cactus, perhaps used to make flour. Ordericus Vitalis, trans. Forester, 3: 103, and trans. Chibnall, 5: 65, says the Franks plucked ears of unripe corn, rubbed them, then chewed and swallowed them. William of Malmesbury, 430-431, also mentions corn and blames the "savage" Turks for plundering the land and turning it barren before the Crusaders passed through it. He appears to follow Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia*, 87, who says the country leading to Iconium was depopulated by the Turks. See Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 339.

69 Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 314; von Sybel, 301-302.

70 *Gesta Francorum*, 23; Tudebode, *Historia*, 39; Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia*, 88; Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds*, 69.

71 Raymond of Aguilers, *Armenia*, 28-29; Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*,

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341-342; William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 176-177; J. F. Michaud, *History of the Crusades*, trans. W. Robson (New York: AMS Press, 1973), 1: 115; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 1: 189.

72 *Gesta Francorum*, 23; Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds*, 69; Tudebode, *Historia*, 39; Ordericus Vitalis, trans. Forester, 3: 103, and trans. Chibnall, 5: 65; William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 177.

73 *Gesta Francorum*, 24; Tudebode, *Historia*, 39 and n. 29; Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds*, 69-70; Ordericus Vitalis, trans. Forester, 3: 103-104, and trans. Chibnall, 5: 65.

74 Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 340; William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 177, suggests that Tancred and Baldwin split from the main body of the army before they reached Heraclea.

75 *Gesta Francorum*, 24, Tudebode, *Historia*, 39; Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds*, 70; Ordericus Vitalis, trans. Forester, 3: 104, trans. Chibnall, 5: 65-67. Nicholson, *Tancred*, devotes 38-56 to the division of the Frankish army and the quarrel between Tancred and Baldwin.

76 Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia*, 89.

77 William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 175.

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78 Reinhold Röhricht, *Geschichte des Ersten Kreuzzuges* (Innsbruck, 1901), 95.

79 Nicholson, *Tancred*, 38-56.

80 Robert Nicholson, *Tancred*, 40.

81 Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia*, 166; William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 173-174, says the pilgrims (Crusaders) went through Bithynia into Pisidia and then Antioch.

82 Ralph of Caen, *History*, 633; Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 343-344; Grousset, *Historie*, 1: 45; Paul Gindler, *Graf Balduin I von Edessa* (Halle, 1901), 15-16.

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83 R. B. Yewdale, *Bohemond I: Prince of Antioch* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1924), 49.

84 Nicholson, *Tancred*, 49.

85 Nicholson, *Tancred*, 42. Röhricht, *Geschichte*, 96, says Baldwin accompanied Tancred out of jealousy. See Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 345-346; J. C. Andressohn, *The Ancestry and Life of Godfrey of Bouillon* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Publications, 1972), 71-73.

86 Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia*, 31.

87 Ralph of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi*, 630, 633, says Tancred had 100 knights and 200 foot soldiers, while Baldwin had 500 knights and 2,000 foot soldiers. For more on their rivalry, see Gindler, *Graf Baldwin*, 15-17, and Nicholson, *Tancred*, 43-44.

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88 Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 343; William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 179.

89 Ralph of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi*, 632; Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 343.

90 William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 180.

91 *Gesta Francorum*, 24.

92 *Gesta Francorum*, 24.

93 *Gesta Francorum*, 25; William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 181; Ralph of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi*,

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633-634; Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 344—346; Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds*, 70; Tudebode, *Historia*, 39-40; Ordericus Vitalis, trans. Forester, 3: 104-105, and trans. Chibnall, 5: 67.

94 Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia*, 89.

95 Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 344-346; William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 182, follows Albert's narrative.

96 Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 346-347; William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 183-184.

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97 Michaud, *History of the Crusades*, 1: 118.

98 Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 347-350; Ralph of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi*, 629-641; William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 184; Michaud, *A History of the Crusades*, 1: 118; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 1: 199.

99 Emily Atwater Babcock and A. C. Krey, eds., William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 184-185, n. 23; C. W. David, *Robert Curthose, Duke of Normandy*, Harvard Historical Studies 25 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1920), 237-238.

100 Ralph of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi*, 634-636.

101 Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia*, 167; Chalandon, *Jean II Comnène et Manuel I Comnène* (Paris: A. Picard, 1912), 105; Nicholson, *Tancred*, 48, n. 2.

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102 Ralph of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi*, 634-637; Nicholson, *Tancred*, 49.

103 Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 346, 349-350; William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 181.

104 Ralph of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi*, 634.

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105 Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 349-350; Ralph of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi*, 637-639; William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 185. See Nicholson, *Tancred*, 50-51, esp. 50, n. 1.

106 Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia*, 89-90.

107 William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 177, 187. The account of Baldwin's treatment by the Franks and his own brother is most likely based on oral tradition. See William of Tyre, l: 187, n. 2.

108 Ralph of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi*, 639.

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109 Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 357; Runciman, "The First Crusade: Constantinople to Antioch," in *A History of the Crusades*, 1: 301-302.

110 Ralph of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi*, 640-641.

111 Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 360.

112 Ralph of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi*, 641; Nicholson, *Tancred*, 55-56.

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113 *Gesta Francorum*, 25-26; Peter Tudebode, *Historia*, 40-41; Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds*, 73; Ordericus Vitalis, trans. Forester, 3: 105-106, and trans. Chibnall, 5: 67; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 1: 191.

114 *Gesta Francorum*, 26; Peter Tudebode, *Historia*, 41; Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds*, 74; Ordericus Vitalis, trans. Forester, 3: 106, and trans. Chibnall, 5: 69; Hagenmeyer, *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe*, 190.

115 *Gesta Francorum*, 27; Tudebode, *Historia*, 42.

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116 William of Tyre, *History*, I: 186-187,195.

117 Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia*, 176.

118 Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 358.

119 *Gesta Francorum*, 27; Tudebode, *Historia*, 42; Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds*, 74; Ordericus Vitalis, trans. Forester, 3: 106-107, and trans. Chibnall, 5: 69; Runciman,*A History of the Crusades*, 1: 192-193. William of Malmesbury, 431-432, says simply that the Franks arrived at Antioch; he gives a full description of the city, but does not describe the events on their march from Nicaea.

120 Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 366; Ralph of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi*, 642.

121 Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia*, 220, calls the Armenian Bagrat, the name this writer prefers. On Kogh Vasil, see Ter-Grigorian (Galust) Iskenderian, *Die Kreuzfahrer und ihre Beziehungen zu den armenischen Nachbarfürsten bis zum Untergange der Grafschaft Edessa* (Weide i.Th.: Druck von Thomas und Hubert, 1915), 60-65.

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122 Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 353; William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 188, 304-305; Bernhard Kugler, *Albert von Aachen* (Stuttgart, 1885), 50; André Alden Beaumont, Jr., "Albert of Aachen and the Count of Edessa," in *The Crusades and Other Historical Essays Presented to Dana C. Munro*, Louis J. Paetow, ed. (New York: F. S. Crofts, 1928), 105.

123 Runciman, "The First Crusade: Constantinople to Antioch," 1: 302.

124 Grousset, *Histoire des croisades*, 1: 64.

125 Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia*, 220.

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126 Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 351-357; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 1: 204; Beaumont, "Albert of Aachen," 105.

127 Runciman, "The First Crusade," 1: 303; Aliyya Abd al-Sami' al-Janzuri, *Imarat al-Ruha al-Salibiyya* (Cairo, 1975), 49-52.

128 Ordericus Vitalis, trans. Forester, 3: 143, trans. Chibnall, 5: 119.

129 Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 351; William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 188-189.

130 The *Chronicle of the Anonymous Edessan* (cited as The Anonymous Edessan), 49 of the Syriac text, and trans. Rev. Albert Abouna, *Tarikh al-Ruhawi and Majhul* (Baghdad: Matba'at Shafiq, 1986), 66-67; J. Laurent, "Des Grecs aux Croisés," *Byzantion* 1 (1924): 405-410.

131 Muhammad ibn Ali al-Azimi, *Tarikh Halab*, ed. Ibrahim Zu'rur (Damascus,

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1984), 375.

132 Abu Ya'la Hamza Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, ed. H. F. Amedroz (Beirut: Matba'at al-Ab al Yasu'iyyia, 1908), 127; Izz al-Din Ibn al-Athir, *al-Tarikh al-Bahir fi al-Dawla al-Atabegiyya*, ed. Abd al-Qadir Ahmad Tulaymat (Cairo: Dar al-Kutub al-Haditha, 1963), 15; Jamal al-Din Muhammed ibn Salim Ibn Wasil,

Mufarrij al-Kurub fi Akhbar Bani Ayyub, ed. Jamal al-Din Shayyal, 1 (Cairo: Matba'at Fu'ad al-Awwal, 1953), 27.

133 Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia*, 161.

134 Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia*, 162-163.

135 Mathew of Edessa, *Armenia*, 168.

136 Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 325; Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia*, 90. William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 190, calls Thoros a useless ruler unable to protect his own subjects.

137 Grousset, Histoire, 1: 43-56.

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138 Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 325; Runciman, *A History*, 1: 203, and "The First Crusade," 1: 303; Grousset, *Histoire*, 1: 55; Chalandon, *Histoire de la première croisade*, 175; J. B. Segal, *Edessa the Blessed City* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), 225-228.

139 Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds*, 70; Ralph of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi*, 637; Beaumont, "Albert of Aachen," 107.

140 Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 325, says Baldwin had 200 knights with him; Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia*, 90, who accompanied Baldwin, says there were eighty; Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia*, 168, says there were sixty.

141 Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia*, 91.

142 William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 191.

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143 Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 353.

144 Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia*, 168.

145 Michael Rabo, *Tarikh Mar Mikha'il al-Suryani al-Kabir*, G. S. Shamoun, trans. (Damascus: Sidawi Printing House, 1996), 587 of the Syriac text (183-184F); The Anonymous Edessan, 56 of the Syriac text, 70 of the English, 75 of the Arabic translation.

146 Ordericus Vitalis, trans. Forester, 3: 143, trans. Chibnall, 5: 119.

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147 Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 353; William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 191; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 1: 204; Claude Cahen, *La Syrie Nord à L'époque des Croisades, et la printipauté Franque D'Antioche* (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1940), 210.

148 Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds*, 71; William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 191, also describes the ceremony.

149 Beaumont, "Albert of Aachen," 108.

150 Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia*, 168-169; Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 353; Beaumont, "Albert of Aachen," 108-109; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 1: 205.

151 William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 191.

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152 Kugler, *Albert von Aachen*, 59; Beaumont, "Albert of Aachen," 109.

153 Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 354; William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 193; Michaud, *History*, 1: 123.

154 Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 1: 206, Cahen, *La Syrie Nord*, 210.

155 Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia*, 91; Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 354.

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156 The Anonymous Edessan, 57 of the Syriac text, 70-71 of the English translation; Beaumont, "Albert of Aachen," 111.

157 Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia*, 169-170.

158 Beaumont, "Albert of Aachen," 112.

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159 Ryan, trans., Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia*, 91, n. 12.

160 Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 354; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 206; al-Janzuri, *Imarat*, 61.

161 William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 193-194.

162 Ordericus Vitalis, trans. Forester, 3: 146-147, trans. Chibnall, 5: 125.

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163 Ordericus Vitalis, trans. Forester, 3: 147, trans. Chibnall, 5: 127; Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 355; William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 194.

164 Grousset, *Histoire*, 1: 60-61; Sa'id Abd al-Fattah Ashur, *al-Haraka al-Salibiyya*, 1: 185.

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165 Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 355-356; William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 194; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 1: 208; Beaumont, "Albert of Aachen," 112.

166 Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 355; William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 194-195; Beaumont, "Albert of Aachen," 112.

167 Izz al-Din Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh*, R. H. C. Or., 1 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1872), 207-208, cannot be right about the date, since Baldwin became King of Jerusalem in 1100. Beaumont, "Albert of Aachen," 113, sees no reason to doubt the Latin sources, which say Baldwin took both Samosata and Saruj in 1098.

168 Ordericus Vitalis, trans. Forester, 3: 148, trans. Chibnall, 5: 129.

169 Grousset, *Epic of the Crusades*, 40.

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170 Ordericus Vitalis, trans. Forester, 3: 148, trans. Chibnall, 5: 129.

171 Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 361. Fulcher of Chartres mentions Baldwin's wife without giving her name, but Ryan, *Historia*, 126, n. 2, identifies her as Arda. William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 416, gives her father's name as Tafroc. Kugler, *Albert von Aachen*, 60, complains that Albert of Aachen contradicts himself about this marriage.

172 William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 416, n. 5; 461, and 2: 52, n. 12; Harold S. Fink, "The Foundation of the Latin States, 1099-1118," in *A History of the Crusades*, Marshall W. Baldwin, ed. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), 1: 408. Michaud, *History*, 1: 124, says Baldwin married the niece of an Armenian prince but does not name him.

173 Ordericus Vitalis, trans. Forester, 3: 147, trans. Chibnall, 5: 127, clearly believes Arda was the daughter of Thoros, the childless governor of Edessa.

174 Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 355-357, 361, 445-446; William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 194.

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175 Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 361; Beaumont, "Albert of Aachen," 119-120; William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 305.

176 Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia*, 176.

177 Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 442-443; William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 305.

178 Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 442-443; William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 305-306.

179 Grousset, *Epic of the Crusade*, 39-40.

180 Albert of Aachen, 4: 443; William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 306; Heinrich von Sybel, *Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzugs* (Dusseldorf, 1841), 68; Röhricht, *Geschichte des Köigreichs Jerusalem, 1100-1291* (Innsbruck, 1898), 96.

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181 William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 461-462.

182 William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 489.

183 Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 597; Iskenderian, *Die Kreuzfahrer*, 59-60; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 2: 103-104.

184 William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 514.

185 Iskenderian, *Die Kreuzfahrer*, 61.

186 Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 1: 212.

Matti Moosa's

Antioch

This material, which is presented solely for educational/research purposes, appears as Chapter 11 in Dr. Moosa's *Crusades: Conflict Between Christendom and Islam* (Piscataway, NJ., 2008) pp. 341-380.

Footnotes

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The Franks' capture of Antioch is associated with a legend related by Michael Rabo, the Syrian patriarch of Antioch, but not found in other Syriac sources. He says that while the Franks were still in Constantinople (1097), Antioch was rocked by an earthquake. In the foundation of a ruined tower there appeared a great temple, containing huge copper figurines representing Franks mounted on horses, fully armed with lances and swords made of copper. They were all in chains. The Turkish governor of Antioch, Aghusin (Mu'ayyid al-Dawla Yaghi Siyan), ordered a search to establish the truth of this discovery. But because no one seemed to know about it and no book had referred to it, the figurines were regarded as pagan idols, and Yaghi Siyan ordered them destroyed. But a blind old woman said, "I have heard old people say that under one of the fortresses are laid cryptic characters belonging to the Franks, cautioning them not to cross the sea." On hearing these words, the governor felt sorry for having destroyed the figurines. He asked whether she knew how they had been made and whether it was possible to make others like them. She answered in the negative, and they killed her (1).

The Arab historian Ibn al-Adim reports al-Qadi Hasan ibn al-Mawj al-Faw'i related a similar anecdote, saying he had fled from al-Mujann (Barakat ibn Faris al-Faw'i, the ruler of Aleppo) and reached Antioch, where he entered the service of Mas'ud, the vizir of the amir Yaghi Siyan. Four years before the Franks occupied Antioch, an earthquake had rocked the city and destroyed many of its towers. In the ruins of one was found a broken urn containing seven brass figurines, mounted on brass horses, each clad in armor and carrying a shield and a lance. The figurines were brought to [342] Mas'ud, who then took them to Yaghi Siyan. Some of those present said that Yaghi Siyan should invite old people to tell him the truth about this discovery. Brought before the amir, the old people said they could not identify the figurines, but offered a hint about their significance. They mentioned the Monastery of the Malik (king), which had been destroyed in 477 A.H. (1084 A.D). Digging up its foundation, they found copper figurines (probably from an Arab or other Muslim nation) representing Turks carrying bows and arrows. They did not attempt to identify them but proceeded to build up the wall. The old people said these figurines resembled the Franks, about whom they had received strange reports, though no one dared speak of them. Later that year Sulayman ibn Kutulmish (the founder of the Seljukid state of Rum, or Anatolia, 1077-1085) captured the city. Yaghi Siyan insulted these men, saying, "You infidels! Is there no one else on earth [to lose to the Franks] except the Turks?" and ordered them to leave. Hardly had the year ended before reports arrived that the Franks had descended upon Constantinople (2). The thirteenth-century Arab chronicler Kamal al-Din ibn al-Adim (d. 1262) may have read and expanded on an anecdote related by the chronicler Muhammad ibn Ali al-Azimi of Aleppo, who died in 1161. Al-Azimi reports that Antioch was rocked by an earthquake, and in the Monastery of the King (*Dayr al-Malik*) were found brass figurines of seven Turks mounted on brass horses. Hardly a year had passed (he gives the year as 1074) when the Turks occupied Antioch. But al-Azimi's brief anecdote says nothing of Yaghi Siyan or the old woman he consulted about the origin of the figurines (3). Although al-Azimi and Michael Rabo do not identify the source of this anecdote, Ibn al-Adim attributes it to the oral tradition of al-Qadi Hasan ibn al-Mawj al-Faw'i, and it is plausible that the others used it (4).

[343] At any rate, the Franks were intent on capturing the city of Antioch, one of the glorious cities of the East and the third major metropolis in the Roman empire. It was the place where the Apostles were first called Christians and where St. Paul preached. It was traditionally considered the seat of the first bishopric founded by St. Peter; a church bearing his name was built there, and another consecrated in honor of St. Mary which, says

William of Malmesbury, strikes the eyes of the beholders with its beauty (5). It was the home of the famous School of Antioch (which rivaled the School of Alexandria), the shining light of Greek and Christian culture and Byzantium's most important commercial center (6). It was the key to Syria and the most magnificent fortresses in the East, a masterpiece of Byzantine military engineering (7). Its location on the Orontes (al-Asi) River, about twenty miles from the sea, with a wide expanse of marshes, formed a natural defense on the north and east. On the south it was flanked by the rugged slopes of mountains that precluded attack from that direction. Except to the south, the city was ringed by inner and outer walls. The inner wall, built with heavy stones, surrounded only the main part of the city; atop it stood the citadel of Antioch, with 450 watchtowers (8). The only approach to the city was from the northwest by way of the Iron Bridge, which spans the Orontes River at some distance from the outer wall (9).

[344] When the main Frankish army reached Antioch on October 21, 1097, they laid a siege that lasted until June 3, 1098. Bohemond and Tancred and their men camped at the Gate of St. Paul, north of the city. Robert of Flanders, Robert of Normandy, Hugh of Vermandois, and Stephen of Blois set up camp between the Gate of St. Paul and the Gate of the Dog (10). Raymond of Saint-Gilles and Bishop Adhémar of Le Puy camped with their Provencal knights west of the Gate of the Dog, and Godfrey camped opposite the Gate of the Duke. The Bridge Gate and the Gate of St. George were left uncovered, but the Franks immediately began to build a bridge of boats in order to reach the roads to Alexandretta and St. Simeon (the Suwaydiyya). Another camp was soon established to the north of the Orontes (11). Antioch now had a Turkish governor, Yaghi Siyan. Its last Byzantine governor, the Armenian Philaretus, had lost it to Sulayman and the Rum Seljuks in February 1085. Sulayman's capture of Antioch angered Sultan Malikshah, whose seat of government was in Khurasan, Persia. An army led by Malikshah's brother Taj al-Dawla Tutush defeated Sulayman, who then reportedly committed suicide by plunging a sword into his bowels (12). Malik-shah named Yaghi Siyan as governor of Antioch in 1087; after Malikshah died in 1092, his brother, now Sultan Taj al-Dawla Tutush, confirmed him in this position (13). In 1095, Tutush was killed near a village called Dashilu, a few miles from Rayy (14). A struggle developed between his two sons, [345] Fakhr al-Muluk Ridwan, governor of Aleppo, and Shams al-Muluk Duqaq, governor of Damascus. Ridwan, who coveted Damascus, planned to take the city and unseat his brother. Yaghi Siyan, whose daughter Chichek had married Ridwan (15), joined forces with him, but they failed to capture the city and returned to Aleppo frustrated. But when Ridwan wanted Antioch for himself, Yaghi Siyan betrayed him and sided with Duqaq, even goading him into (and supporting him in) an unsuccessful attack on Aleppo (16).

The conflict between Ridwan and Duqaq, intensified by Yaghi Siyan's playing the brothers against one another, wrought havoc in the region. It weakened the Muslims and left Antioch a prey to the Franks, whose huge forces struck awe in the people (17). By betraying Ridwan, Yaghi Siyan deprived the Muslims of the assistance of the people of Aleppo; when the Franks attacked Antioch and its environs, those who were in the fortresses or near the city resisted and were killed. Very few managed to escape. Yaghi Siyan's oppressive treatment alienated the Christians of north Syria and led the Christian inhabitants of Artah to appeal to the Franks for help. Says Ibn al-Adim, "All this was the result of the tyrannical behavior of Yaghi Siyan" (18).

Matthew of Edessa says Yaghi Siyan was "a vicious, vile, invidious, and savage-minded man" (19). He was especially cruel to the Christians of Antioch. He imprisoned John the Oxite, the Chalcedonian patriarch of Antioch, and expelled many leading Christians. His men desecrated the Cathedral of St. Peter and turned it into a stable (20). Fearing that the people of Antioch, mostly Syrians and Armenians, might collaborate with the Franks, Yaghi Siyan plotted to evict them from the city. He ordered first the Muslim inhabitants and then the Christians to dig a trench outside the city wall for its protection. But when the Christians returned in the afternoon, he prevented them from entering the city. He told them that they should offer him the city as a gift, and he would decide what to do with them and the Franks. If they gave him the city, they asked, who would take care of them, their children, and their wives? Yaghi Siyan said that he would. They [346] refused to heed him and stayed in the Franks' camp (21). The author of the *Gesta Francorum*, however, says that the Armenians and Syrians living in the city left, pretending to flee to the Franks. While their wives stayed behind, they went into the Franks' camps daily to spy on them, reporting to the Turks in the city everything the Franks said and did. When the Turks had enough information, they came out gradually, ambushing and attacking the Franks from both the sea and the mountainsides (22).

Meanwhile, the Turks in Antioch were struck by fear and confusion when they saw that a Genoese ship had docked at the harbor of St. Simeon (modern Suwaydiyya), ten miles from Antioch, on November 17, 1097.23 (The Genoese, allies of Raymond of Saint-Gilles, later assisted him in the siege of Jerusalem.) But the Muslims inside the city did not remain quiet. They sneaked out, killed peasants who were pasturing their horses and cattle across the river, and returned with their booty to Antioch. The opportunity for pillage and slaughter encouraged the Muslims to patrol the roads more consistently (24). The Turks also used the castle of Aregh (Harim), eight miles east of Antioch, to attack the Franks. The Franks' leaders were grief-stricken when reports reached them that the Turks in many areas had mutilated and killed their comrades. They sent some knights and carefully combed the Turks' hiding places. When they found the Turks, they attacked them, but then retreated to the place where Bohemond had hidden his army. In this skirmish the Franks lost two men. In response Bohemond, accompanied by the counts of Flanders and Normandy, chased the Muslims and drove them to death in the Orontes (25).

According to the *Gesta Francorum*, the barbarians (Turks) fell upon the Franks, who were few in number, and joined battle in good order. The Franks killed many and captured others, who were led before a city gate and beheaded, to grieve the Turks still in Antioch (26). But other Turks kept [347] coming out of the city and climbed up on the gate, shooting arrows at Bohemond's camp. A woman wounded by one of them died. To insure their safety and keep the Turks at bay, the Franks' leaders called a council and decided to build a castle on the top of the mountain, which they gave the name Maregart, most likely the hill of Bohemond's camp, although this is not certain (27). The castle was built and fortified, and the leaders took turns guarding it (28). The day before they laid siege to Antioch, the Franks at the Iron Bridge chased away some Turks who had come out to lay waste the region. They seized many Christians whom they had taken captive and led back to their camps horses and camels laden with enormous plunder (29).

Meanwhile, since the siege of Antioch had lasted some time and the Franks had not yet stormed the city as expected, Yaghi Siyan prepared his defense by manning the fortresses with fresh forces and storing sufficient provisions inside the city. Instead of assaulting the city immediately, the Franks focused on capturing villages and fields in the vicinity of Antioch to obtain food and provisions. Shortly before Christmas 1097, grain and other necessities became scarce. The Franks were afraid to venture out of their camp to seek food in the Christian territory. No one had the courage to forage in the Muslim-held areas without a strong force. At length the Franks called a council, which decided that one part of the army should go out to search for food while the other stayed behind to guard the non-combatants and monitor the enemy closely. Bohemond was the first to volunteer to go out and search for food with Count Robert of Flanders. After celebrating Christmas with great splendor, they set out on Monday, December 28, 1097, with over 2,000 knights and 3,000 footmen and marched safely into the Muslims' territory (30). The next day, Yaghi Siyan's Turkish garrison, taking advantage of their absence, sallied forth from Antioch and suddenly attacked the Franks, killing many knights and foot soldiers who were caught off guard. On that grievous day Adhémar, bishop of Le Puy, lost his seneschal, who was carrying his banner and guarding it. The Turks would have overwhelmed the Franks were it not for the river that separated them (31).

[348] Yaghi Siyan realized he could not fight the Franks alone. He badly needed help but could not get it from Ridwan of Aleppo, whom he had already betrayed. He sent his son Shams al-Dawla ("Sensadolus" in the Latin sources) to Duqaq, lord of Damascus, Janah al-Dawla ibn Mula'ib, lord of Hims, and Waththab ibn Mahmud and the Banu Kilab, and sent his other son Muhammad to Abu Sa'id Qiwam al-Dawla Kerbogha, atabeg of Mosul (d. 1102), asking them for a *jihad* against the Franks (32). Having already heard that a great Frankish army had entered their territory, the Muslims at once prepared for battle. In response to Yaghi Siyan's appeal, a Muslim force led by Duqaq, accompanied by Atabeg Zahir al-Din Tughtekin and Janah al-Dawla ibn Mula'ib, assembled at Shayzar to rescue Antioch. The Turks broke into two units, intending to surround the Franks' vanguard and rearguard. But Robert of Flanders, armed at all points with faith and the sign of the cross, which he bore loyally every day, rushed with Bohemond against the Turks (33). The two sides clashed at al-Bara, near Aleppo, at the end of December 1097. The Muslims were beaten and fled in panic; the Franks, having lost only about fifty men, took their horses and substantial booty (34). The Franks withdrew to al-Ruj and then to the town of Ma'arrat Misrin, where they killed many people and broke the pulpit (of its mosque) (35). The *Gesta Francorum* says the Franks returned in great triumph and glorified God, the "Three in One who liveth and reigneth now and

forever. Amen" (36). Other sources say simply that after sufficiently ravaging the countryside, the expedition returned to Antioch safely (37).

Although the Franks had gained a victory over the Turks, they were weakened by a lack of provisions and suffered poverty, misery, and confusion; one could not find in all the crusading army a thousand knights who had managed to keep their horses ready for battle. The Latin sources say that the Armenians and the Syrians, taking advantage of the situation, went to the mountains and bought food and resold it to the Franks at exorbitant [349] prices. Many Franks who could not afford the high prices died of hunger (38). Raymond of Aguilers says that some of the poor, along with the wealthy, who wanted to save their possessions, deserted the siege. Straw was scarce, and an adequate amount of grain could not be bought even for seven or eight solidi (39). Matthew of Edessa gives a similar description of the Franks' difficulties, but says that the Armenian princes who ruled in the Taurus Mountains gave them whatever provisions they could afford, and all the Christian faithful acted benevolently towards the Franks (40).

The horrendous conditions apparently led Bishop Adhémar of Le Puy to appeal to the West for help. He saw fit from an ecclesiastical point of view to seek the approval of Patriarch Simeon II of Jerusalem, without compromising his own authority as the representative of Pope Urban II. The last thing he wanted in such circumstances was to cause a rift between the pope and the Eastern Church. He therefore drafted a letter in the name of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, addressed to the church in the West, in which the patriarch referred to himself as Apostolic and appeared to be an independent pontiff. Thus, Adhémar was able to avoid any language in the letter that might suggest an encroachment on the pope's authority. Although the letter was delivered to the West, the manner in which it was received and the response to it are not known (41).

Patriarch Simeon, then in Cyprus, sent gifts of food—pomegranates, apples, bacon, wine, and whatever else the island could afford (42). But these provisions were not sufficient to sustain the Franks. Despairing, some troops deserted camp to seek shelter and food elsewhere. Some of their leaders, including Peter the Hermit and William the Carpenter, viscount of Melun and Gatinais, also secretly stole out of camp, revealing complete cowardice (43). Pursued by Tancred and brought back in disgrace, they pledged under oath to remain in the camp and make amends to all the Frankish leaders. William, a despicable creature, spent the night in Bohemond's tent, lying on the ground. The next morning he came out, red [350] with shame, to face Bohemond, who said, "You wretched disgrace to the whole Frankish army, you dishonorable blot on all the people of Gaul . . . Why did you flee so disgracefully? Perhaps by this act you wished to betray those knights and the army of Christ as you surrendered others in Spain!" William stood silent, and the Franks asked Bohemond not to punish him. Bohemond granted their request, but made William swear that he would never abandon the journey to Jerusalem, in good times or bad. Tancred and the others agreed not to harm William, and Bohemond dismissed him. Though pardoned, William could not overcome his humiliation and eventually disappeared from the camp (44).

Although Bohemond eventually became lord of the principality of Antioch, the important question is whether he had designs on the city when the Franks first besieged it in October 1097. The Latin sources are not very clear on this subject, but give some indication that this was the case. Raymond of Aguilers says that at the start of January 1098, when the Franks were already hungry and miserable, Bohemond threatened to depart, saying honor led him to do so. His men and horses were dying of hunger and, having limited means, he could not sustain a prolonged siege. But, says Raymond, "We learned afterwards that he made these statements because ambition drove him to covet Antioch" (45). Yewdale says it is possible but not clear that Bohemond planned at this point to claim Antioch. He had seen the greatness of the city, which rivaled Rome and Constantinople, and the wealth of the city and in fact the whole region of Syria must have whetted his appetite (46). But the German writer Bernhard Kugler maintains that Bohemond had determined not only to possess the city, but to establish a principality in Antioch and eventually absorb all of Palestine (47).

Let us recall that before marching through Syria, Bohemond had willingly sworn the oath of homage demanded by Emperor Alexius. He and the other Frankish leaders further pledged to restore the cities and lands to the emperor once they had liberated them from the Turks' control. According to the *Gesta Francorum*, after they captured Antioch, the Frankish leaders, including Bohemond, sent the high-born knight Hugh the Great to [351] Constantinople to ask the emperor to come and take over the city and fulfill his obligations towards them, but Hugh never came back (48). Did Bohemond renege on his oath? If so, why did he agree at all to hand over

Antioch to Emperor Alexius? And why did he threaten to quit the siege precisely when his comrades needed him? Bohemond knew he was duty-bound to turn Antioch over to the emperor but changed his mind, realizing that once the Franks occupied Antioch, the emperor would never agree to give it to them, let alone to Bohemond himself. He must have also realized that his leaving the siege of Antioch would be disastrous to the success of the Franks' military operation. By threatening to quit at this early stage, Bohemond hoped to serve notice to the other Frankish leaders and the emperor that Antioch should be his. His ploy succeeded, and to dissuade him from deserting the expedition his comrades promised to hand him over Antioch once they had captured it (49). Thus, in the case of Antioch the Franks clearly broke their pledge to the emperor (50).

The situation was complicated when the Byzantine commander Taticius withdrew with his forces during the siege of Antioch, leaving the Franks to fight alone. Under the agreement the Franks' leaders had reached with the emperor at Constantinople in May 1097 (largely through the mediation of Bohemond himself), Alexius had pledged to carry the cross, join the Crusaders in their expedition, protect them on their journey through his dominion, and furnish them with troops and provisions. The emperor appointed Taticius as his representative to accompany the Crusaders with a corps of Byzantine troops. After the Crusaders took Nicaea, they honored their pledge and handed it over to the emperor. When they laid siege to [352] Antioch in October 1097, Taticius was stationed nearby with his troops. Bohemond, who had already threatened to quit the siege, may well have tried to persuade Taticius to withdraw. If he did so, Bohemond could argue that Alexius, by not providing troops to assist the Franks, had failed to keep his part of the agreement, and thus he could claim Antioch for himself instead of handing it over to the emperor (51).

The Latin sources are not so clear about Taticius's decision to withdraw from the siege of Antioch in early February 1098. The *Gesta Francorum*, our earliest source, says he withdrew because he had heard that a Turkish army was about to attack the Franks and, as he admitted, he feared that all the Franks would perish or fall into the hands of the enemy. To justify withdrawing, Taticius falsely told the Frankish knights no reinforcements could reach them from any direction. To pacify the Franks, he told them that he would depart for the Byzantine country, promising to send them ships laden with provisions and bring goods by land under the emperor's safe conduct. To assure them that he would return as quickly as possible, he vowed to leave his pavilion in the camp. Taticius left his possessions in the camp, but, says the *Gesta Francorum*, he was and would always be a liar. Plainly he left the Franks in a time of dire need at the mercy of the Turks, who were attacking them from every direction (52). William of Tyre adds no information but heaps contumely upon Taticius, "a wicked and faithless man who deserves to be condemned to everlasting death," adding that by his departure, never to be seen again, he established a pernicious precedent for the Franks who later deserted the camp, regardless of the oaths and vows they had taken in the beginning (53). These sources do not mention Bohemond in connection with Taticius's departure, implying that Taticius was scared and decided on his own to withdraw.

The only Latin source who associates Bohemond with Taticius's departure is Raymond of Aguilers, who after vilifying him as the one with a "disfigured nose [who] lacked any redeeming qualities," reports the lies Taticius used to justify his departure. He told the Franks that the emperor's forces, including Slavs, Pechenegs, Comans, and Turcopoles, were approaching, but were reluctant to join the Franks, whom they had already [353] treated badly on their journey. Taticius, anxious to flee, not only invented this story but compounded the lie; he ceded to Bohemond the cities of Turbessel (Tall Bashir), Mamistra, and Adana. Then, under the pretext of joining the emperor's army, he broke camp and left "with God's curse. By his dastardly act he brought eternal shame to himself and his men" (54). It is clear from this and the other Latin sources cited that Taticius was personally responsible for his departure, an act of cowardice and dishonesty.

Anna Comnena blames Taticius's departure on Bohemond and his ambition to possess Antioch, even at this early stage of the siege. Her account implies that Taticius left as Bohemond was plotting with an Armenian traitor (Firuz) inside Antioch to take over the city and the army of Kerbogha (whom she calls Curpagan), the Turkish lord of Mosul, was advancing to attack, but she errs on the chronological sequence of events. She says that when Bohemond heard that an immense army of Hagarenes (Muslims) commanded by Kerbogha was on its way to Antioch, he did not wish to cede the city to Taticius, having already sworn to restore to the emperor any territory he and the other Frankish leaders might liberate from the Muslims. Rather, she says, Bohemond concocted an evil plan to force Taticius to depart Antioch against his will, telling him that Emperor Alexius had deliberately

persuaded the Seljuk sultan to send this army against the Franks, and that because the Franks firmly believed the emperor and the sultan were plotting against his life, it was up to him to take measures for his safety and that of his troops. Being thus warned by Bohemond, and realizing that the food shortage at Antioch was severe and there was no hope of taking the city in the name of the emperor, Taticius left for Suwaydiyya (St. Simeon's Port) and went from there to Cyprus. After his departure, Bohemond continued to plot with the Armenian until the city fell to the Franks and he could claim it for himself (55).

Yewdale, who has thoroughly analyzed this account, says Anna Comnena was mistaken. Bohemond did not make a bid for Antioch until May 1098, when he was sure of Firuz's plot to hand over the city. She gives the date of Bohemond's plot with Firuz as January 1098, when the two were not yet in communication. She says the army of Kerbogha was marching against Antioch when Taticius departed, but in fact it was the army of Ridwan, lord of Aleppo. He concludes, "The errors are not calculated to [354] increase our confidence in Anna's narrative" (56). Moreover, Raymond of Aguilers contradicts the *Gesta Francorum*, whose author, a member of Bohemond's army and his chaplain, is unlikely to have falsified the facts to defend Bohemond. Yewdale says that Chalandon is incorrect in preferring the accounts of Raymond and Anna to the *Gesta Francorum*, and there is no evidence that Bohemond was responsible for the departure of Taticius (57).

Later in her account, Anna Comnena inadvertently reveals the truth regarding Bohemond's attitude. After Tancred occupied Laodicea, Emperor Alexius wrote to Bohemond asking him to surrender that city and Antioch to him. Bohemond replied that the emperor had promised to follow them with a great army but never fulfilled his promise, and that when the Franks reached Antioch they had fought for three months against the enemy and famine and had endured long hardships. Moreover, he said, "While we were in this danger even Taticius, your Majesty's most loyal servant, whom you had appointed to help us, went away and left us to our danger" (58).

Of all the Latin sources, Ordericus Vitalis is kindest in treating the departure of Taticius. He says that Tatan (Taticius), the Greek commander of the emperor's troops, was so appalled at the prospect of perishing in the common calamity (i.e., hunger and the assaults of the Turks) that he sent a message to the emperor apprising him of the situation and promising to assist his allies as soon as he could, then departed and never returned. He adds that Taticius faithfully reported to Alexius the courage and constancy of the Franks who were besieging Antioch and the privation they suffered, and said that he had exhorted the noble chiefs of the Franks, including Guy, son of Robert Guiscard, to hurry to the relief of their friends. But while he was at Philomelium, Alexius heard the bad news about the besieged Franks from Stephen of Blois, yet he declined to rush to Antioch (59). Runciman does not clear Bohemond of having induced Taticius to depart to pave the way for his takeover of Antioch. No sooner had Taticius gone, he says, than Bohemond's propagandists suggested that he had acted out of cowardice, fearing the advancing Turkish force. With his departure Bohemond was freed from his obligation to restore Antioch to the emperor (60). [355] Whether Taticius left Antioch on his own or out of treachery, the fact remains that during the siege of Antioch Bohemond plotted with a certain Armenian to take over the city, and eventually he became its first Latin prince (61).

While the Crusaders were determined to capture Antioch, the Muslim lords in Syria did not seem to understand the danger they represented. The major Muslim powers at that time, the Shi'ite Fatimids of Egypt and the Sunnite Abbasids of Baghdad, were enemies of each other. The Fatimids also considered the Sunnite Seljuk Turks in Syria enemies because of their differing religious doctrines (62). Moreover, the Fatimids wanted to regain Jerusalem, which had been taken from them in 1071 by Atsiz in the name of the Seljuk Sultan Alp Arslan and was seized in 1079 by Artuk, the founder of the Artukid dynasty. In August 1097, the Vizir Sayf al-Islam Shahanshah al-Afdal, an Armenian by birth who was *de facto* ruler of Egypt from 1094 to 1121, led an Egyptian army against Jerusalem. He camped before the city, which then was in the hands of the Turkish amirs Sukman and Ilghazi, the sons of Artuk. Al-Afdal asked them to deliver the city to him without war or bloodshed; when they did not respond, he stormed the city, occupied it by force, and returned to Egypt (63). Ibn al-Athir says that when the Egyptians saw the Turks' weakness, al-Afdal, the son of Badr al-Din al-Jamali, attacked Jerusalem and captured it after forty days, but then magnanimously permitted Sukman and Ilghazi to leave the city, the former going to Edessa and the latter to Iraq (64).

[356] The Fatimids, hoping to restore Jerusalem to their rule, thought it desirable to ally themselves with the Crusaders. In January or February 1098, al-Afdal sent an embassy to the Crusaders at Antioch, asking them to

continue the siege. His deputies, instructed to assure the Crusaders that the caliph would aid them with military support and resources, tried to win their favor and sign a treaty of friendship with them. There is no evidence that any agreement was reached, although Raymond of Aguilers says that the Frankish envoys were charged with entering into a friendship pact with the Egyptians (65). The Crusaders welcomed this embassy, recalling that when they were in Constantinople the Emperor Alexius had advised them to form an alliance with the Fatimids, who were foes of both the Seljuk Turks and the caliphs of Baghdad. The Crusaders reacted negatively to the caliph's proposal that they partition Syria. The Fatimid emissaries returned to Egypt, accompanied by a Frankish mission. Impatient to conclude a solid alliance with the Crusaders, al-Afdal captured Jerusalem in August 1098; by autumn the entire region up to the Dog River near Beirut was in Egyptian hands (66).

While the Franks were bringing the siege of Antioch to a successful conclusion, their envoys were detained in Cairo for a whole year by violence and negotiations. They rejoined the Crusaders in 1099 at the siege of Arqa, accompanied by envoys from the Fatimid caliph bearing a different message. Whereas earlier the Egyptians had sought the Crusaders' help, they now implied that they were doing the Christians a great favor. The caliph's envoys reported that he would allow the Christians to perform the pilgrimage to Jerusalem in groups of two or three hundred, provided that they did not bear arms. The Crusaders considered the message an insult and sent back the Egyptian envoys with the reply that they would visit Jerusalem not in small detachments but *en masse*. Ironically, William of Tyre attributes the Egyptians' change of attitude to the Crusaders' victory at Antioch. The Turks in Syria, suffering from dissension and declining military power since the death of Artuk in 1091, had been defeated whenever they came into conflict with other nations. Thus the Fatimids, despite having lost Jerusalem to the Turks, came to surpass them in power. But al-Afdal and the Egyptians never conceded that they had been able to retake Jerusalem because [357] the Crusaders had greatly weakened the Turks. Thus, they "scorned the aid of our people, which formerly they had so earnestly sought " (67). The Fatimids had achieved a temporary success by avenging themselves against the Seljuk Turks and recapturing Jerusalem. But they never recognized that they had to come face to face with the Crusaders, and that in the end they would lose Jerusalem to them.

When the Muslim troops left al-Bara at the end of December 1097 and prepared to attack Antioch, Yaghi Siyan's son left the Muslim camp and went to Aleppo to seek help. Ridwan of Aleppo apparently forgot his animosity toward Yaghi Siyan and joined forces with him. Other Muslims came too, including Sukman, son of Artuk of Diyarbakr, an Artukid force from the Jazira, and yet another one from Hims, Hama and Shayzar (68). The Muslim force of 12,000 elite horsemen assembled at the fortress of Harenc (Harim), about ten miles from Antioch, to engage the Franks (69). They decided to sandwich Antioch between themselves and Yaghi Siyan's forces. But the Armenian and Syrian inhabitants of Antioch secretly warned the Franks to be on guard. With a force of barely 700 knights, the Crusader chiefs set out to fight the Muslims. The enemy legions edged forward, and those in the vanguard made a violent charge against the Franks. In the ensuing battle in mid-February 1098, the Muslims were defeated and retreated from the fortress of Harim. When the Muslim garrison saw that the situation was hopeless, they set the fortress on fire and fled (70). But the Armenians and other Christians living in the area took possession of Harim and handed it over to the Frankish leaders before they returned to camp (71). The victorious Crusaders killed a large number of Turks and carried to their camp the heads of more than 200 Turks "so that Christ's people might derive great joy therefrom" (72). William of Tyre says the enemy lost 2,000 men [358] and the victorious Crusaders returned to their camp with the heads of 500 slain enemies and a great quantity of spoils, including a thousand horses (73). Yaghi Sigan then made a surprise attack against the Franks but was repelled. They killed many of his men and flung the heads of the Turks slain at Harim inside the walls of Antioch, to show him that the same fate could befall him and his men. Desperate, Yaghi Siyan had to appeal to the Seljuk Sultan Berkyaruk (74).

The Franks' position became more secure when a fleet manned by Englishmen led by Edgar Atheling, carrying pilgrims from Lucca, Italy, arrived at Suwaydiyya (St. Simeon), the harbor of Antioch, on March 4, 1098, augmenting the Genoese ships that had arrived in November of the prior year (75). The fleet had called first at Constantinople, where Edgar placed himself under the authority of the Emperor Alexius (76). Bohemond and Raymond of Saint-Gilles, accompanied by sixty knights, set out immediately to recruit troops from among the newcomers. On March 6, as they were returning from the port of St. Simeon with men and provisions, they were ambushed by Turks, and a rumor spread that both Frankish leaders had lost their lives. On hearing this sad

report, Godfrey tried to rescue their troops, but the Turks sallied forth from Antioch and attacked. Godfrey was able to repel them, and soon afterwards Raymond and Bohemond appeared unexpectedly with the remnant of their forces. In the battle the Turks lost about 1,500 men, reportedly including nine amirs, while many others drowned as they tried to cross the Orontes (77). The Muslims carried their dead to bury them in a Muslim cemetery on the north bank of the river, and the Franks allowed them to do so unmolested. But the next day they dug up the corpses, looking for gold and silver ornaments worn by the dead Muslims. They threw the corpses into a pit, and cut off their heads and brought them [359] to camp, except for some which they loaded on horses belonging to the caliph's ambassadors and sent to the seacoast. The Turks grieved almost to death at seeing this spectacle and lamented the loss of their men for many a day (78).

Despite this victory, the Frankish leaders knew that the Turks in Antioch would continue harassing and ambushing them. The Crusaders met in council and decided to build a castle at the mosque (by the Muslim cemetery), facing the Bridge Gate, from which they could keep the enemy immobilized. Raymond of Saint-Gilles told the leaders that if they helped him build the casde, he would fortify and defend it to prevent any attack by the Turks from that direction. Bohemond suggested that he and Raymond of Saint-Gilles go to the port of St. Simeon to recruit workers for the project (79). The fortification, finished in March 1098, came to be known as the castle of Raymond (80). In the meantime, Tancred was sent to fortify the ruined Monastery of Saint George, near a gate of the same name west of Antioch (81). By now, the Franks controlled five gates of the city. Left unguarded were the postern gates opening on the hills, through which food and provisions could be brought into the city. As Tancred and his men, seeking to stop the Turks from using these entrances, began to blockade the city, a large number of Armenians boldly came down from the mountains carrying provisions for the besieged Turks. Tancred captured them with all their loads of corn, wine, barley, oil, and other provisions. He was fortunate in being able to block all approaches to Antioch until the Franks captured the city (82). The Armenians and Syrians who sold provisions to the Turks may simply have been self-seeking men taking advantage of the blockade, or they may have been coerced by Yaghi Siyan to bring food to his beleaguered men inside the city.

The episode of Rainald Porchet, related by Peter Tudebode, symbolizes the mortal combat between the Muslim Turks and their Christian enemies at Antioch. The Turks ordered Rainald, a noble knight whom they had [360] thrown into a dungeon and were about to behead, to ask the Crusaders what they would pay to ransom him. Standing at the city wall, Rainald told the Frankish leaders that it mattered not if he died and asked them not to ransom him. He urged them instead to stay steadfast in the faith of Christ and the Holy Sepulcher, adding that they had already slain the bravest Turks in Antioch, including twelve amirs and 15,000 noblemen, and no one remained to battle the Franks or defend the city. The Turks asked an interpreter what Rainald had said and were told that he had said nothing good concerning them. Yaghi Siyan then ordered him to descend from the wall and through the interpreter asked, "Rainald, do you wish to enjoy life honorably with us?" He replied, "How can I live honorably with you without sinning?" Yaghi Siyan answered, "Deny your God, whom you worship and believe, and accept Muhammad and our other gods. If you do so, we shall give you all that you desire, such as gold, horses, mules, and many other worldly goods, as well as wives and inheritances, and we shall enrich you with great land." Rainald asked for time to think about his offer; Yaghi Siyan agreed, perhaps expecting him to recant his Christ. But Rainald, clasping his hands and turning his face toward the east, asked God to come to his aid and transport his soul with dignity to the bosom of Abraham. Yaghi Siyan asked what his answer was and was told, "Rainald completely denies your god and refuses worldly goods." Outraged, Yaghi Siyan ordered him executed, and the Turks gleefully chopped off Rainald's head. Having failed to make Rainald an apostate, Yaghi Siyan ordered all the Crusaders who had infiltrated the city brought before him with hands bound behind their backs, stripped naked, and tied with ropes in a circle. He then had firewood and hay piled up around them, and they were burned as enemies of God. They were, says Tudebode, martyrs of the faith, loyal to "our Lord Jesus Christ" (83). Yaghi Siyan's action, a manifestation of Muslim fundamentalism, speaks for itself. It is an integral part of the *jihad*, dedicated to the glory of Islam. Nearly a century after Rainald died at Antioch, as we shall see, Saladin would offer freedom to Reginald of Chatillon if he embraced Islam.

When Berkyaruk learned about the Franks' expedition against Antioch, he sent an army led by Abu Sa'id Qiwam al-Dawla Kerbogha, estimated by one Syriac source at 100,000 horsemen (84). Early in May 1098, soon after the [361] Franks learned of Yaghi Siyan's appeal, rumors began to circulate among them that a great Muslim

expeditionary force commanded by Kerbogha, lord of Mosul, had gathered at March Dabiq a month earlier and was marching to Antioch. Anna Comnena says that when the Sultan [Berkyaruk] heard that the emperor had gone to aid the Franks, he collected innumerable men from Khurasan (Persia) and put them under the command of his son Ishmael (sic), and instructed them to overtake the emperor before he reached Antioch (85). William of Tyre says that when the magnificent prince of Persia (Berkyaruk) heard of the troubles of Antioch, he was moved by compassion. He wrote to princes, calling on all people and nations, and all tribes and tongues, to follow his beloved son Corbagath (Kerbogha), who took charge of these legions and entered Mesopotamia with 200,000 men and camped in the vicinity of Edessa, from which he marched on Antioch (86). Stalling for time, "through a treacherous ruse offering to surrender Antioch, Yaghi Siyan massacred a small group of Christians, among whom was Galon, constable of the King of France" (87). In the face of the new danger, the Franks realized that a protracted siege of Antioch was pointless and determined to find a quick way to occupy the city.

Kerbogha lost precious time by diverting his force toward Edessa, which he intended to capture from Baldwin of Boulogne. He wasted three weeks (May 4-25, 1098) in attacking the city, but Baldwin offered stiff resistance and forced him to withdraw (88). The Anonymous Edessan gives no reason for Kerbogha's delay at Edessa, but one can infer from his account that Kerbogha was plundering the full flocks of cattle and sheep, and attacking men and houses throughout the district. He enslaved many of the people of the city. After doing great havoc in the land Kerbogha headed for Antioch by way of Aleppo, where he learned that the Franks had captured [362] Antioch on June 3, 1098 (89). One writer observes that if Kerbogha had arrived four days sooner, "the crusading movement would have been extinguished at the gates of Antioch" (90). His failure to capture Edessa enhanced Baldwin's prestige and saved the Crusaders at Antioch. If Kerbogha had gone directly to Antioch before the Christians could take the city, says William of Tyre, the situation would have been critical for Bohemond: "By the Grace of God, Antioch was taken before the infidels arrived; even so, however, it was with difficulty that they were able to withstand Kerbogha's coming" (91). Kerbogha's delay afforded the Franks time to regroup their forces and meet his attack.

Meanwhile, Bohemond was plotting with a traitor (Firuz) inside Antioch to take over the city. The Latin and Eastern sources give different forms of his name and different accounts of his identity and his dealings with Bohemond (92). Fulcher of Chartres refers to the traitor simply as "a certain Turk" and connects him with the delivery of Antioch to Bohemond according to a divine dream. He says Christ appeared to the Turk thrice in a dream, asking him to return the city to the Christians, for He who commanded him was Christ indeed. Wondering what to do, the Turk related the vision to his master the prince of Antioch, Yaghi Siyan, who asked, "Do you wish, stupid man, to obey a ghost?" The man returned and remained silent (93). But, no longer doubting the vision, he discreetly made an agreement with the Franks by which they would obtain the city. When the matter was settled, the Turk offered his son to Bohemond as a guarantee of his fidelity. On the appointed night, the Turk let twenty Franks over the wall by means of rope ladders. Without delay the gate was opened, and the Franks, who were ready, entered the city, followed by others who shouted, "God wills it, God wills it!" (94).

The *Gesta Francorum* says the traitor was a Turkish amir named Firuz who struck up a friendship with Bohemond, who promised to bestow great [363] honor and wealth on him and to have him christened. Firuz trusted Bohemond and promised to hand over three towers which he was guarding. Pleased with himself at the thought that he could enter the city, Bohemond went to the Frankish leaders, then meeting in a council, and jokingly said that they were in dire poverty and misery and did not know whence better fortune would come to them. Addressing them politely, he suggested that if he could capture Antioch, alone or with others' help, they should agree to give it to him. They refused, saying the city would not be granted to anyone; they would all share it alike. They reasoned that they had given equal toil and thus should have equal honor. Displeased by this response, Bohemond immediately left (95). Raymond of Aguilers says a certain (unidentified) Turk inside Antioch sent the Frankish chiefs a plan to deliver the city to them, and the Franks sent Bohemond, the duke of Lorraine, and Robert, count of Flanders, to look into these matters. When they came at midnight to the high point of the city, a messenger sent by the traitor commanded them not to move until a torch or lamp passed by. Apparently, the Turks had several men carrying torches on the wall to alert the people against any attack by the Franks. After the torches passed, the Franks approached the wall, put up a ladder, and climbed it, and by this stratagem they finally captured the city (96). Ralph of Caen says the city was delivered to the Franks through the

treachery of a wealthy Armenian (97). Guibert of Nogent says the person Bohemond communicated with was Pyrrhus (Firuz), a Turkish leader from a city called Pyrrus (present Qurash, in northern Syria) (98).

William of Tyre gives a long, detailed account of Firuz and his role in the Franks' capture of Antioch. He says Firuz was from a family noted for its high lineage, with the name Beni Zerra ["sons of the makers of breastplates"]. William does not specify Firuz's ethnicity, but his narrative represents him as a Christian native of Antioch, a man of great influence due to his position as secretary at the palace. When the siege of Antioch began, Firuz strove to win Bohemond's favor by reporting daily to him on the state of the city and Yaghi Siyan's plans, with his own son acting as messenger. Apparently Bohemond's plan, which he concealed from the other Frankish leaders, was to claim Antioch as his possession once it was [364] captured. When they learned he was plotting with Firuz to capture the city, all of them approved except Raymond of Saint-Gilles, count of Toulouse. With Firuz's collaboration, the Franks managed to scale the city walls and occupy some of the ramparts. When Bohemond climbed the ladder, Firuz was at the wall and, taking him by the hand, pulled him over. William relates an anecdote (not found in the accounts of other historians) about what led Firuz to carry out his plot to deliver the city to Bohemond. He says while Firuz was at the palace of his master Yaghi Siyan tending to some important matters, he sent his young son home on an errand. When the son arrived, he was stunned to see his mother in the embrace of a Turkish chief and hurried to his father to tell him. Enraged and resentful, Firuz said it was not enough that the filthy dogs (the Turks) had crushed the people of Antioch under the yoke of servitude and depleted their patrimony by exacting money daily; they had also violated the laws of wedlock and destroyed the bonds of marriage. "If I live," he said, "I will put an end to such insolence and, with the help of the Lord, repay them as they deserve" (99).

William of Tyre reports that Firuz and his brother (whose name he does not give) helped deliver Antioch to Bohemond. He says Firuz did not trust his brother, who was pessimistic about the siege of Antioch and thought its Christian inhabitants did not perceive the disastrous end that awaited them. The brother said that if the people of Antioch foresaw their coming destruction, they would seek safety by other means. Distressed by his brother's discouraging views, Firuz plotted his death and, when he found him in a deep sleep on the tower, struck him with a sword, in an action "at once pious and wicked" (100). On Firuz's betrayal of Antioch, the editors of William's *Chronicle* say, "This incident seems to have appealed strongly to William's fancy. He not only drew upon all his Latin sources but [365] upon Arabic sources as well for information, and then allowed his imagination to carry his pen beyond all of them" (101).

The earliest Eastern sources to mention Firuz are Muhammad ibn Ali al-Azimi and Ibn al-Qalanisi. Al-Azimi says Firuz was an Armenian Christian *zarrad* [breastplate maker] who delivered Antioch to the Franks (102). Ibn al-Qalanisi says the man who plotted to give the city to the Franks was Niruz, an Armenian *zarrad*, an Antiochene from the camp of Yaghi Siyan (102b). Ibn al-Adim also says an Antiochene *zarrad* in Yaghi Siyan's camp plotted to deliver the city to Bohemond, who offered him money and an estate for his collaboration (103). Ibn al-Athir identifies the man who handed the city to the Franks as Baruzyeh, a *zarrad* by trade who became a guardian of a fortress of the city, but does not specify his ethnic origin (104). Anna Comnena says Bohemond tempted an Armenian on the tower guarding the part of the wall assigned to him and persuaded him to betray the city. The Armenian gave a signal to Bohemond, who then stormed the city (105). Michael Rabo, the Syrian patriarch of Antioch, says two Armenian brothers charged with guarding the towers of Antioch collaborated to deliver the city to Bohemond at night (106). Another Syriac source, the Anonymous Edessan, says that while the Franks were fighting fiercely, some inhabitants of Antioch plotted with Bohemond to surrender the city to him. When the plan was perfected, the Franks ascended the wall and captured it (107). Bar Hebraeus says the Franks managed to capture the city by a secret arrangement with a Persian named Ruzbah, who guarded a tower near the ravine called Kashkaruf. They promised to give him gold. Iron poles were laid across the ravine, and a tower was built on them. The Franks came by night and entered there, and others scaled the wall with ropes. When a great number of Franks were on the wall, they blew a blast on the horns during the last [366] watch of the night and thus entered the city (108). Matthew of Edessa reports that one of the officials of Antioch sent a man to Bohemond and other Frankish chiefs and invited them to occupy his native city. Having obtained an oath from them, the officer secretly during the night delivered Antioch into Bohemond's hands (109).

Bohemond continued to flatter Firuz and make tempting promises. On June 1, 1098, Firuz secretly sent his son to Bohemond to assure him that he would deliver the city to him. He also sent word that on the morrow all the Frankish troops should be summoned and should pretend to go out to plunder the lands of the Muslims, but they were to return immediately by the western mountain, where the towers Firuz controlled were located. He promised to watch for the troops and admit them through the towers. Following his instructions, Bohemond sent one of his followers, a sergeant nicknamed "Bad Crown" (Peter Tudebode calls him "Big Crown"), to summon a great force. Bohemond told Duke Godfrey, Robert of Flanders, Raymond of Saint-Gilles, and the bishop of Le Puy of the plan, saying, "God willing, this night shall Antioch be betrayed to us" (110). On June 3, 1098, the Frankish knights went through the plain and the foot soldiers by the mountains until they reached the towers Firuz was guarding. Bohemond dismounted and encouraged his comrades to be strong and scale the ladder. Firuz was disheartened when he saw how small the Frankish force was, fearing that they would fall easily into the hands of the Turks. Frightened, he exclaimed, "*Micho Francos echome* [We have few Franks!"] Then he asked, "Where is the hero Bohemond? Where is that unconquered soldier" (111)? Soon a soldier from southern Italy climbed down the ladder and yelled at Bohemond, asking why he was standing there instead of climbing the ladder, for the Franks already had three towers in their possession.

Bohemond and the rest of the troops rushed to climb the ladder in great numbers, giving encouragement to those already on the wall. The men in the towers saw them climbing and began to shout, "God's will!" A ladder broke because of their hasty ascent. But those who were already atop the wall lowered themselves into the city and broke open a gate. The Franks [367] rushed through the gate into the city and killed everyone they encountered, including Firuz's brother. The Anonymous Edessan says, "The capture of Antioch was the result of treason, a surrender by the garrison near the hill on the east side" (112). The whole city was thrown into confusion, and the cries of women and children could be heard. The victorious Franks raised their standards on Antioch's southern hill. When the Turkish inhabitants saw that the Franks had captured the city, some panicked and rushed through the gates seeking safety, while other leaped from the walls. The Franks helped themselves to substantial booty and killed many Turks. Says Raymond of Aguilers, "We cannot estimate the number of slain Turks and Saracens, and it would be sadistic to relate the novel and varied means of death." He shows no sorrow for the Muslims killed, but he and the other Franks were saddened at the loss of more than three hundred horses dashed to death (113). Unlike Raymond, the author of the *Gesta Francorum* does not express joy at the killing of Muslims. He says simply that the Franks entered the city gate and killed all the Turks and Saracens they found there, except those who managed to flee through the gates to save their lives (114). Some Turks fled through the middle gate; others sought refuge in the citadel above the city. Realizing how important the citadel was, Bohemond attacked it ferociously but was wounded in the thigh and was compelled to give up the fight. Antioch fell on June 3, 1098 (115).

One Latin source describing the capture of Antioch is very different from those cited so far. The story is presented in a letter to the people of Lucca, Italy, by Bruno, a citizen of that city who was aboard an English ship at the port of St. Simeon (al-Suwaydiyya), the harbor of Antioch. He says he witnessed the Turks' siege of Antioch and describes how it fell to the Franks, who had built a fortress at the city's western gate. The Turks attacked and killed 2,500 of the Franks, while losing only 800 men. The building of the fortress is consistent with the other accounts, but the manner in which Bruno says Antioch was captured by the Franks is totally different. He claims that four noble brothers promised to deliver the city to three Frankish leaders: Bohemond, Robert Curthose (Robert of Normandy), and Count Robert of Flanders. These three, with the consent of all the Frankish [368] princes, led the whole army by night to the city wall. The Turks were unaware of their movement. In the morning, when the four brothers opened the gates to admit the Frankish leaders as they had promised, the Franks suddenly rushed into the city and occupied every fortified place in it except the very high citadel (116). Oddly, Tancred was not among the leaders who entered Antioch and indeed had no idea about Bohemond's negotiations with Firuz. He had taken up comfortable quarters in a nearby village while he was carrying out his mission against St. George's Castle (117).

Meanwhile, Yaghi Siyan, the Turkish lord of Antioch, fled the city and wound up dead. The Latin and Eastern sources give varying accounts of his death. According to the *Gesta Francorum*, Cassianus (Yaghi Siyan) escaped with many of his companions and entered the area controlled by Tancred close to the city. They sought refuge in a village, but its Syrian and Armenian inhabitants captured them, cut off Yaghi Siyan's head, and took it to

Bohemond to win their freedom (118). Radulf (Ralph) of Caen says Cassianus fled the city, severely wounded and exhausted, having lost a lot of blood. He met a peasant (whom Radulf does not identify) and told him that Antioch was lost to the Franks and he had barely escaped with his life, seriously wounded. He offered the peasant a handsome reward if he would help him to escape. The peasant contemplated what to do. He thought that by killing him, he would gain fame and the Franks' favor, as well as Cassianus's horse and clothes. The peasant looked at the half-dead Cassianus and decided it would be easy to kill him, as he had no strength and no weapon to defend himself. So, unmindful of justice and decency, he crushed Cassianus's head with a club and mutilated his body (119). Fulcher of Chartres says that the amir of Antioch, Aoxianus (Yaghi Siyan), fled Antioch and was beheaded by an Armenian peasant, who sent his head to the Franks (120). Raymond of Aguilers, largely agreeing with this account, states that Yaghi Siyan fled the city by way of one of the gates. He was captured by Armenian peasants, who cut off his head and delivered it to us [the Franks] (related by Abu al-Mahasin ibn Taghri Birdi; see footnote 30). Thus Yaghi Siyan, who had decapitated many Armenians was now, by the [369] inexpressible will of God, beheaded by the Armenians (121). Guibert of Nogent says that Cassian fled with several of his commanders and took refuge in an area held by Tancred, not far from Antioch. Exhausted by their hasty flight and unable to go on, they stopped at a house. Some Armenians and Syrians came upon the house, cut off his head, and brought it as a gift to Bohemond, expecting him to offer them freedom. His baldric and the scabbard of his sword, which they took, brought them about sixty besants (bezants) (122). William of Tyre states that when Yaghi Siyan saw that Antioch with its towers and fortifications had fallen into the hands of the enemy, he was stricken with fear and fled hastily from the city unaccompanied. Wandering aimlessly, he fell in with several Armenians. Seeing him alone, the Armenians realized that the city had fallen. They threw him violently to the ground and cut off his head. They carried it to the city and presented it to the [Franks'] leaders in the presence of all people (123).

Matthew of Edessa says that Yaghi Siyan fled the city and was killed by some peasants, who cut off his head with a scythe (124). Ibn al-Adim states that when he tried to escape with other Turks, he fell off his horse. Some Armenians killed him and carried his head to the Franks (125). Ibn al-Athir says Yaghi Siyan fled with thirty of his men. When he fainted and fell off his horse, near death, his men fled, abandoning him, and an Armenian woodcutter passing by killed him (126). Ibn al-Qalanisi gives a different version of Yaghi Siyan's death, saying that he fled with a number of men, but none of them made it to safety. On reaching Armanaz, an estate near Ma'arrat Misrin, he fell off his horse. One of his companions picked him up, but he kept falling off and finally he died. There is no mention of an Armenian beheading him or of his head being sent to Bohemond (127).

The Syriac sources, except for Bar Hebraeus, say little about Yaghi Siyan's end. Michael Rabo reports that because of the Franks' harassment of the city (Antioch), he left for Aleppo and was waylaid by a group of [370] Armenians who cut off his head and brought it to the Franks (128). The Anonymous Edessan says when the Turkish governor, whom he calls "Aksin," saw that Antioch had fallen, he fled through the gate of the upper fortress on top of the mountain and departed by the southeast side of the mountain, but he mentions nothing about his death (129). Bar Hebraeus's account differs slightly from these and in some respects echoes that of Ibn al-Qalanisi. He reports that when the Franks blasted on their horns as they stormed Antioch, the Turkish governor of the city, whom he calls "Gaisgan," awoke. Thinking the Franks had already captured the citadel of Antioch, he began trembling with fear. He opened the city gate and fled with thirty" of his men by night along the road to Aleppo. When day broke, he began to bite his fingers, saying, "How was it that I left the city, my men, my family, and my possessions and fled?" He turned toward Antioch, weeping, and because of his immense grief he fell off his horse. His companions lifted him back on the horse several times, but he continued to fall off. Finally, they left him and departed. It happened that an Armenian woodsman passed by and saw Yaghi Siyan, cut off his head, and took it to the Franks (130).

At the end of May, Kerbogha abandoned the siege of Edessa, marched to Antioch, and laid siege to the city. He had wasted three weeks at Edessa and then Aleppo, and that miscalculation had given the Franks breathing room. By June 5, 1098 his huge army, estimated by al-Azimi at 400,000 men, was at the Iron Bridge, and two days later it camped outside the walls of the city of Antioch. The approach of Kerbogha's army and the coming siege caused panic among the Franks, and many deserted camp. On June 2, 1098, a great number of northern Frenchmen, led by Stephen of Blois, count of Chartres, fled Antioch. The Latin sources call Stephen's flight a disgraceful act of cowardice. He had heard that the Turks had surrounded and besieged Antioch. Standing atop a

nearby mountain, he looked around and saw countless enemy tents. As the author of the *Gesta Francorum* says, when the Franks were shut up inside Antioch and desperately needed his aid, suddenly "that coward, whom all our leaders had elected ductor (commander), pretended to be very ill and fled shamefully to Alexandretta" (131). [371] Albert of Aachen admits he is unable to account for what Stephen of Blois did, but says he left Antioch because of illness; Ralph of Caen attributes his withdrawal to boredom (132). William of Tyre says that Stephen, count of Chartres, accompanied by about four thousand men, "took leave of his brethren, under pressure of illness, and went down to the coast." His plan was to sojourn at Alexandretta until he had regained his full health, but his departure appalled the other Franks as "an infamous act fraught with everlasting disgrace" (133). But of Stephen's death in 1102 at Ramla, fighting alongside Baldwin I, he says that the Lord "permitted Stephen to wipe out by a splendid end the mark of infamy which his own conduct had branded upon his name when he deserted the forces before Antioch" (134). Fulcher of Chartres says that all the Franks grieved for him because he was a noble man and mighty in arms (135).

James A. Brundage defends Stephen of Blois and explains his flight from Antioch. After sketching Stephen's career, including his joining the Crusades and the capture of Nicaea, he says that at Antioch Stephen received a great honor when the princes of the Crusading armies chose him as presiding officer of the assemblies of the leaders, in charge of the expedition's housekeeping. Thus, the Crusaders considered Stephen a well-tried leader. But by March 1098, Brundage says, Stephen was fed up with the Crusades. In a letter to his wife Adele dated March 29, two months before his departure, he indicated he was already planning to leave the Crusading army. Brundage infers from this letter that Stephen put off leaving the Crusades because as a conscientious quartermaster-general, he wanted to see the result of the campaign at Antioch before making the decision to depart. Once the Crusaders had captured the city, he "considered that he had made his contribution to the Crusading endeavor" (136). Brundage excuses Stephen's departure on the grounds that he had only a small army camped at Alexandretta outside Antioch. He looked from the mountain and saw Kerbogha's huge Turkish army, many times the size of his own petty force, advancing toward the city. Convinced that he could not challenge Kerbogha and that [372] doing so would only agitate the mighty Turkish warlord, he had to find a way out. So far as he could see, the situation was hopeless; nothing he could do would help the Crusaders' army inside Antioch. Stephen saw that the Crusaders were worn out by starvation, disease, and desertion. They were trapped with inadequate supplies, while the Turkish forces had already a sure foothold within the city. "Rather than trying to alleviate the situation of the Crusaders in Antioch by pitting his tiny force against the huge besieging army, Stephen decided instead to flee" (137). Given the historical facts of the Franks' predicament at Antioch, Stephen of Blois should have not left his comrades. The arguments Brundage offers against the Latin sources' accounts of his flight do not seem convincing. His report to Emperor Alexius at Philomelium reveals not a true and genuine crusading spirit, but unwarranted despair and weakness. Whether his forces were small or large, Stephen should have kept his ground and fought, as any valiant and true soldier would have done.

Clearly Stephen of Blois miscalculated the situation at Antioch. He did not know that his kinsmen would capture the fortress guarded by Firuz and enter the city a day after his departure, amid the jubilation of the Armenian and Syrian inhabitants. Runciman writes, "Had Stephen delayed his departure for only a few hours he would have changed his mind" (138). But he did not. In Runciman's view, Stephen was never a great fighting man, but at least he would have lived to fight another day. Bohemond must have smiled to see him go, but could not have known how useful Stephen's flight would be to his own cause (139).

According to the *Gesta Francorum*, when the Muslim forces drew near Antioch, Shams al-Dawla, son of Yaghi Siyan, ran straightway to Kerbogha. Weeping, he told him that the Franks had besieged the citadel of Antioch and the city had fallen into their hands, and that they had killed his father and were determined to eliminate Kerbogha and all the Muslims. He appealed to Kerbogha to help him against the Franks (140). Kerbogha, with the instinct of a political opportunist, told Shams al-Dawla that he would help him against the Franks if he surrendered the citadel to him. Shams al-Dawla said he would deliver the citadel to Kerbogha, pay him homage, and acknowledge him as liege lord only if he killed all the Franks and sent their [373] heads to him. But Kerbogha said this would not do, and Shams al-Dawla must surrender the citadel unconditionally at once. He was negotiating from strength, since by June 8 he had completed the siege of Antioch and was confident of capturing both the city and the citadel, and Shams al-Dawla had no choice but to accept his demand (141). Kerbogha appointed Ahmad ibn Marwan, a noble and trustworthy man, to take charge of Antioch's defense and

affairs. Ahmad at first declined this responsibility but finally yielded, on the condition that if the Franks triumphed over the Muslims, he would hand the citadel over to them. Kerbogha praised Ahmad ibn Marwan for his wisdom and expressed confidence that he would do what was best (142).

Kerbogha's men do not seem to have had much respect for the Franks' military power or their armaments. When he returned to his camp, some of his men brought him an ugly, worthless sword covered with rust, together with a wooden bow and a useless lance that they had taken from a poor Frank. They told Kerbogha to look at the weapons the Franks had to fight them with. He chuckled and sneered, "Are these the warlike weapons which the Christians have brought into Asia against us, and with which they confidently expect to drive us beyond the further boundaries of Khurasan, and blot out our names beyond the rivers of the Amazons? Are these the people who drove all our forefathers out of Rum (the Byzantine land) and from the royal city of Antioch, which is the honored capital of all Syria" (143)? Kerbogha later summoned his scribe and dictated a letter to the sultan and the people of Khurasan, saying he was sending the weapons his men had taken from the Frankish rabble, to show what kind of arms they had brought against the Turks. Saying he held control of the citadel while the Franks were trapped below in the city, he boasted that he would kill them all or lead them as captives to Khurasan. He told the sultan, "I swear to you by Muhammad and all our gods that I will not appear before your face until I have conquered by the strength of my right arm the royal city of Antioch and all Syria, Rum (Byzantium), and even as far as Apulia, to the glory of the Gods and of you and of all who are sprung from the race of the Turks" (144).

[374] At this juncture the *Gesta Francorum* introduces a rather curious story whose authenticity some historians have challenged, while others have sought to explain it rationally. Supposedly Kerbogha's mother, who lived in Aleppo, traveled all the way to Antioch to implore her son with tears not to fight the Christians. She told him that she recognized his military prowess, and no one could defeat him. She declared that although the Christians were no match for him, he should not fight them because their God was with them, and he would confound and scatter their enemies (Psalms 67:31). She admonished her son not to fight the Christians because they are called "sons of Christ"; the prophets call them "sons of adoption and promise", and the apostles say that they are "heirs of Christ." She added that once the god of the Christians is enraged, he does not punish the offender at once but visits him with unmistakable vengeance afterwards. She warned Kerbogha that the Christians' god would punish him and he would die during this year (in fact, he died in 1102). Kerbogha seemed not to believe his mother and the reasons she gave him not to fight, for he insisted that with the strength of his army, he would defeat the Christians. Interestingly, the story says that Kerbogha asked his mother whether it was true that Bohemond and Tancred were gods and as such could eat two thousand cows and four thousand hogs for lunch. His mother answered that they were mortals like other Christians, but their god had bestowed his love upon them and given them the power to fight others. (Here she quotes Genesis 2:4 about the omnipotence of God, who created the heaven and the earth and the sea and all the universe). Kerbogha declared that he would still fight the Christians according to his plans. Seeing that her son insisted on engaging the Christians in battle, Kerbogha's mother was exceedingly sad and returned to Aleppo, taking with her everything she could lay her hands on (145).

While Hagenmeyer and Brehier dismiss this story as an interpolation by a scribe or perhaps a camp-tale told by a Norman knight, Rosalind Hill, the editor of the *Gesta Francorum*, disagrees (146). She believes the story was the [375] product of gossip and rumors in the Crusaders' camp about how the Muslims and Greeks acted. The author of the *Gesta*, who had a sense of humor, enjoyed these tales and took pleasure in inserting them into his history. Hill says the author "would have not expected Karbuqa to speak or behave as Bohemond did, and probably expected him to have a slightly sinister background. Hence the curious tale of Karbuqa's second-sighted and rapacious mother" (147). Despite the agony and hardships the Franks suffered, they related this and similar stories to show that they were indomitable and their victory over the Turks was sure because they were the followers of Christ. This fact may explain why the author put in the mouth of Kerbogha's mother the admonition not to fight the Christians. Of course, no one expects this woman, a Muslim Turk, to have so profound a knowledge of the Bible that she quotes passages from it. Even more peculiar is her telling her son that a hundred years ago it was discovered in the Quran that the Christians were destined to come upon the Muslims and defeat them, and that the Muslims would become their subjects. Indeed, there is such a prediction in the Quran. The writer of this story hoped to show that the Crusaders were guided and supported by divine Providence because they were fighting for Christ. To show that they were so favored, the author of the *Gesta*

Francorum had a very important Muslim woman, Kerbogha's own mother, dissuade him from fighting the Christians.

The Crusaders' capture of Antioch was not the end of their troubles. The citadel was still in the Turks' hands, but the Franks refrained from attacking it, having been busy examining their spoils. Raymond of Aguilers says "... they gourmandized sumptuously and splendidly as they gave heed to dancing girls" (148). To bolster their position, the Crusaders built up the fortress of Robert of Flanders near the Iron Bridge, feeling that if they abandoned it, the enemy would capture it and have the advantage of controlling the exit from the city (149). Kerbogha, expecting the battle with the Crusaders would be fought outside the city, camped about two miles from Antioch and then advanced to the Iron Bridge. Three hundred men from his army, heavily armed and mounted on swift horses, positioned themselves for an ambush near the city. Thirty of them began galloping before the city walls to show the Crusaders that they did not fear them. Roger of [376] Barneville, from the retinue of Robert, count of Normandy, rushed from the gate with fifteen knights to attack them. The other Turks, lying in ambush, suddenly fell upon the Crusaders. Roger of Barneville was killed by an arrow that pierced his heart. He fell from his horse, and the Turks severed his head (150). To prevent further attacks, Robert of Flanders, after a council of war on June 8, burned the fortress constructed with so much pain, destroyed the wall, and withdrew into Antioch (151). As they retreated through the narrow, crowded gate, many men were trampled to death. Those outside the city kept fighting. In the heat of battle William of Grandmesnil from Apulia, who had married Bohemond's sister, his brother Alberic, Guido (Guy) of Trusellus, and Lambert the Pauper disappeared.

The Franks appealed to Emperor Alexius for help, but to no avail. When by the middle of June the emperor reached Philomelium (near present-day Akshehir in Turkey), he met Stephen of Blois, together with William of Grandmesnil and Peter, son of Aulps (whom Anna Comnena calls Aliphas), who had fled Antioch on June 10, with the skin of their hands and feet stripped down to the bone. Others had secretly fled with them. Many more had wanted to escape but were prevented from doing so by Bishop Adhémar of Le Puy and Bohemond (152). When those who had fled reached the port of St. Simeon, where ships were docked, they asked the sailors why they were standing there, since the Turkish army was besieging Antioch and had killed all the Christians, and they had barely escaped with their lives. Horrified by this news, the sailors rushed to their ships and put out to sea. Shortly afterwards the Turks arrived upon the scene and killed the Christians, burned the ships that were still in the mouth of the river, and seized their cargo.

The Crusaders still in Antioch, barely able to defend themselves, had built a wall between themselves and the citadel and guarded it day and night (153). But Stephen of Blois told the emperor that the Franks at Antioch were doomed, for the city had already fallen into Turkish hands but the citadel had not, and the Franks' forces had been annihilated and the emperor could do nothing about it. He advised him to go as quickly as he [377] could, so that the Turks would not find him and his men (154). The emperor summoned a secret council attended by Bohemond's half-brother Guy, who along with others had served the emperor as a mercenary. The emperor related the bad news he had been given about Antioch. Guy tearfully told the emperor the reports he had heard were false. His sorrow was so great that no one could comfort him. Finally he composed himself and told the emperor that while he might believe the report of this "cowardly old fool of a knight," Stephen of Blois had done no knightly deed but retreated from Antioch shamefully like a wretched scoundrel. He assured the emperor that what he had heard was a lie, but the emperor, apparently unconvinced, withdrew his forces. His decision was a blow to the Franks, who had to face Kerbogha alone. The author of the *Gesta Francorum* says, "Willy-nilly our friends retreated. . . . the Franks grieved to death over the retreat and many of them fell sick and died because they had not the strength to follow the army, so they lay down to die by the wayside while the emperor and his men returned to Antioch" (155).

Anna Comnena says that when Stephen and the others reached Tarsus, they heard that the emperor was at Philomelium and went to meet with him. Although frightened by their report, the emperor became very anxious to help the Franks but was warned by everyone not to do so (156). She says the emperor was hesitant to aid the Franks because he had heard that the sultan of Khurasan had assembled a great army under the command of his son Ishmael, with instructions to overtake the emperor before he reached Antioch. The emperor felt that it was impossible to save Antioch, already besieged by Kerbogha, with another army commanded by Ishmael already advancing. He also felt that his force was not sufficient to meet the Turkish challenge and that the Franks, who

were hemmed in by the Turks, would eventually flee and leave the city empty. The emperor thought that if the Franks occupied Antioch, the ambitious Bohemond would keep it for himself, depriving him of a precious possession he believed was rightfully his. Most important, he believed that he could not change the Franks' decision to resist the Turks and thought it better not to proceed any further than Philomelium, lest by hastening to the assistance of Antioch he should cause the destruction of Constantinople. Once he moved toward Antioch, not only the inhabitants of the region around Philomelium but everyone living [378] in his country would fall victim to the Turks. He decided instead to send a detachment of his army, which he broke into several sections, with orders that when they faced the Turks, they should fight fiercely to prevent them from attacking the emperor. Alexius then withdrew with most of his army (157).

The Franks' situation grew worse as Kerbogha's army tightened its grip on Antioch. The Franks' ten leaders assembled on the mountain before the citadel grieving, unsure what course of action to take. Immediately a priest named Stephen, probably from Valence, told them that he had had a vision while he was prostrate at the Church of Saint Mary (158). He said that Jesus, His mother, and St. Peter appeared to him. Behind Jesus's head stood an unbroken cross. Jesus told Stephen that he had given the Franks victory at Nicaea, and he had led them to Antioch and suffered along with them the hardships of the siege. But many of the men who called themselves Christians had committed many evil acts, satisfying their filthy lusts with both Christian and pagan women, so that a great stench arose to heaven. At this point the Virgin Mary and St. Peter fell at Jesus's feet, imploring him to aid the surviving Christians in their anguish. Turning to the priest, Jesus told him to go to his people and admonish them to return to him, saying he would return to them and within five days would send them mighty help. Stephen went to the Frankish camp and related the vision he had seen and the admonition of Jesus. If they did not believe him, he said, they should behead him or throw him into the fire (159). Upon hearing this, Adhémar, bishop of Le Puy, asked for the Gospels and a crucifix to be brought, and Stephen swore on them that he was telling the truth. Consequently, the leaders met and swore that they would not flee or abandon Antioch except by common consent. Bohemond was reportedly first to take the oath, followed by Raymond of Saint-Gilles, Robert of Normandy, Robert of Flanders, and Duke Godfrey. Tancred likewise swore that so long as he had forty knights to follow him, he would never abandon the city of Antioch or [379] the march to Jerusalem. When the entire Christian army heard that the leaders had taken the oath, they were greatly encouraged (160).

Although the Franks held the city of Antioch, the citadel was in the Turks' hands. So they had to fight against both the Turks in the city, who attacked them day and night, and those who held the citadel. Beleaguered by the Muslims, whom the author of the *Gesta Francorum* calls "pagans" and "the blasphemous enemies of God," the Franks faced starvation due to the siege by Kerbogha's forces. Some bought and sold horses and asses for their flesh; many died of hunger. So terrible was their plight that men boiled and ate fig leaves, vines, thistles, and all kind of trees. Others stewed and ate the dried skins of horses, camels, asses, oxen, or buffaloes (161). Fulcher of Chartres says the famished Franks ate the shoots of beanseeds, all kinds of unseasoned herbs, and thistles, as well as the flesh of horses, asses, camels, dogs, and rats. The poorer ones ate the skins of beasts and seeds of grain found in manure (162). Similarly, Guibert of Nogent says the rich among the Crusaders ate the flesh of horses, camels, cows and deer (even a small amount of donkey meat was sold for an exorbitant price in the marketplace), along with figs, thistles and grape leaves. The poor prepared the dried skins of these animals, cut them into pieces, boiled them and ate them. The food shortage was so severe that many died, their bellies bloated (163). Albert of Aachen reports that a small piece of bread was sold for a piece of gold (164). Godfrey of Bouillon took pity on some of his men, once prosperous but now destitute, especially a certain Count Hartmann and a knight named Henry of Ascha, whom he invited daily to his table, but he himself suffered as well (165). William of Tyre dolefully describes the horror of starvation, which robbed decent men of modesty and made them beggars. Children fared the worst and begged for food at the crossroads while their parents, struggling to survive, neglected them (166). Ibn al-Athir, using almost the same words as Guibert of Nogent, says that thirteen days after [380] capturing Antioch the Franks had nothing to eat. The rich ate their mounts, while the poor ate the flesh of dead animals and leaves (167). Michael Rabo mentions the Franks' hunger only once, saying that when the Turks besieged Antioch, they ate their horses and resorted to prayer (168). The Anonymous Edessan says there were several thousand Franks in Antioch, as well as a multitude of natives. They lacked corn and fodder for their horses because the land had been laid waste, and the situation was worse because no produce was coming into the city. The famine was so severe that the head of an ass was sold for ten dinars, while wheat and barley were not to be seen (169).

Despite their hardships, the Crusaders' religious zeal never waned. They received great encouragement from their clergy, and the churches were crowded with worshipers. They turned often to prayer and anticipated divine help. In the words of Baldric of Dol, the Christians suffered with weeping and lamentation. No one expected them to rush to the churches to worship and seek aid and advice (170). Their spirits remained high, and their determination to challenge the Turks was soon to be renewed by the discovery of the Holy Lance.

Footnotes

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1 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, Translated by Gregorius Saliba Shamoun as *Tarikh Mar Mikha'il al-Suryani al-Kabir* (Damascus: Sidawi Printing House, 1996), 586; edited by J.B. Chabot as *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, Patriarche Jacobite d'Antioche, 1166-1199* (Paris: *n.p.*, 1899-1910), 183.

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2 Kamal al-Din ibn al-Adim, *Bughyat al-Talab fi Tarikh Halab*, ed. Suhayl Zakkar, 1 (Damascus, 1988), 481-482; Suhayl Zakkar, *Madkhal ila Tarikh al-Hurub al-Salibiyya* (Beirut, Dar al-Amana, 1972), 125-126.

3 Muhammad ibn Ali al-Azimi, *Tarikh Halab*, ed. Ibrahim Zu'rur (Damascus, 1984), 349.

4 On Barakat ibn Paris al-Faw'i (al-Mujann), see Ibn al-Adim, *Zubdat al-Halab min Tarikh Halab*, ed. Sami al-Dahhan, 2 (Beirut: al-Matba'a al-Catholikiyya, 1954): 139-141; Abu Ya'la Hamza ibn al-Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, ed. H. F. Amedroz (Beirut: Matba'at al-Ad al-Yasu'iyyin, 1908), 135. Azimi, *Tarikh Halab*, 359, says al-Mujann rebelled against Ridwan of Aleppo, who had him and his children killed in 1097.

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5 William of Malmesbury, *The History of the Kings of England*, trans. J. Sharpe (London: W. Bulmer and Co., 1815), 432.

6 The most exhaustive work on the importance of Antioch in the Greco-Roman world is Glanville Downey, *A History of Antioch in Syria from Seleucus to the Arab Conquest* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961). On the Patriarchate of Antioch, see Rev. John Mason Neale, *A History of the Holy Eastern Church: The Patriarchate of Antioch* (London: Rivingtons, 1873). Among Latin sources on the Crusades, William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, trans. Emily Atwater Babcock and A.C. Krey, 1 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943), 1: 199-297, gives the most detailed description of the city and its capture by the Franks.

7 Ralph Bailey Yewdale, *Bohemond I, Prince of Antioch* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1924), 52.

8 Yewdale, *Bohemond I*, 52-53; Gustave Schlumberger, *Renaud de Chatillion* (Paris: Plon, 1923), 25-34; Lester Fields Sheffy, *The Use of the Holy Lance in the First Crusade*, M.A. thesis (University of Texas, 1915), 8-10. See Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum Qui Ceperunt Iherusalem*, trans. John Hill and Laurita L. Hill (Philadelphia The American Philosophical Society, 1968), 30.

9 *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, trans. Rosalind Hill as *The Deeds of the Franks and Other Pilgrims to Jerusalem* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1962), 28.

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10 Albert of Aachen, Albert of Aachen (Albertus Aquensis), *Liber Christianae Expeditionis pro Ereptione Emendatione et Restitutione Sanctae Hierosolymitanae Ecclesiae*, *R. H. C. Occ.* 4, 366; M. M. Knappen, "Robert II of Flanders in the First Crusade," in *The Crusades and Other Historical Essays Presented to Dana C. Munro*, Louis Paetow, ed. (New York: F. S. Crofts, 1928), 88-89; Ralph-Johannes Lilie, *Byzantine and the Crusader States 1096-1204* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 31-41.

11 Yewdale, *Bohemond I*, 54; Runciman, Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1964), 1: 217. For a detailed acount of the siege and capture of Antioch see John France, *Victory in the East: A Military History of the First Crusade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), Chapters 5-9.

12 Anna Comnena, *The Alexiad*, trans. Elizabeth A. Dawes (London: Rutledge & Kegan Paul, 1967), 153-154.

13 Ara Edmund Dostourian, trans., *The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1993; cited hereafter as Matthew of Edessa), 154. An Arabic source, Sayyid Ali al-Hariri, *Kitab al-Akhbar al-Saniyyafi al-Hurub al-Salibiyya* (Cairo: al-Matba'a al-Umawiyya, 1899-1900), 18, says Yaghi Siyan was the youngest son of the Seljuk Sultan Malikshah.

14 Imad al-Din al-Isfahani, *Tawarikh Al Seljuq*, abridged by al-Fath al-Bundari, ed. M. Th. Houtsma (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1889), 85. See Azimi, *Tarikh Halab*, 357.

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15 Azimi, *Tarikh Halab*, 359.

16 Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, 131-132 (39-40 of the English translation).

17 Qalanisi, *Dhay Tarikh Dimashq*, 134 (41 of the English translation).

18 Adim, *Zubdat*, 2: 131; Sa'id Abd al-Fattah Ashur, *al-Haraka al-Salibiyya*, 1 (Cairo: Maktabat al-Anglo-al-Misriyya, 1963): 189-190.

19 Matthew of Edessa, 154.

20 Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 1: 214-215.

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21 Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh*, *R. H .C. Or.*, 1 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1872), 192.

22 *Gesta Francorum*, 29.

23 Raymond of Aguilers, *The Deeds*, 32; Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 383.

24 Raymond of Aguilers, *The Deeds*, 32.

25 Raymond of Aguilers, *The Deeds*, 32; Epistle of Anselm of Ribemont, in H. Hagenmeyer, ed., *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus dem Jahren 1088-1100* (Innsbruck: Hildersheim, 1901), 145-146; Knappen, "Robert II," 89.

26 *Gesta Francorum*, 29; Peter Tudebode, *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere*, J. H. Hill and L. L. Hill, eds. (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1974), 44.

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27 A. C. Krey, *The First Crusade*, 291, n. 10.

28 *Gesta Francorum*, 30; Tudebode, *Historia*, 45.

29 Anselm of Ribemont, in Krey, 129.

30 *Gesta Francorum*, 30; Tudebode, *Historia*, 45.

31 *Gesta Francorum*, 32; Tudebode, *Historia*, 46.

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32 Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, 134 (42 of the English translation); Adim, *Zubdat*, 2: 130.

33 Raymond of Aguilers, *The Deeds*, 34.

34 *Gesta Francorum*, 31; Tudebode, *Historia*, 46; Adim, *Zubdat*, 2: 132; Husayn Muhammad Atiya, *al-Imara Antakiya al-Salibiyya wa al-Muslimun 1171-1286* (Alexandria: Dar al-Ma'rifa al-Jami'iyya, 1989), 115-117.

35 Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, 134, (43 of the English translation); Adim, *Zubdat*, 2: 132.

36 *Gesta Francorum*, 31; Tudebode, *Historia*, 46.

37 Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 375; Knappen, "Robert II," 89-90.

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38 *Gesta Francorum*, 33; Tudebode, *Historia*, 45; Guibert of Nogent, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, trans. Robert Levine as *The Deeds of God through the Franks* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997), 78-79; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 1: 222-223.

39 Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia*, 35.

40 Matthew of Edessa, 167.

41 Hagenmeyer, *Kreuzzugsbriefe*, 146-149; Runciman, *A History of The Crusades*, 1: 223.

42 Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 489.

43 R. Röhricht, *Geschichte des Ersten Kreuzzuges* (Innsbruck, 1901), 118, n. 3.

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44 *Gesta Francorum*, 33-34; Tudebode, *Historia*, 48-49; Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds*, 79-81. William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 267, names William the Carpenter but not Peter the Hermit as among the Franks who fled.

45 Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia*, 35.

46 Yewdale, *Bohemond I*, 55.

47 Bernhard Kugler, *Boemund und Tankred, Füersten von Antiochien* (Tubingen, 1862), 1-5.

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48 *Gesta Francorum*, 72; neither Raymond of Aguilers nor Peter Tudebode mentions the Franks' sending Hugh the Great to Constantinople. Ordericus Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of England and Normandy*, trans. Thomas Forester, 3 (New York: AMS Press, 1968), 149; also trans. Marjorie Chibnall, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, 5 (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1996), 129, likens Hugh the Great to the raven which Noah sent forth from the ark, but which did not return to him (Genesis, 8: 6-7). William of Malmesbury, 436, says Hugh the Great returned to France (instead of Antioch), "alleging as a reason the perpetual racking of his bowels."

49 F. Chalandon, *Essai sur la Règne d'Alexis Comnene 1081-1118* (Paris: A. Picard, 1900), 200-201, and *Histoire de la première croisade* (Paris: A. Picard, 1935), 193-195.

50 Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, 135, says that the Franks reneged on their pledge to the emperor, but wrongly says they did not return Nicaea to him. See Ashur, al-Haraka, 1: 195.

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51 Chalandon, *Essai sur la Regne*, 201-203, and by the same author, "The Early Comnena," in *The Cambridge Mediaeval History*, 4 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1923): 338.

52 *Gesta Francorum*, 34-35; Tudebode, *Historia*, 49-50; Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds*, 81-82, follows the account of the *Gesta Francorum*.

53 William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 219.

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54 Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia*, 36-37.

55 Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, 277-278.

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56 Yewdale, *Bohemond I*, 59-60.

57 Yewdale, *Bohemond I*, 60-61; Chalandon, *Essai sur le Regne*, 201-203.

58 Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, 290-291.

59 Ordericus Vitalis, trans. Forester, 3: 112, 134, and trans. Chibnall, 5: 77,107.

60 Runciman, *A History of The Crusades*, 1: 249-250. For more on the departure of Taticius see John France, "The Departure of Tatikios from the Crusade Army," *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 44 (1971): 137-147; Jonathan Shepard,

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"When Greek Meets Greek: Alexius Comnenus and Bohemond in 1097-98," *Byzantium and Modern Greek Studies* 12 (1988): 189; Lilie, *Byzantine and the Crusader States*, 31-34.

61 *Gesta Francorum*, 44-45.

62 Chalandon, *Histoire de la Premiere Croisade*, 190; Ashur, *al-Haraka*, 1: 197.

63 Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, 135-136 (p. 45 of the English translation). Fulcher of Chartres, *History*, 125, refers to al-Afdal, the son of Badr al-Din al-Jamali, as "Lavedalius".

64 Athir, *al-Kamil*, 1: 197-198; Muhammad ibn Ali ibn Muyyasir, *Muntakhabat Tarikh ibn Muyassar*, *R H. C. Or.* 3 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale), 462-465; Abu al-Muzaffar Yusuf ibn Kizoghlou (Sibt ibn al-Jawzi), *Mir'at al-Zaman fi Tarikh al-A'yan*, *R H. C. Or.* 3 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale), 518-519; Ibn Taghri Birdi, *al-Nujum al-Zahira*, *R H. C. Or.* 3 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale), 485-486. William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 393, says al-Afdal, whom he calls "Emireius," was an Armenian born of Christian parents. In fact al-Afdal's father, Badr al-Jamali, was an Armenian slave in the house of the Fatimid caliph.

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65 Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 382; William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 223-224; Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia*, 41.

66 Runciman, "The First Crusade: Antioch to Ascalon," *A History of the Crusades*, 1: 315-316.

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67 William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 325-326.

68 Azimi, *Tarikh Halab*, 359; Adim, *Zubdat*, 2: 132; William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 225.

69 Stephen of Blois, in a letter to his wife, gives the number of Muslim forces. He does not mention Harim by name but refers to a plain near the Iron Bridge on the Orontes River. See Krey, *The First Crusade*, 156, and the letter of Anselm of Ribemont to his Lord Manasses in Krey, 158.

70 Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia*, 40.

71 William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 227; Adim, *Zubdat*, 2: 132; *Gesta Francorum*, 32; Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 373-374, 398; Tudebode, *Historia*, 44.

72 Stephen of Blois, in Krey, 156.

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73 William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 227.

74 Fulcher of Chartres, *History*, 93-94, mistakenly says Yaghi Siyan sent his son Sanxado (Shams al-Dawla) to the sultan. Actually Shams al-Dawla was sent to Duqaq, the lord of Damascus. See Ryan, ed., *Fulcher of Chartres*, 94, n. 7.

75 See the letter of the clergy of Lucca in Hagenmeyer, *Die Kreuszzugsbriefe*, 165-167.

76 Runciman, *A History of The Crusades*, 1: 227-228, esp. n. 1; C. W. David, *Robert Curthose, Duke of Normandy*, Harvard Historical Studies 25 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1920), 236-237. As Edgar was in Scotland in the fall of 1097, he may have traveled to Constantinople separately and joined the fleet there.

77 Stephen of Blois, in a letter to his wife, cited in Krey, 157, says 1230 Turks were killed, while the Franks lost no one.

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78 *Gesta Francorum*, 42.

79 *Gesta Francorum*, 43; Tudebode, *Historia*, 53; Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 383-386; Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia*, 46; Anselm of Ribemont, in Krey, 159; Yewdale, *Bohemond I*, 64.

80 Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 1: 228.

81 *Gesta Francorum*, 43; Tudebode, *Historia*., 160; Ralph of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi*, *R. H. C. Occ.*, 3 (Paris: Farnborough, Hants, Gregg, 1866), 643; Kugler, *Albert von Aachen*, 80; Nicholson, *Tancred*, 62.

82 *Gesta Francorum*, 43^44; Tudebode, 60.

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83 Tudebode, *Historia*, 56-59.

84 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 587 (184F). Other sources put the number at 150,000. See Anthony F. Czajkowski, "The Siege of Antioch in the First Crusade," *The Historical Bulletin* 26 (May, 1948): 82. Azimi, *Tarikh Halab*, 359, says

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Kerbogha's army had 400,000 men.

85 Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, 283; Matthew of Edessa, 170. Raymond of Aguilers, *Patrologia Latina*, 155: 616-617, refers to Kerbogha as Corbaras. Hill and Hill, trans., Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia*, 49, give the name as Kerbogha. The Anonymous Edessan, 58 of the Syriac text, 71 of the English translation, 77 of the Arabic translation, also calls Kerbogha a great chief who came from the East to Edessa.

86 William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 245.

87 John Hugh Hill, Raymond IV, Count of Toulouse (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1962), 75. Henry Huntingdon calls him Corboran. See Henry of Huntingdon, The Chronicle of Henry of Huntingdon, T. Forester, trans. (London: Henry G. Bohm, 1853), 233.

88 Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 396-399; Matthew of Edessa, 170.

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89 The Anonymous Edessan, 58 of the Syriac text, 71 of the English, 77 of the Arabic.

90 William B. Stevenson, "The First Crusade," *The Cambridge Mediaeval History*, 5 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957), 292.

91 William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 246; Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 396-397.

92 John Hugh Hill and Laurita L. Hill, eds., Peter Tudebode, *Historia*, 61, n. 1, say Firuz was called Pirus, Pyrus, Pyrrhus, Firous, and other names; Huntingdon, *The Chronicle*, 232-233.

93 Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia*, 98.

94 Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia*, 98-99.

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95 *Gesta Francorum*, 44-45.

96 Raymond of Aguilers, *History*, 47-48; Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 401-406.

97 Ralph of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi*, 562.

98 Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds*, 90.

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99 William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 241-256, esp. 249-250.

100 William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 242, 254-256. H. von Sybel, *Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzugs* (Dusseldorf, 1841), 344-345, attributes the treachery of the Armenian renegade Firuz to his harsh treatment by Yaghi Siyan, but this idea seems without merit. Also untenable is the conjecture that Firuz was closely associated with Philaretus, the former governor of Antioch who lost the city to the Turks in 1084, and then collaborated with the Franks to regain the position he had lost when the Turks captured Antioch. See Ter-Grigorian Iskenderian (Galust), *Die Kreuzfahrer und ihre Beziehungen zu den armenischen Nachbarfürsten bis zum Untergange der Grafschaft Edessa* (Weide i.Th.: Druck von Thomas und Hubert, 1915), 34.

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101 Emily A. Babcock and A.C. Krey, eds., William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 241, n. 12.

102 Azimi, *Tarikh Halab*, 359.

102 Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, 136, and ed. Zakkar, 220-221 (44-45 of the English translation).

103 Adim, *Zubdat*, 2: 133-134; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 1: 231.

104 Athir, *al-Kamil*, 1:192.

105 Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, 277-279.

106 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 587 (184F).

107 The Anonymous Edessan, 59 of the Syriac text, 71 of the English translation.

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108 Gregorius Bar Hebraeus, *The Chronography of Bar Hebraeus*, E. W. Budge, trans. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1932), 82 of the Syriac text, 234 of the English translation.

109 Matthew of Edessa, 170.

110 *Gesta Francorum*, 46; Tudebode, *Historia*, 62-63; Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds*, 91-92.

111 Gesfa Francorum, 46; Peter Tudebode, *Historia*, 63.

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112 The Anonymous Edessan, 58 of the Syriac text, 71 of the English, 77 of the Arabic.

113 Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia*, 47-48.

114 *Gesta Francorum*, 47; Tudebode, *Historia*, 64.

115 Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 406-407; Ralph of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi*, 655; Yewdale, *Bohemond I*, 68; Huntingdon, *The Chronicle*, 233.

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116 Letter to the people of Lucca, in Hagenmeyer, *Die Kreuszzugsbriefe*, 165-167; David, *Robert Curthose*, 107, an. 85-86; Krey, *The First Crusade*, 161-162.

117 Ralph of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi*, 656; Nicholson, *Tancred*, 65, esp. n. 2, discusses at length the reasons for leaving Tancred out.

118 *Gesta Francorum*, 47-48.

119 Ralph of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi*, in *Patrologia Latina*, 155: 540.

120 Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia*, 99.

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121 Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia*, 48.

122 Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds*, 93.

123 William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 259.

124 Matthew of Edessa, 171.

125 Adim, *Zubdat al-Halab*, 2: 135.

126 Athir, *al-Kamil*, 1: 195; al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad Isma'il Abu al-Fida, *al-Mukhtasar fi Akhbar al-Bashar*, *R H. C. Or.*, 1 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1872) 3; Azimi, *Tarikh Halab*, 359, says that Yaghi Siyan fled and died from thirst.

127 Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, ed. Amedroz, 135, and ed. Zakkar, 220, and trans. Gibb, 44.

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128 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 587 (184F).

129 The Anonymous Edessan, 58 of the Syriac text, 71 of the English, 77 of the Arabic.

130 Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 82 of the Syriac text, 235 of the English translation.

131 *Gesta Francorum*, p. 63; Tudebode, *Historia*, 81. Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia*, 97, says only that Stephen returned home to France by sea. Huntingdon,

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The Chronicle, 234, says Stephen of Chartres deserted his friends with unmanly weakness.

132 Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 398; Ralph of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi*, 649.

133 William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 239-240.

134 William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 444.

135 Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia*, 97.

136 James A. Brundage, "An Errant Crusader: Stephen of Blois," *Traditio* 16 (1960): 386-388.

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137 Brundage, "An Errant Crusader," 389.

138 Runciman, *A History of The Crusades*, 1: 233.

139 Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 1: 232.

140 *Gesta Francorum*, 50; Tudebode, *Historia*, 65; Matthew of Edessa, 170.

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141 *Gesta Francorum*, 50; Tudebode, *Historia*, 66, esp. n. 21, where the editors examine the credibility of the dialogue between Shams al-Dawla and Kerbogha.

142 *Gesta Francorum*, 50-51; Tudebode, *Historia*, 67; Adim, *Zubdat*, 2: 136-137; Athir, *al-Kamil*, 1: 194.

143 *Gesta Francorum*, 51-52; Tudebode, *Historia*, 67-68, esp. n. 28.

144 Gesta Francomm, 52-53; Tudebode, *Historia*, 68. The author of the *Gesta Francorum* apparently supposes (wrongly of course) that the Muslims were polytheists.

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The mention of Apulia as a land Kerbogha intended to conquer suggests that the author, a follower of Bohemond, was probably born in southern Italy. See *Gesta Francorum*, p. 52, n. 4, and Tudebode, 68, nn. 33, 34. For more on the activities of Kerogha see Sulayman Sa'igh, *Tarikh al-Mawsil*, I (Cairo: al-Matba'a al-Salafiyya, 1923), 154,164-166.

145 *Gesta Francorum*, 53-56; Tudebode, *Historia*, 69-72, follows the *Gesta*.

146 Heinrich Hagenmeyer, ed., *Anonymi gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolymitanorum* (Heidelberg, 1890), 323, n. 1; Louis Brehier, ed., *Historia anonyme de la Premiere croisade* (1924),

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vi-vii; Hill and Hill, eds., Peter Tudebode, *Historia*, 69, n. 1.

147 Rosalind Hill, ed., *Gesta Francorum*, xv-xvi of the Introduction, and 52, n. 1.

148 Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia*, 48.

149 Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia*, 49.

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150 Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia*, 49; William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 262- 263.

151 Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia*, 49; Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 411-412; Knappen, "Robert II of Flanders in the First Crusade," 92.

152 Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia*, 57; Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 414- 415; William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 267.

153 *Gesta Francorum*, 57; Tudebode, *Historia*, 73.

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154 *Gesta Francorum*, 63; Tudebode, *Historia*, 81.

155 *Gesta Francorum*, 65; Tudebode, *Historia*, 83.

156 Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, 282-283.

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157 Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, 283-284.

158 *Gesta Francorum*, 57, does not give the priest's name. Tudebode, *Historia*, 74, identifies him as Stephen the priest. Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia*, 55, simply calls him Stephen and presents this event after Peter Bartholomew's vision of the Holy Lance, to be discussed in the next chapter.

159 *Gesta Francorum*, 58. Tudebode, *Historia*, 74-76, and Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia*, 55-57, provide slightly different accounts.

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160 *Gesta Francorum*, 59; Tudebode, *Historia*, 76; Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia*, 56, says the princes swore that they would never abandon Antioch, but does not mention Jerusalem.

161 *Gesta Francorum*, 62.

162 Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia*, 96.

163 Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds*, 103.

164 Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 414.

165 Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 412; John C. Andressohn, *The Ancestry and Life of Godfrey of Bouillon* (Bloomington, IN: University Publications, 1947), 83.

166 William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 266-272, esp. 271.

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167 Athir, *al-Kamil*, 1: 194; Adim, *Zubdat*, 2: 137.

168 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 587 (184F).

169 The Anonymous Edessan, 59 of the Syriac text, 72 of the English translation, 77-78 of the Arabic translation.

170 Baldric of Dol, *Historia Jherosolimitana*, *R. H. C. Occ.*, 4 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1879), 67; Sheffy, "The Use of the Holy Lance," 24.

Matti Moosa's

The Franks as Rulers

This material, which is presented solely for non-commercial educational/research purposes, appears as Chapter 14 in Dr. Moosa's *Crusades: Conflict Between Christendom and Islam* (Piscataway, NJ., 2008) pp. 477-532.

Footnotes

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Before 1097, the East was plagued by constant warfare involving the Syrians, Armenians, Arabs, and Turks; friction among these groups was an accepted part of life, though some cities were relatively peaceful (1). The Franks' arrival and military successes added more friction to an already turbulent area. It is an oversimplification to maintain, as some modern Muslim writers do, that the Franks were imperialists who seized the lands of the East, molested their people (especially Muslims), and destroyed their way of life. The Muslim Turks, who had taken control of the Byzantine territory of Asia Minor in the eleventh century, fought against one another and against their fellow Muslims, the Kurds, for self-interest, power and domination. To maintain their political power, some Turkish rulers even allied themselves with the Franks against other Turks.

Although the Franks committed atrocities against the Muslims and treated them badly, their conduct was no worse than that of the Muslims against the Christians. The Crusaders killed many Muslims *en route* to Jerusalem, and when they captured it in 1099 they massacred some 30,000 more (2). They also killed many Muslims at Caesarea in 1101, at Tortosa the next year, at Acre in 1104 (where the English killed 300 Muslims in 1119), and at Tripoli in 1109, when the Genoese spared only those Muslims who were protected by the Frankish king (3). Nevertheless, the Franks' dominance in the East (Levant) was brief and precarious. They were a minority, a tiny speck in a sea of Muslims, and their numbers remained low because there [478] were few Frankish pilgrims coming to the East. In these circumstances they were vulnerable and had to rely on the indigenous Christians, mostly Armenians, to preserve their shaky rule. Had it not been for the deep-rooted dissension among the Muslim rulers in Syria, the Franks would have been hard pressed to maintain a stable existence for nearly 193 years, from the occupation of Antioch in 1098 to the fall of Acre in 1291. They ruled in Antioch from 1098 to 1268, in Jerusalem from 1099 to 1178 and again from 1229 to 1244, in Nabulus from 1099 to 1187, in Caesarea from 1101 to 1187, and in Tyre from 1124 to 1292 (4).

Only recently has some fragmentary evidence about the life of Muslims in the East during this period come to light, not enough to provide a comprehensive and accurate picture of their life under Frankish rule (5). The Muslim chronicler Hamdan ibn Abd al-Rahim al-Atharbi (1071-1147/8), who lived in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, was perhaps the person best qualified to write about the Muslims under Frankish rule; he had a remarkable career under both Frankish and Muslim rulers. Sadly, only fragments of his chronicle survive (6). Diya al-Din ibn Abd al-Wahid al-Muqaddasi (1173-1245) wrote a short account of the flight of Muslim Hanbali peasants from Nabulus to Damascus from the 1150's on, but it pertains only to a small minority and does not offer a full picture of what happened to the Muslims in those areas (7). In the Kingdom of Jerusalem there were apparently many Muslims, mostly peasants, who lived in peace under Frankish rule. The [479] Frankish chronicler Ernoul says that when Thoros, lord of Armenia (Thoros II, lord of Cilicia 1152-1168), visited Jerusalem in the mid-1160's, Saracens lived in all the villages in the Frankish kingdom, and he urged Amalric I (king of Jerusalem, 1163-1174) to evict the Muslims from his kingdom and resettle it with 30,000 Armenian warriors in order to defend his realm (8). There is no evidence that King Amalric accepted this advice, and the incident is not reported by any other source. As the Franks settled the lands they had conquered and established their own principalities, their treatment of their Muslim subjects became more lenient. The evidence suggests that the condition of Muslims in the Latin state of Jerusalem was far better than that of Muslims in their own

lands. Fulcher of Chartres wrote in 1125 that confidence reconciles the strangest races, perhaps referring to the peaceful condition of the diverse peoples living under the Franks' rule.

Like many of their Syrian Christian neighbors, the Muslims engaged in farming. The Spanish Muslim traveler Ibn Jubayr (1144-1217), who traveled in a caravan from Tibnin to Akka (Acre) in 1184-1185, reports that the Muslim peasants lived in peace and were very little imposed upon by the Franks. They even owned their own homes. Like the Syrian Christians, however, they paid the Frankish landowners taxes, whether in cash or in kind (mainly fruits), in return for the use of the land. Ibn Jubayr says the condition of these Muslims was so much better than that of their coreligionists in neighboring Muslim countries that he fears they might be enticed to convert to Christianity. He stresses the fact that in the coastal region of Syria, the Muslims owned the land where they lived and worked. He and the men in his caravan were invited to a banquet by the Muslim village headman, the steward of the Frankish lord, and spent a night being beautifully entertained by their host. Ibn Jubayr adds that all business operations were conducted in the divan at Akka with courtesy and gentility, with no force threatened and no surcharge imposed (9). We learn from al-Muqaddasi that some Hanbali Muslims attended the mosque of the village of Jamma'il to perform the Friday prayer and listen to the *khutba* (sermon) (10). The [480] inhabitants of the Kingdom of Jerusalem were heterogeneous, at least in religion. There were Christians of many denominations, Jews, and Muslims of diverse ethnic origin and religious affiliation. They seem to have had little religious friction or animosity. Yet these facts do not negate the fact that some Frankish leaders mistreated both Muslim and non-Muslim natives. Reginald of Chatillon's intercepting and robbing Muslim caravans and Joscelin II's looting of the Syrian Monastery of St. Barsoum are two cases in point. But the Muslims, especially the Turks, acted the same as the Franks, killing, ravaging and extorting the native Christians.

Since the Franks relied heavily on the Christian natives, especially the Armenians, who were the majority of the inhabitants of northern Syria and particularly of Edessa, the center of the Frankish principality, it is imperative to understand whether the Franks' treatment of them contributed to the weakness of their kingdom, which led ultimately to the loss of Jerusalem. How did the Franks treat the Syrians and the Armenians, who formed the bulk of the Christian population in Syria? The Franks not only were of a different race but also held differing theological views. Yet these Christians overlooked their differences, mindful that they were fighting a common enemy, the Muslims. When Baldwin of Boulogne became lord of Edessa (1098-1100), he ingratiated himself with the Armenian population by taking an Armenian wife, but he aroused their enmity when he tried to convert Edessa into a Latin city; as king of Jerusalem, however, he made the same error by trying to make his kingdom a vassal of the pope.

Faced with a population shortage, King Baldwin brought Syrian Christians from Transjordan and settled them in Jerusalem. Once they were there, they began to build churches, including those named for St. Abraham, St. Mary Magdalene, St. Jacob near the Holy Sepulcher of the Syrian Orthodox (Jacobites), St. Elias, and St. Saba, near David's tower (11). But their conditions and relations with the Franks were not always favorable. Needing their support, Baldwin showed tolerance and allowed them to restore their churches, yet as a follower of the Church of Rome he tried to establish the authority of the pope in the East. Michael Rabo says that after they captured Antioch, the Franks usurped the churches of the Greeks (Byzantines) [481] and expelled their clergy, then installed their own patriarch and bishops for most of the cities of Syria (12). Why should have they done this, unless they intended to establish the authority of the pope in Syria? But later Michael Rabo is more positive about the Franks' treatment of other Christians, especially those of his own communion. He compares them with the Byzantines to show how badly the latter had treated his own (Syrian) church and people. Around 1112, under Emperor Alexius Comnenus, he says, the affairs of his church were fairly peaceful because the "Chalcedonian Greeks were besieged in the Sea of Pontus (the Black Sea) by the sons of Magog (the Turks)." Thus engaged, they had no time to persecute the (Syrian) Orthodox as they had done previously, but while they were still under siege, the Byzantines kept using the Syrians of their own communion to coax the non-Chalcedonian Syrians to embrace their faith. He says the priests and shepherds of his church were kept safe from harm by the Franks, who controlled Antioch and Jerusalem. But the Franks did not oppress the Chalcedonian Syrians (or Rum Orthodox), despite their differences with them on some doctrinal issues, especially the doctrine of the *filioque*, and other traditions. Michael's optimism reaches a high pitch when he praises the Franks for their amicable attitude toward their fellow Christians: "To the Franks, all Christians were one although they spoke different

languages. They considered every one who worshiped the Cross as a Christian without argument or disputation" (13).

Michael Rabo's apparent benevolence toward the Franks should be understood as referring to their activities when they had newly arrived on Byzantine soil. After they established a foothold and founded principalities in Antioch, Tripoli and Edessa, and a kingdom in Jerusalem, some of their princes plainly were interested in protecting their own territorial and political interests rather than the well-being of the native Syrian and Armenian Christians. They installed a Latin patriarch, one of their own, and ordained bishops for the cities of Tarsus, al-Missisa (Mopsuestia, Mamistra, Misis), Edessa, Manbij, Afamiya, Tripoli and Laodicia (Latakia). They chose bishops in Cyrrhus, Jabala, Mar'ash (Germanicia), and Harim. Their new [482] patriarch of Jerusalem ordained bishops for Bethlehem, Hebron, Samaria, Yafa (Jaffa, Joppa), Nazareth, Caesarea, and Beirut, and after they captured Sidon, they chose a bishop for it as well (14). The contention between Rome and Constantinople over the control of Christendom in the East is beyond this study. Still, it is clear that the Franks intended to establish their own religious tradition of "papal supremacy" and cooperate with the native Christians, especially the Armenians, whose assistance far exceeded that of the Maronites of the Mountain of Lebanon.

William of Tyre, the earliest Latin source on this point, discusses the assistance given the Crusaders by the Maronites, who he says were Monothelite heretics who were restored to the Orthodox faith, i.e., that of the Church of Rome, by Aimery (Amalric), the third Latin patriarch to preside over the Church of Antioch. He describes these people, whose number is estimated at over 40,000, as a stalwart race of valiant fighters who gave great service to the Christians in the difficult engagements they frequently had with the enemy. He joyfully reports their conversion to the Catholic faith, but says nothing about intermarriage between them and the Crusaders (15). Jacques de Vitry, the thirteenth-century bishop of Acre and later of Jerusalem, also discusses the Maronites, saying they were called by this name after their teacher, one Maro (Marun), a heretic who taught that Christ had only one will and one energy (Monothelitism). De Vitry, apparently relying on the history of William of Tyre, says these Maronites professed the Catholic faith in the presence of Amalric, Latin Patriarch of Antioch (16). The truth is that the Maronites did not become adherents to the faith of the Church of Rome until the late sixteenth century (17). They gave less support to the Franks than other Syrian and Armenian groups. They were confined to their homeland in the Mountain of Lebanon, while other Syrians and Armenians, who made up the bulk of the Christian population of Greater Syria, stretched from Edessa in the north to the farthest point of [483] Palestine. Thus, it is not surprising that the Muslims' main target was not Jerusalem but Edessa, the first Frankish principality in northern Syria, with the largest population of Armenians and Syrians.

The Franks were not so benevolent toward the native Christians as Michael Rabo suggests, and in some cases treated them badly. Matthew of Edessa reports such ill treatment in 1101-1102, early in the rule of Baldwin I of Boulogne (brother of Godfrey of Bouillon), and expresses utter disgust at the Franks' conduct and mistreatment of other Christians. He says they had abandoned religious righteousness and wallowed in sin. He especially berates the sinful acts of their clergy, who ministered in the holy church in Jerusalem, and is outraged because they appointed women to serve at the Holy Sepulcher and all the monasteries in Jerusalem, saying, "all these were very great sins in the eyes of God." Moreover, the Franks were so audacious as to expel the Armenians, Byzantines, Syrians and Georgians from all the monasteries. But when they saw the enormity of their deeds, they removed the women from service in the monasteries and restored these Christians to their duties (18).

Baldwin II of Le Bourg succeeded his relative Baldwin of Bolougne as the ruler of Edessa in 1100. William of Tyre, noting that he was surnamed Aculeus ("sharp" or "pointed"), praises him for his noble birth and character, but chiefly for his loyalty and great experience in military affairs (19). Matthew of Edessa extols him as one of the more illustrious of the Franks. He was valiant, a great warrior, a man of exemplary conduct who loathed sin, yet was humble and modest. Unfortunately, these excellent qualities were overshadowed by his avarice and his insatiable love of wealth, coupled with a lack of generosity. Yet he was very orthodox in his faith, and "his ethical conduct and basic character were quite solid " (20). Today one might truly call him schizophrenic.

Baldwin of Le Bourg tried to strengthen his position in Edessa by seeking the allegiance of the Armenians and offering them better treatment than his predecessor. He showed political sagacity by establishing amicable relations with the Armenian Church and its clerics (21). To show his desire to [484] unify the native Christians, he married Morphia, daughter of Gabriel, the Armenian governor of Melitene, a vassal to the governor of Edessa

(22). The Armenians in turn joined forces with Baldwin against the Turks, and when he fought the battle of Harran (Balikh) against Shams al-Dawla Jekermish (Chokurmish), Turkish lord of Mosul, and Sukman ibn Artuk, Turkish lord of Mardin, on May 7, 1104, most of the casualties were Armenians. He also supported the Syrian Bishop Abu Ghalib Bar Sabuni, who had rebelled against the authority of his own patriarch (23).

Baldwin also was pleased to have strong support from his cousin, Joscelin I of Courtenay, who along with Harpin, viscount of Bourges, had joined the Crusades in 1101 under the banner of Stephen of Blois (24). As Joscelin had neither lands nor wealth, Baldwin in 1102 conferred upon him an extensive part of the county of Edessa west of the Euphrates, containing such cities as Coritium (Cyrrhus, Qurush), Aintab, Turbessel (Tall Bashir), Ravendan (Rawandan) and Duluk, in the hope that "he may not be compelled to turn to a stranger to earn a livelihood" (25). William of Tyre extols Joscelin for his wisdom, temperance, and most of all his sagacity and earnest care in administering the lands Baldwin granted to him (26). He became to all intents and purposes Baldwin's second in command in the county of Edessa, which was perfectly situated as a buffer between the Seljuk lords of Aleppo and Khurasan, who still threatened his principality.

No sooner had Joscelin became lord of Edessa than the Artukid Sukman, lord of Hisn Kifa, attacked the city of Saruj, some fifteen miles southwest of Edessa, which had been under the authority of Sukman's nephew Nur al-Dawla Belek. Saruj was rich and populous, with many [485] Muslims and Christians, including many merchants. Its rich plain was also home to many villages. While Baldwin of Boulogne still ruled Edessa, the Armenians living on the banks of the Euphrates had placed themselves at the Franks' disposal and harried Saruj. Belek, realizing that Saruj could not survive in the midst of Christian lands, sent envoys, offering to surrender the city to Baldwin if the Franks would not harass the Turks any more. Baldwin agreed and named Fulcher of Chartres (not to be confused with the historian of the same name) as governor of Saruj. But Fulcher did not honor the terms of the covenant Belek and Baldwin had made. He arrested Ubayd, the Muslim administrator of Saruj, along with his brother and members of his clan, and exacted from them enormous amounts of gold, thereby becoming rich and powerful (27).

When Mu'in al-Dawla Sukman heard that the Franks had captured Saruj, he raised a great army and besieged it, relying on some Muslims in the town. Learning of this, Baldwin of Le Bourg went out with Fulcher to fight him. In a violent battle in January 1101, the Franks were thoroughly defeated, and Fulcher was killed (according to Matthew of Edessa) or captured (according to the Anonymous Edessan). The Turks took Saruj except for the citadel, where its Latin bishop Papios and some soldiers took refuge. Baldwin and three of his men barely escaped to the citadel, and some leading citizens went there and brought him back to the city. A few days later, Baldwin went to Antioch to appeal to Tancred for help. The Turks kept attacking the citadel, forcing the city's inhabitants to reach an agreement with the Turks (28). Twenty-five days later, Baldwin returned with reinforcements, 600 horsemen and 700 infantry, and engaged the Turks in battle in early February 1101. Seeing the Franks' great force, the Turks weakened and many of them fled. Baldwin carried the day and entered Saruj, killing many Muslim inhabitants and taking others captive, including women. Antioch and all the lands under the control of the Franks were filled with captives, says Matthew, while the city of Saruj flowed with blood (29). The Anonymous Edessan says the Muslims in Saruj, sorely afraid and believing [486] the Christians would show them no mercy, locked the gates and manned the wall, waiting for an army of Turks to help them. The Franks urged them to stop this obstinacy and promised not to annihilate them. When they would not listen, the Franks announced that every Christian in the town should wear the badge of the cross. Then they roared like lions and jumped from the citadel into the town. Like butchers, they slaughtered thousands, even tens of thousands of people, as the Christians huddled miserably around the citadel for survival (30). Encouraged by this victory, Baldwin conducted an expedition in September-October 1103 against the Artukids of Mardin. He slaughtered the Turks and led their lord Uulgh-Salar and many other men and women to Edessa as captives, along with a great amount of booty, including flocks of sheep and thousands of horses, cattle, and camels (31). In November 1103, he invaded the towns of Ja'bar and al-Raqqa, which were under the authority of Salim ibn Malik of the Bani Uqayl, captured a great number of cattle, and took many people captive (32).

The Anonymous Edessan alone among the Eastern sources reports an attack on Edessa by Shams al-Dawla Jekermish, the Turkish lord of Mosul, before the battle of Harran. He says that when Jekermish learned the Franks had captured Saruj, he went with a great army to fight them. As the Turks approached Edessa, the

Frankish garrison went out to fight them outside the city's east gate. Many foolish Edessans, grabbing their shields and swords, boldly went out to fight the Turks. Seeing them in disarray, the Turks retreated a little, giving them an opportunity to advance. As they approached the plain, the Turks cheered one another on, then eagerly leapt on them from every side. The Edessans fled but found the city gates closed; turning back, they could not reach the bridge over the moat, and many fell in. The Turks slaughtered them; the moat was filled with corpses, and the water flowed with blood. Having burned the countryside and laid it to waste, Jekermish departed (33).

Despite this incident the Franks still had the advantage, even though the Turks had greater numbers and controlled the whole region from Mosul to the gates of Edessa and Antioch. The Turks suffered from pernicious dissension. From 1098 to 1104 two brothers, Berkyaruk and Muhammad, were engaged in a struggle for control of the Seljuk state. In 1098, [487] Muhammad was hailed in Baghdad as Sultan Ghiyath al-Din Muhammad. Later Berkyaruk replaced him and was proclaimed sultan, receiving a precious gift from the Abbasid caliph, merely a puppet of the Seljuks. Soon Muhammad gained the upper hand, expelled Berkyaruk, and once more was proclaimed sultan in Baghdad. Ibn al-Athir laments that because of their power struggle, corruption prevailed, properties were looted, blood was shed, and the country lay in ruins (34). There was another struggle for control of Mosul. Before his death in 1102, Qiwam al-Dawla Kerbogha, the Turkish governor of Mosul, had given instructions that one of his men, Sankarja, should succeed him. But another of Kerbogha's supporters, Musa, killed Sankarja and became lord of Mosul as the deputy of Sultan Berkyaruk. He was soon challenged by Jekermish, who had already seized Nisibin and now coveted Mosul. Musa appealed to Sukman, the son of Artuk, offering the fortress of Hisn Kipha and 10,000 dinars for his help. But he was killed by Jekermish's pages at the village of Kratha as he went out to welcome Sukman. Jekermish marched against Mosul and, after a siege of several days, made peace with the inhabitants and became lord of the city (35).

Yet the Franks' situation remained precarious, especially in Edessa, and it was made worse by a horrendous defeat at Harran in 1104. Four years earlier, they had been challenged and humiliated by the Turks in a battle for the city of Melitene, then governed by the Armenian Gabriel. The citizens hated Gabriel not only because he had abandoned the "monophysite" faith, but also because he had oppressed the poor people in and around Melitene more cruelly than the Turks (36). After the Franks captured Edessa, Gabriel tried to help them take control of Melitene, where a group of Armenians had ruled some areas since the time of Pilardos (Philaretus). As the Danishmends' attacks against Melitene intensified, Gabriel asked Bohemond I of Taranto, prince of Antioch, to save him and his city. (He had already promised three times to deliver the city to the Franks.) As evidence of mutual interest between himself and the Franks, he offered his daughter Morphia in marriage to Bohemond, with Melitene as her dowry (she eventually married Baldwin of Le Bourg, count of Edessa and later king of Jerusalem) (37). Bohemond was confident he would be able to capture Melitene, but when he reached the area under the Armenians' control, they [488] double-crossed him and appealed to Malik Ghazi Gumushtigin ibn Danishmend (ruled 1097-1104) for help. Michael Rabo says Gabriel suspected that if Bohemond captured Melitene, his rule over the city would end. When Bohemond reached the town of Jafna, *en route* to Melitene, Gabriel would not let him enter. He continued to stall until the Danishmends arrived, set up ambushes against Bohemond, and in July 1100 captured him and Richard of the Principate, who was in his company (38).

Matthew of Edessa blames Bohemond's defeat and capture on negligence, saying that he and Richard went to meet the Muslims without appropriate precautions. Their troops had laid down their weapons and donned women's clothing to look like captives, but the deception failed and they were defeated by Ibn Danishmend (39). Through Gabriel's treachery the Turks established a stronger foothold in his domain. Malik Ghazi ibn Danishmend sent Bohemond to Sebastea, then laid siege to Melitene; he finally entered the city on Wednesday, September 18, 1102, and plundered it (40). He forbade the killing of any person, declaring the people were his share of the victory, and returned them to their homes. He brought bread, oxen, and other necessities from his country and offered them to the people, and they were satisfied. He appointed for them a governor named Basiligh (Basil, Vasilag in Armenian), a just and upright man. Bar Hebraeus says Ibn Danishmend transferred Bohemond from Sebastea to Melitene and sold him (he does not say to whom) for 100,000 dinars (41). Matthew of Edessa says [489] when Baldwin of Le Bourg and the Franks in Antioch heard of Bohemond's defeat, they pursued Ibn Danishmend, but he took Bohemond and Richard to Pontic Neocaesarea (Niksar) in chains (42). Meanwhile, the Lombards, having heard of the capture of Bohemond while they were in Constantinople, wanted

to secure his release and conquer his captors, but they were dissuaded from this foolhardy venture by Stephen of Blois, Raymond of Saint-Gilles, and Emperor Alexius (43).

Ibn al-Athir says seven Frankish counts sought to save Bohemond. They came to a citadel called Angoria (present day Ankara), captured it, and killed the Muslims there. They proceeded to another citadel controlled by Isma'il ibn Danishmend and besieged it. The Franks, whose number he puts at 300,000, were ambushed and massacred, except for 3,000 who were wounded but managed to escape by night (44). Ordericus Vitalis says that Emperor Alexius was filled with joy on learning that the Danishmend Turks had captured Bohemond, who he believed had wrongfully taken Antioch from him. He sent envoys with rich gifts to Ibn Danishmend, urging him to send Bohemond to Constantinople for a ransom of 100,000 dinars. But Malik Ghazi ibn Danishmend refused to release the man the Turks called "the little God of the Christians" (45). Bohemond was eventually released in May 1103, when Kogh Vasil, Baldwin of Le Bourg, and Bernard, the Latin patriarch of Antioch, paid his ransom (46). Matthew of Edessa says that Bohemond was ransomed for 100,000 dahekans and released through the effort of Kogh Vasil, who donated 10,000 dahekans and collected the rest from throughout his territory, while Tancred contributed nothing. After Bohemond was released, Kogh Vasil received him at his palace with great honor. He gave Bohemond and those who had brought him gifts worth 20,000 dahekans, and shortly before he left for Antioch, Bohemond took a [490] solemn oath and became an adopted son of the Armenian prince (47). The Anonymous Edessan says that Bohemond was ransomed for a large quantity of gold and returned to Antioch. Surprisingly, although Tancred had done nothing to help secure his release, Bohemond appointed his nephew as governor of Antioch and then sailed home, where he died (48).

Ordericus Vitalis presents a rather fantastic legend about Bohemond's release not found in other sources. He says the news of Bohemond's capture by the pagans spread all over the world. All Christendom mourned for him, and even the pagans paid him honor in his prison cell. Prayers were offered by the church to deliver him from the hands of his enemies. As in the Old Testament God had delivered Abraham, Joseph, Tobias, Daniel, and others from their captors, He would deliver Bohemond. Moreover, as the apostles and preachers were persecuted and suffered injuries when they arrived as beggars in foreign lands but were protected by God, so He would miraculously save Bohemond from captivity. The miracle was performed by Melaz, the daughter of Ibn Danishmend. Beautiful, wise, and rich, she had great influence in her father's house. Melaz admired the Franks and wanted to help Bohemond. She bribed the dungeon guards and descended to talk with the captives about the Christian faith while her father, busy with other matters, paid little attention. Melaz told the captives that she had heard about the Franks' vaunted chivalry and wanted to experience it. Bohemond responded that if she would let them go with her to the battlefield, they would show her how skillfully they could handle the sword and the lance. She agreed, but only after having Bohemond swear by his Christian faith to obey her orders. She said she would summon all the guards, and the captives were to overwhelm them and cast them into the dungeon. They then went out to the battlefield to aid Ibn Danishmend, who was engaged in a ferocious battle with Sultan Kilij Arslan.

After Kilij Arslan was defeated, the Frankish captives returned to their dungeon as they had promised. Despite the victory Melaz's father, irate because she had consorted with the Christians, called her a shameless harlot. But Melaz successfully entreated her father to free the captives. Ibn Danishmend spoke with Bohemond about making peace, promised to release [491] the captives, and even offered his daughter in marriage. Bohemond and his companions, including Richard of the Principate, went with Melaz to Antioch, where she was baptized and converted to Christianity. Bohemond told her that he could not marry her because he was at war with Alexius, the Byzantine emperor, adding that he had endured many trials and feared that still greater trials awaited him. He told her there were many men better and more handsome than he, and she should choose one of them as a husband. He suggested Roger, the son of Richard of the Principate, and Melaz accepted his advice and married him (49). A wedding banquet was prepared, at which Bohemond served as a steward. Ordericus Vitalis closes by noting that after Bohemond and Tancred died (in 1111 and 1112, respectively), Roger became ruler of the principality of Antioch but was killed two years later by the Persian Ilghazi (50).

Far more than Antioch and the Kingdom of Jerusalem, the principality of Edessa was conscious of its relations with the Seljuk Turks. Baldwin of Le Bourg realized that the very existence of his domain depended on controlling as much Turkish territory as he could. The city of Harran, fourteen miles southeast of Edessa, was of

vital importance. Between Edessa and Harran flowed a river whose waters irrigated the adjacent plain, producing abundant crops. By long-standing tradition, everything that grew on one side of the river belonged to Harran, while whatever grew on the opposite side belonged to Edessa. Baldwin intended to lay claim to all the crops that belonged to Harran, to secure sufficient provisions for his own people. He constantly attacked Harran, not realizing that his attacks depleted the city's [492] resources. For many years he prevented its citizens from cultivating their fields, and their lack of food caused them great stress. He may have thought that a lack of provisions would make Harran a cold prey for him and the other Frankish leaders (51). Moreover, Harran suffered because several ambitious Turks, taking advantage of the city's desperate situation, were involved in a power struggle. Qaraja, one of the mamluks of Sultan Malikshah (d. 1092), had ruled Harran tyrannically since 1103, incurring the hatred of the citizens. While he was out of the city one of his men, Muhammad al-Isfahani, took it over, with popular support. But in the spring of 1104, al-Isfahani (reportedly while drunk) was killed by Chavli Saqaveh, one of Qaraja's men, who declared himself governor of Harran (52).

It was at this time that Baldwin of Le Bourg, Joscelin I of Courtenay, Bohemond, and Tancred laid siege to Harran. They were joined by three leading clerics—Bernard of Valence, the patriarch of Jerusalem, Benedict, archbishop of Edessa, and Daimbert, the former patriarch of Jerusalem, then living in Antioch under Bohemond's protection (53). The Franks' leaders brought in all the Armenian troops (most were apparently from the county of Edessa, an indication that Baldwin relied heavily on them) and thus formed a formidable army (54). Their move against Harran apparently alerted the squabbling Turkish lords in the region to the impending danger. Putting their animosity aside, two powerful Turkish lords, Shams al-Dawla Jekermish of Mosul and Mu'in al-Dawla Sukman ibn Artuk of Mardin and Hisn Kipha, agreed to discuss the rescue of Harran in order to please Allah and receive his reward. They met at Ras al-Ayn on the Khabur river, and as a result of their rapprochement they raised a substantial army. Seven thousand Turks under Sukman and 3,000 Turks, Kurds, and Arabs led by Jekermish marched against the Franks in the spring of 1104 (55).

[493] When the Frankish forces laid siege to Harran the inhabitants, suffering from lack of food, waited for the Muslim forces, but they were delayed. As the pressure of famine increased and hope of relief by the Muslim lords appeared futile, the townspeople held counsel and decided to surrender the city rather than have it captured and destroyed. They went forth and surrendered unconditionally to the Franks. Michael Rabo says the citizens of Harran welcomed the Franks and handed them the keys to the city, but Baldwin of Le Bourg refused to accept them, fearing his men would enter the city and devastate it. His action intensified the quarreling among the Frankish leaders (56). A dispute arose between Bohemond and Baldwin over which of them should receive the city first and whose standard should lead the way into the city. Consequently, the surrender was deferred to the next day. Meanwhile, the Muslim forces under Sukman and Jekermish, supplied with ample provisions, arrived near the city. Shrewdly, the Muslim leaders devised a plan to divide their troops into two contingents. One group was to engage the Franks and keep them busy, irrespective of the outcome, allowing the other to deliver food supplies to the beleaguered city. The Muslim leaders had little hope of achieving military success or even putting up a show of strength. Their main purpose was to rescue the townspeople from starving to death (57).

Soon after daybreak on May 7, 1104, the two sides engaged in a violent battle at Nahr al-Balikh (the Balikh river), and the Muslims carried the day. Baldwin of Le Bourg, Joscelin I of Courtenay, and Archbishop Benedict of Edessa were taken captive, and Tancred and Bohemond barely escaped with their lives to Edessa. Benedict was rescued, perhaps by his jailer, reportedly a Christian renegade (58). The Muslims built a mosque on the spot [494] where the battle was fought, called Bayt Ibrahim [Abraham's House] (59). It is hard to estimate the losses on both sides, since the sources do not agree on this point (60). The victory encouraged the Muslim inhabitants of Harran to vent their vengeance on the Christians of Edessa, causing them much sorrow (61). William of Tyre laments, "Never during the rule of the Latins in the East, whether before or after this event, do we read of a battle so disastrous as this one, which resulted in so terrible a massacre of brave men and so disgraceful a flight of the people of our race" (62). Ibn al-Qalanisi sees in the Franks' defeat at Harran a victory for the Muslims and Islam. He says the Franks' determination flagged, while that of the Muslims sharpened "to support religion, fight the *mulhidin* [heretical Christians], and spread the glad tidings of their victory" (63).

The Franks' defeat at Harran not only doomed the county of Edessa but had a profound effect on their position in the East. It destroyed the legend that they were invincible and ruined any chance they might have had to expand

eastward and capture Baghdad, the seat of the caliphate. It kept Bohemond from expanding the principality of Antioch at the Muslims' expense and offered Ridwan, lord of Aleppo, a chance to exact his revenge on Antioch (64). It also revived the hopes of Emperor Alexius for the weakening of the Franks, allowing him to regain the towns they had captured which belonged to his empire (65). Bohemond and Tancred fled to Edessa and tried to reorganize their forces. But the tragedy of defeat seems to have turned into a blessing for Tancred. The knights, Archbishop Benedict, and the leading citizens of Edessa asked him to assume the regency of the city until Baldwin was released from captivity. He quickly accepted the offer, while Bohemond returned to Antioch and put the possessions of Joscelin I of Tall Bashir under his protection. Shortly afterwards Jekermish, the lord of Mosul, marched against Edessa with a great force and pitched camp outside [495] the city on the plain, which was covered with the Turks' tents. Tancred, now in charge of Edessa, had only a small Frankish force (66). He called on the city's Armenians to face the Turkish threat, and they rallied around him enthusiastically. He appealed to Bohemond to come quickly to his aid, since he could not face the Turks alone. Although Ridwan attacked Antioch, Bohemond marshaled an army of 300 cavalry and 500 foot soldiers. He headed for Edessa, but saw it would take him a week to get there. When Tancred learned that Bohemond's aid would be delayed, he urged the people of Edessa to fight to the death. Filled with spirit, they conducted a surprise raid against the Turks, who were tired (and perhaps had too much to drink). Tancred's mostly Armenian force took the Turks by the sword, and just then Bohemond arrived with his force and joined in the rout. Defeated, Jekermish returned to Mosul while Tancred concentrated on reinforcing Edessa (67).

But when Bohemond returned to Antioch, he faced a new threat; although Ridwan had not participated in the battle of Harran, he waited with his army near the Euphrates to see the outcome. On learning of the Franks' defeat, he hastened to rebuild the towns and fortresses near Aleppo. The Franks had treated the Armenian residents of some of the nearby towns badly, inspiring them to shake off their tyranny. In June 1104 the Armenian citizens of Artah surrendered to the Muslims, and the towns of Ma'arrat Misrin and Sarmin soon followed suit. Meanwhile Shams al-Khawas, lord of Rafaniya, rebuilt the fortress of Suran, east of Shayzar. He also conquered Latmin, Albara, Ma'arrat al-Nu'man, and Kafartab, whose inhabitants fled to Antioch, and delivered all these towns to Ridwan. Only the fortress of Hab remained in Christian hands. Thus the principality of Antioch, which once had extended almost to Aleppo, shrunk greatly (68).

Bohemond, who had his hands full fighting the Turks, also had to deal with the Byzantines. Emperor Alexius demanded that the Franks hand over the towns they had liberated from the Turks, reminding them of the oath [496] they had sworn to him. When Bohemond refused, Alexius resorted to force and sent his fleet, commanded by Contacuzenus, to Laodicea to challenge him. Contacuzenus laid siege to the city, occupying the harbor, and immediately erected a citadel and chain of towers to keep the Franks' ships from leaving or entering. With Laodicea under siege, he tried to recover the fortresses of Argyrocastron, M'Arqab, and Gabala, which had formerly paid tribute to the Muslims, extending up to the border with Tripoli. Alexius had also sent a land force under Monastras, but before it reached Laodicea, Contacuzenus captured the harbor, although the citadel was still held by a Frankish force of 500 foot soldiers and 100 horsemen. Alarmed, Bohemond took his remaining men and hurried to Laodicea, where he had a futile meeting with Contacuzenus. Bohemond's force attacked the city; he was driven back by the Byzantines but forced his way into the citadel and brought provisions to the beleaguered Frankish garrison, then returned to Antioch, perhaps thinking there was no reason to doubt the loyalty of the men in the garrison (69). Fortunately for the Byzantines, the people of many towns in Cilicia revolted because of their bad treatment and expelled their Frankish garrisons. Monastras took advantage of the situation to occupy Longinia, Tarsus, Adana, and Mamistra (70).

The loss of these towns (especially Laodicea) concerned Bohemond, for he had no viable land or sea force to challenge both the Byzantines and the Turks. Meanwhile Raymond of Saint-Gilles, an ally of Emperor Alexius, was expanding his territories to the south of the principality of Antioch. With his army (which had suffered great losses at Harran) challenged by the Byzantines and his financial resources depleted, Bohemond realized that he had no choice but to go to the West to seek men and money, then return to the East to fight both the Turks and the Byzantines. He held a council in Antioch at the Church of St. Peter and invited Tancred. He explained that he was returning to Europe and had appointed his nephew Tancred to govern the principality of Antioch in his absence. In the autumn of 1104, he sailed for Italy, accompanied by his friend Patriarch Daimbert, and reportedly took with him a great number of jewels and precious gifts and a copy of the *Gesta Francorum* (71). Bohemond

arrived in Bari in January 1105. He may [497] have visited Pope Paschal I with Daimbert and obtained his approval to conduct a crusade against Emperor Alexius (72). He went in March 1106 to France, where he married Constance, daughter of King Philip I (1060-1108) (73). Matthew of Edessa reports that the widow of Stephen of Blois asked Bohemond to take her as his wife, and when he refused, she had him thrown in chains. After several days, he finally gave in and married her (74).

Most of the time Bohemond was busy recruiting men for a new expedition. He returned to Apulia at the end of 1106 with a great number of men—French, Italians, Spanish, English, and Germans. Marching through Byzantine territory with his men, he attacked Durazzo (Dyrrachium), a Byzantine citadel on the Adriatic (75). But his expedition failed miserably, due to shortness of food and provisions, sickness among his men, and most of all a lack of sea power. Overwhelmed by Alexius's force, Bohemond surrendered and accepted the Peace of Devol, dictated by the emperor, whereby he would become the emperor's vassal and return all the towns he had captured in the East. He also agreed to the replacement of the Latin patriarch of Antioch by a Byzantine cleric. Finally, he pledged to fight against his nephew Tancred if he refused the conditions of this treaty. Bohemond swore solemnly on the cross that he would fulfill the provisions of the agreement (76). Thus, his hope of establishing a great Norman empire in the East was shattered. After his abject surrender he never returned to the East. The saga of this distinguished Norman ended when he fell ill and died at Apulia on March 7, 1111, leaving an heir, Bohemond II, by his wife Constance (77).

When Tancred went to Antioch in 1104 to take charge of his uncle's principality, he left in his place his cousin Richard of Salerno (Richard of the Principate) as count of Edessa (1104-1108). In Tancred's absence, [498] Richard treated the people of Edessa badly (78). According to Syriac sources, he was wicked, tyrannical, and avaricious. He humiliated and imprisoned many townspeople. He committed atrocities, despite being only a temporary ruler and not the true lord of Edessa (79). Many Armenians were dissatisfied with the way the Franks were treating them. Ibn al-Qalanisi states that when Tancred was at war with Fakhr al-Muluk Ridwan, the Turkish Seljukid lord of Aleppo (1095-1113), the Armenians of Artah, seeking to help Fakhr al-Mulk ibn Ammar, lord of Tripoli, against the Franks, delivered their town to Ridwan because of the grievous tyranny and injustice inflicted upon them by the Franks (80).

Although most sources do not specify what the Franks did, Matthew of Edessa describes their mistreatment of the Armenians in the town of Ablastain (Albistan, Arabissus, in West Armenia) in 1105-1106, after Richard of Salerno, the new count of Edessa, became involved in a conflict with Jekermish, Turkish lord of Mosul. The people of Ablastain, he says, suffered so much from the harassment and molestations of the Franks that they allied themselves to the "infidels" and secretly sent a messenger to ask the Turks to occupy their town. At the same time, they told the Frankish commander to leave the town before the Turks attacked it. On hearing this demand, he became furious and turned against the people, but he was defeated and most of his men were slaughtered. The Frankish forces killed as many as three hundred townspeople in a day. They devastated the country, and the land became desolate; vineyards withered, fields were covered with thistles, and springs dried up. Still worse, because of the Franks' heinous deeds, friendship and happiness gave way to hatred and discontent. Not even the church was immune to their evildoing. Churches were closed and people stopped going to them to pray. Altars and baptismal fonts were destroyed, and priests were humiliated and imprisoned. The mysteries of the Cross were hidden from view, and the fragrant incense used during holy services disappeared. Chapels were destroyed and priests scorned. Truth was subverted, righteousness rejected, and the dreadful judgment of Christ forgotten. All of these abominations, says Matthew, were caused by the raving Franks, whose leadership had passed into the hands of unworthy men. [499] His description of the hideous acts of the Franks recalls the lamentations of the Prophet Jeremiah (81).

Baldwin of Le Bourg, who had been taken captive in 1104 by Sukman, the lord of Mardin, was kidnapped shortly afterwards by Jekermish and then fell into the hands of another Turk, Chavli (Jawli) Saqaveh, who ruled Mosul briefly in 1107. The Seljuk Sultan Ghiyath al-Din Muhammad, viewing Chavli as a threat, commissioned his general Sharaf al-Din Mawdud to take the city from him. Needing money and allies to fight Mawdud, Chavli left Mosul for Qal'at Ja'bar (Ja'bar Fortress) on the Euphrates, taking Baldwin with him. It was about this time that Joscelin I of Courtenay, lord of Tall Bashir, gained his freedom and tried to have Baldwin released. Michael Rabo says that a group of men from Tall Bashir, evidently Armenians, made a deal with Joscelin's captors to let

him go; they themselves would stay as hostages until he returned with the ransom. The captors put the hostages in prison, awaiting Joscelin's return, but they made a hole in the prison wall and escaped. Thus, Joscelin gained his freedom without paying ransom (82).

Ibn al-Athir says Joscelin ransomed himself by paying 20,000 dinars, but gives no details. He adds that Chavli gave Baldwin gifts and released him with the proviso that he would pay a sum of money as ransom, support Chavli with money and men, and free the Muslim captives in his prison. When Chavli was sure that these conditions had been met, he sent Baldwin to Qal'at Ja'bar and delivered him to the hands of its governor, Salim ibn Malik. Soon Joscelin came to Qal'at Ja'bar and offered himself as a hostage in place of Baldwin, who was released and went to Antioch. Chavli later took Joscelin's brother-in-law and Baldwin's brother-in-law as hostages, and released Joscelin to urge Baldwin to fulfill the conditions he had imposed. But while Joscelin was on his way to Antioch, he attacked and pillaged Manbij. Some of Chavli's men, traveling with Joscelin, reproached him for his perfidy, but he answered that the city of Manbij did not belong to them (83). Bar Hebraeus says that after gaining his freedom, Joscelin immediately sought to ransom Baldwin. Realizing Chavli was in dire need of money, he reached an agreement whereby he would pay 30,000 dinars to free Baldwin, who then would release the Muslim captives in Edessa. The [500] agreement also stipulated that Baldwin would support Chavli with men and war materials against the Seljuks (84).

Other Syriac sources give a different account of how Joscelin ransomed Baldwin of Le Bourg. Through the mediation of the Muslim lord of Qal'at Ja'bar, Baldwin's ransom was fixed at 70,000 dinars. Joscelin managed to collect only part of this sum (Michael Rabo says 30,000 dinars, the Amonymous Edessan says 25,000). He delivered the money to the lord of Qal'at Ja'bar, offering himself as a hostage until he could come up with the rest of the ransom. When the lord of Mosul (Chavli) heard of this offer, he was anxious to see Joscelin, who he had heard was handsome and valiant. The lord of Qal'at Ja'bar gave Joscelin clothes, a horse, and Frankish arms, and sent him to Mosul. On seeing him, Chavli was so taken by his handsome figure that he reduced Baldwin's ransom by 10,000 dinars; Joscelin gratefully kissed the ground before him, and Chavli responded by reducing the ransom another 10,000 dinars. Then he invited Joscelin to a sumptuous feast. The next morning, the lord of Mosul went out in a parade with his army and (after having him disarmed) ordered Joscelin to ride with him. When the people saw how handsome and majestic Joscelin was, they were overwhelmed, and for this the lord of Mosul excused him from paying the remainder of Baldwin's ransom. Chavli showed Joscelin great kindness. They swore they would not fight each other so long as they lived, but rather help each other in time of need. Chavli gave Joscelin gifts, remitted the whole of Baldwin's ransom, and let Joscelin depart in safety (85).

Thus Baldwin of Le Bourg gained his freedom in 1108 after nearly five years of captivity. Surprisingly, although Joscelin strove to have Baldwin ransomed and released, Tancred and Bohemond did not trouble themselves to help him. Their indifference shows their jealousy and their ambition for power and possessions. Perhaps they considered Baldwin's captivity of great benefit to them (86). The Anonymous Edessan says that no one was concerned about the fate of Baldwin of Le Bourg and Joscelin, especially [501] Tancred, who resented them, and Richard of the Principate, who held their lands and used them as he liked (87).

Proving that politics makes strange bedfellows, the Muslim Turks now became allies of the Franks. Following his release, Baldwin went to Antioch to ask Tancred to return the principality of Edessa. Tancred refused, saying he had administered Edessa for four years and it would be difficult for him to give it up. He may have hoped to add Edessa and most of Cilicia to his principality. Seeking to pacify Baldwin and determined to keep Edessa, he offered him aid in the form of weapons and horses and (according to Ibn al-Athir) 30,000 dinars (88). Furious, Baldwin left Antioch and went to Tall Bashir to meet with Joscelin. Tancred followed him there, hoping to reconcile with him, but realized that he had no choice but to fight the joint forces of Baldwin and Joscelin if Baldwin insisted on keeping Edessa. The parties tried but failed to solve the problem through negotiations, and Tancred returned to Antioch. William of Tyre reports that Bernard, the Latin patriarch of Antioch, tried to reconcile Baldwin and Tancred and seemed for a while to have succeeded (89).

Ibn al-Athir also says that the patriarch, honored by his own people as Muslims honor an Imam, acted as peacemaker between the two parties. On September 18, 1108, he said that each man should return in peace to his principality. But when Baldwin returned to Edessa, he showed great tolerance and gratitude toward his new ally Chavli by releasing and arming 160 Muslim captives, mostly from the district of Aleppo. On September 28,

1108, he crossed the Euphrates to deliver the captives and money to Chavli, and on the way he released more Muslim captives from Harran and other towns. At about this time Baldwin became involved in a conflict over religious issues. There were 300 Muslims in Saruj, and Chavli had rebuilt their mosques. But when the Muslim lord of Saruj recanted Islam and embraced Christianity, Chavli's followers were enraged and beat him for abandoning and vilifying Islam. The Muslims and Franks were sharply divided because of this apostate. On learning of the controversy, Baldwin of Le Bourg [502] declared that the man was of no worth to the Franks or the Muslims and had him killed (90).

The peace between Baldwin and Tancred, effected by the good will of the Latin patriarch of Antioch, could not eradicate their feelings of animosity or prevent armed conflict between them. Baldwin called on Chavli to join him in his struggle against Tancred, and he complied (91). He found another strong ally in Kogh Vasil (Basil), the Armenian lord of Kesum and Ra'ban (d. 1112), with whom he had amicable relations and through whose efforts in fact he had been ransomed. When Baldwin asked for help in reclaiming Edessa, Kogh Vasil provided him with 1000 horsemen and 2000 foot soldiers (92). With Kogh Vasil on his side, Baldwin and Joscelin asked Chavli to join them in fighting Tancred, an action Matthew of Edessa calls a "wicked thing, something which was not pleasing in the eyes of God" (93). Ironically, Tancred sought the help of another Turk, Ridwan of Aleppo. In September 1108 the forces of Baldwin and Joscelin met those of Tancred and Ridwan near Manbij, on the road between Edessa and Aleppo. Tancred was victorious in the fierce battle that followed; Baldwin fled, taking refuge at the fortress of Ravendan (Rawandan), while Joscelin took shelter in Tall Bashir (94). It is estimated that the Christian forces lost about 2000 men (95).

When the people of Edessa learned of Baldwin's defeat, they were saddened, thinking he had died and fearing that Tancred or Richard of Salerno might be encouraged to take control of Edessa. They held a meeting at St. John's Church, attended by the Frankish chief priest Papios, to decide who should be lord of Edessa. While they were deliberating, Baldwin and Joscelin suddenly appeared and asked about the nature of the meeting. Told that the people were discussing who should rule the city, they took the gathering as an act of disloyalty. The two Frankish leaders became furious and wantonly pillaged everything in sight. They inflicted harsh punishment on the Christian inhabitants, even gouging the eyes of many. They attempted to gouge the eyes of the Armenian Bishop Stephen, but the people [503] saved him by paying a ransom of 1000 *dahekan*s. Matthew of Edessa says the Franks committed these atrocities because they believed every vicious accusation against the townspeople and did not hesitate to shed innocent blood (96). Whatever friendly relations had existed between the Franks and Armenians in Edessa now gave way to distrust. The Armenians saw the Franks as people whose hostility surpassed that of the Muslim Turks, with whom they had once allied themselves against their fellow Christians (97). In the conflict between the Franks and the Turks, the Armenians paid a heavy price. In 1109 Chavli was replaced as governor of Mosul by Sharaf al-Din Mawdud Altontash (al-Tuwaynaki) (98). The following year the Seljuk Sultan Muhammad, son of Malikshah, commissioned Mawdud to fight the Franks, hoping to curtail their advances into Syria. His first target was Edessa (99). Matthew of Edessa says Mawdud attacked there because Baldwin of Le Bourg wanted to engage Tancred in a second war. So, motivated by arrogance, he and Joscelin conceived a plan unworthy of any Christian and invited Mawdud, a mighty and ferocious warrior, to come to their aid. Mawdud agreed and raised an army of 100,000 men to invade Edessa.100 He was joined by Sukman al-Qutbi (Sukman ibn Artuk), lord of Khilat and Miyafarqin (1100-1110), and Najm al-Din Il-Ghazi ibn Artuk, lord of Mardin (1107-1122) (101).

When the Muslim army reached Harran, Mawdud summoned Baldwin to call on him, but Baldwin, fearful, refused. Mawdud believed that he had been deceived by Baldwin and marched against Edessa. Baldwin asked his cousin, King Baldwin of Jerusalem, to come to his aid and dispatched Joscelin to obtain reinforcements (102). But the king was then engaged in besieging Beirut, which was about to fall into his hands when he received the message. Finally, after capturing the city in May 1110, he marched with his [504] army to rescue Edessa. He was joined by Bertram, son of Raymond of Saint-Gilles, count of Tripoli (1109-1121) (103). Tancred apparently did not care about helping to save Edessa, and Baldwin of Le Bourg reportedly accused him of plotting with the Muslims against him and his principality (104). Fulcher of Chartres, however, says that Tancred appealed to King Baldwin of Jerusalem to aid the Christian cause, and that Baldwin entrusted his kingdom to caretakers and hastened to war, bringing with him Bertrand (Bertram), count of Tripoli (105).

The Muslim army laid siege to Edessa in April-May 1110. They devastated the countryside, destroyed the monasteries, and cut down the orchards around Edessa. Many of the villagers were shut up in the town and, along with the citizens of the city, suffered from a shortage of food (106). Meanwhile, the armies of Baldwin of Boulogne and Bertram, on the way to Edessa, were joined near Samosata by the Armenian leaders Kogh Vasil and Abu al-Gharib. Even Tancred, who had seemed reluctant to join the Frankish forces, yielded and joined them with 1100 horsemen (107). As Ibn al-Qalanisi observes, the Franks forgot their differences and animosities and agreed solemnly with one another to remain steadfast in battle and to meet adversity resolutely (108).

When the Christian forces reached Edessa, Mawdud lifted the siege and withdrew to Harran, clearly trying to draw the Franks into unknown territory where he could more easily defeat them (109). When Baldwin saw Mawdud's treacherous plan, he turned back and camped opposite the fortress of Shenaw, northwest of Harran, in Muslim territory. At about this time Tancred arrived with his forces. Baldwin planned to have a pitched battle with Mawdud, but decided first to supply Edessa with provisions and escort those citizens who so desired to leave the city, for they were near starvation and wanted to escape this tribulation. A great number of townspeople and villagers departed for Samosata. At this point, says Matthew of [505] Edessa, two apostate Franks went to Mawdud and maliciously told him that the entire Frankish army had withdrawn and fled. On hearing this report, Mawdud pursued the Franks and massacred many of them like a butcher, without mercy. Those who fled jumped into the river and were drowned. The Turks pillaged their possessions, as the Franks on the other side of the Euphrates helplessly witnessed the horror. Mawdud returned afterwards to Harran and then to his own territory, laden with captives and countless booty (110). Apparently satisfied that he had dispersed the Franks, he did not track them down. He had devastated the whole region and left Edessa in ruins. So there was nothing more for him to do but return to his own country. King Baldwin went back to Jerusalem, Tancred to Antioch, and Baldwin of Le Bourg to Edessa (111).

Mawdud's campaign against the Franks and Edessa apparently did not satisfy those zealous Muslims who wanted an all-out *jihad*. Their feelings were further inflamed when an ambassador of the Emperor Alexius arrived in Baghdad. Ibn al-Qalanisi says the conflict between the Byzantines and Franks at the time was so vehement that "*mutamallik al-Rum* (Emperor Alexius)" dispatched a messenger to the Seljuk Sultan Muhammad, urging him to fight the Franks and expel them from Syria before they could establish a threatening position in the country (112). The emperor said he had gone to war to prevent the Franks from traversing his dominion, but that if they continued to have designs on the land of Islam, he would give them free passage and assistance (113).

[506] Shortly after the Byzantine ambassador arrived, a group of prominent Hashimite Sharif Muslims from Aleppo and some Sufi (mystic) merchants and jurists came to Baghdad and met at the sultan's mosque on February 17, 1111. Weeping and lamenting the Franks' humiliation of Islam, the slaughter of Muslim men, and the enslavement of women and children, they appealed to the caliph to defend Islam. They were so distraught that they prevented the people from praying in the mosque and even broke the pulpit. According to Ibn al-Athir, the people of Baghdad cried to the sultan, "Don't fear Allah! The king of the Rum (Emperor Alexius) has more zeal for Islam than you, for he sent you an ambassador urging you to fight [the Franks]" (114). Asked by the caliph al-Mustazhir bi Allah to take care of this matter, the Seljuk Sultan Mahmoud readied another expedition, commanded by his son Mas'ud and Sharaf al-Din Mawdud, atabeg of Mosul, to march against the Franks in 1111 (115). Clearly the emperor would support the Franks, his coreligionists, in their fight against the Muslims. But he wanted them out of Syria because the country belonged to him, and they had not kept their oath to restore to him all the land and cities they captured. His appeal to the Seljuk sultan should be viewed in this context.

The expedition led by Mawdud and Mas'ud was joined by Sukman al-Qutbi, lord of Khilat; Aylingi and Zangi, the sons of Bursuq and lords of Hamadhan and Khuzistan; the Kurdish Ahmad Beg (Ahmadil), lord of Maragha in Azerbayjan; Kutib Abu al-Hayja, lord of Arbil; and Iyaz, son of Il-Ghazi of Mardin. The Muslim forces massed near Sinjar in northern Iraq and then marched on Edessa in the spring of 1111. They camped there for five days but could not capture the city. They withdrew and, before crossing the Euphrates, laid siege to Tall Bashir, whose lord was Joscelin of Courtenay (116). Fortunately for Joscelin, the Muslims were not of one mind. After forty-five days, he gave a large sum of money to Ahmad Beg; he in turn convinced the Turks to lift the siege and go to Aleppo to relieve its lord Ridwan, who had asked them for help against Tancred (117).

[507] When the Turkish forces reached Aleppo, they ravaged the country, killed many people, and took others captive. Ridwan, fearing the Turks more than he did Tancred, shut the gates of the city before them and made an alliance with his foe Tancred (118). Some citizens of Aleppo did not like what Ridwan had done and tried to oppose him, but he captured some and imprisoned them in the citadel of Aleppo, and stationed some of his troops and others belonging to the Batini sect to guard the city walls. The gates of Aleppo stayed shut before the Turkish forces for seventeen days (119). The Turkish army withdrew and went to the district of Ma'arrat al-Nu'man, to reclaim what Tancred had captured. There Mawdud was joined by Tughtigin, the lord of Damascus, who was expected to add more strength to the Muslim forces. But Tughtigin grew suspicious that the other Muslim leaders, especially Mawdud, intended to take Damascus from him (120). The expedition was a failure because of the dissension among the Muslim leaders. They not only did not trust each other but allied themselves with the Franks against one another.

During this time, Matthew of Edessa reports, Tancred treated Kogh Vasil, ruler of Kesum and Ra'ban, rather badly (121). Having failed in his fight against Baldwin of Le Bourg for control of Edessa, he turned his military activities against his Muslim neighbors. He intended to expand the principality of Antioch by capturing as much as he could of the domains of Aleppo and Edessa. He tried to impose his authority on the principality of Tripoli but was challenged by Bertram, son of Raymond of Saint-Gilles, who had come to Syria in 1108 to take his father's place in Tripoli. Tancred met him when he arrived in the port of Saint Simeon (al-Suwaydiyya), but then expelled him from Antioch when he refused to join in an alliance against the Byzantines (122). To save Tripoli from Tancred, Bertram placed it under the protection of King Baldwin of Jerusalem, who warned Tancred to cease hostilities against Bertram. Eventually, both men declared their [508] allegiance to the king (123). In 1109 Tancred seized Banyas, on the Mediterranean between Laodicea and Antartus, and annexed it to his principality. Next he took Jabala, then ruled by Fakhr al-Mulk ibn Ammar, the former lord of Tripoli. The town, suffering from a food shortage, could not resist. Tancred easily occupied it on July 12, 1110, as Ibn Ammar escaped safely (124).

Still full of ambition, Tancred began to attack the emirate of Aleppo, ruled by Ridwan. He marched against Atharb and offered safety to its Muslim farmers. Ridwan, forced to make peace, paid Tancred an enormous sum of money, surrendered the fortress of Zardana, and released the Armenian captives held in Aleppo. Conditions in Aleppo deteriorated so much that most of its inhabitants fled (125). But Ridwan soon formed an alliance with Tughtigin, lord of Damascus. The two pledged to support each other with money and men (126). Facing united opposition, Tancred gave up attacking Ridwan's domains and decided instead to attack the Armenian Kogh Vasil, probably in the summer of 1112. Matthew of Edessa says he attacked and conquered the city of Ra'ban. Then he marched against Kesum, camping on the plain below a spring near the town of Thil. Kogh Vasil assembled 5000 men but still did not venture to engage Tancred in battle. Finally, the two made peace; Tancred gave Ra'ban to Kogh Vasil, and the Armenian prince handed over the district of Hisn Mansur, along with the fortified towns of Persin, Raghtip, Hartan, Toresh, and Uremn. Tancred returned peacefully to Antioch (127).

In 1112, says Matthew of Edessa, the "vicious and bloodthirsty beast Mawdud" led yet another expedition against Edessa, this time without help from other Muslim amirs. He split his army into two forces, leaving one at Edessa while the other attacked Saruj. Joscelin, taking 100 horsemen and 100 foot soldiers, entered Saruj and attacked the Turks, killing 150 of their men and taking five of their officers as captives; the rest fled to Mawdud's camp near Edessa. As Mawdud marched on the city, whose inhabitants were not expecting an attack, certain perfidious citizens told him, "Have compassion on us and we will deliver Edessa into your hands." But [509] Joscelin, who had returned to Edessa, rushed against Mawdud's men, assaulted a tower they had captured, and hurled them all from the walls, saving Edessa from the clutches of the Turks by his bravery. After eight days, having failed to capture the well-fortified city, Mawdud withdrew and returned to his country, humiliated and discredited (128). Ibn al-Athir says Mawdud had not taken sufficient precaution and was surprised and overwhelmed by Joscelin. The Franks took a great number of horses and massacred many soldiers (129). Michael Rabo, whose account is close to that of Matthew of Edessa, says that some Armenians, seeing that the Turks invading the area of Edessa had reached its wall, plotted with them and helped them enter one of the fortresses, believing they would occupy the city in the absence of its leader (130).

The Anonymous Edessan gives a slightly different account. He says that Mawdud came to Edessa during the harvest season and camped outside the city. He laid waste the land and crops, cut down the trees, and told the citizens, who were in great distress, that they would receive many benefits if they surrendered the city to him. At this time, ten perfidious Armenians conspired with Mawdud to betray the city to him. But Joscelin, acting heroically, scaled the wall and approached the enemy. When the Turks in the tower saw him, they showered him with arrows and stones. He managed to enter the tower and cut down the ladder with his sword, and the Turks on it fell to their deaths. Then he climbed onto the roof alongside the Turks. Twice they struck him from above and broke his shield. To protect himself, he took a sack full of chaff (on which the guards had slept), held it above his head, and climbed bravely among them. The Turks fled; he struck some with his sword, others threw themselves down and were killed. Mawdud, having failed to capture Edessa, returned to his country. Meanwhile Joscelin, angry at the conspirators, turned against all the citizens of Edessa, causing much bloodshed. The Franks sought out those who had betrayed them and seized many people, without regard for their guilt. They burned, tortured, and executed many townspeople, and cut off the hands and noses and put out the eyes of many others (131). It is thus clear that some Armenians were unhappy enough with their Frankish rulers to seek the Turks' help [510] against them. Although the conspiracy of the Armenians of Edessa with Mawdud failed, it points up the unstable internal situation and the chasm between the Franks and the native Christians. The Armenians were displeased by the way they were treated not only in Edessa but throughout the region, and especially by the way the Franks, especially Tancred, treated their leader, Kogh Vasil, for no reason except that he intended to affirm the Armenian entity and supremacy in the region. Mawdud, committed to *jihad* against the Franks, continued to fight them despite his failure in the campaign against Edessa. In 1113, "the bloodthirsty and savage amir Mawdud" again marched against Edessa with a tremendous number of troops, while Baldwin of Le Bourg was in the town of Tall Bashir. Some perfidious, evil-thinking Franks reported to Baldwin that many Armenians were plotting to hand the city over to Mawdud. Baldwin believed them and sent Paynes, count of Saruj, to Edessa with orders to expel all the inhabitants. He apparently carried out the order, and the Franks put the helpless inhabitants to the sword, shedding much innocent blood. Most of those evicted from Edessa went to live in Samosata. Those who stayed in the city took refuge in the Church of St. Theodore, then were moved to the citadel under strict guard. Baldwin found he could not rule a nearly empty city with the few remaining Syrians and loyal Armenians. The administration of the city became a burden to him, and he decided in February 1114 to call back the exiles from Samosata. Many returned, but the relations between Baldwin and the Armenians were permanently strained. They considered him their persecutor and hated the Franks for treating them badly. Matthew of Edessa says the Franks' actions revealed their perverse nature and contempt for others: "In return for all the benefices the inhabitants of Edessa showed the Franks, the Franks recompensed the faithful Christians of this city with evil and malice" (132).

Whereas Matthew of Edessa says Mawdud's 1113 expedition targeted Edessa, Ibn al-Athir says that it was aimed at King Baldwin of Jerusalem and Joscelin, with the main encounter near Tiberias in Palestine. He asserts that King Baldwin's incursions against Bilad al-Sham (Syria) had caused the prices of commodities to soar. After Tughtigin, lord of Damascus, apprised Mawdud of the situation, they raised a great army and marched to fight the Franks. They camped near Tiberias for twenty-six days and cut off the food supply, vainly hoping to draw the Franks into a fight. The Muslims [511] eventually left and ravaged Baysan and other towns, and their leaders returned to Damascus (133).

The Armenian exiles returned to Edessa and kept their peace, but they could not forgive the Franks for ill-treating them. Soon they tried to spite the Franks by allying themselves with the Seljuk Turks. The Seljuks' attack on Edessa offered them such an opportunity. After Mawdud was assassinated by a Batini (Isma'ili Shi'ite) in Damascus on October 2, 1113, the Seljuk Sultan Muhammad entrusted the city of Mosul to a new governor, Qasim al-Dawla Aksunkur, whom he ordered to continue the fight against the Franks (134). In 1114 Aksunkur led a great army, joined by the forces of Tamirek, governor of Sinjar in northern Iraq, and others, including his son Imad al-Din Zangi, of whom we shall say much later. Aksunkur marched against Jazirat ibn Umar, whose governor, the deputy of Mawdud, surrendered to him and joined his army, and then against Mardin, whose governor also joined forces with him. He had 15,000 cavalry when he attacked Edessa in May 1114. He besieged the city for more than two months, fighting the Franks and the Armenians (135). The Franks captured nine of Aksunkur's men and crucified them on the city walls; aroused by this act, the Muslims fought with great

determination and killed fifty prominent Frank knights, but then began to suffer a food shortage and were forced to lift the siege and depart (136).

It was at this point that the Armenian King Dgha Vasil, the adopted son of Kogh Vasil, sent a messenger to Aksunkur al-Bursuki proposing an alliance against the Franks. Matthew of Edessa says that Dgha Vasil and his father's widow, who had inherited and jointly ruled the independent principality of Kesum and Ra'ban after Kogh Vasil died in October 1112, having learned that Tancred of Antioch (who had already captured Kesum) desired to possess their principality, viewed Aksunkur as an ally who could save them from Tancred (137). Aksunkur accepted Dgha Vasil's offer, on the [512] condition that he be allowed to collect the *Jizya* to demonstrate that Kesum and Ra'ban had become his vassal principality. Ibn al-Athir says that upon the death of Kawasil (Kogh Vasil), his widow, who ruled the kingdom of Kesum, Ra'ban and Mar'ash, communicated with Aksunkur her intention of submitting to his authority, and he in turn sent the amir Sunkur Darraz ("the Tall"), whom she received with honor and lavished with gifts (138).

When Baldwin of Le Bourg learned of the proposed alliance of Dgha Vasil and his father's widow with the Seljuk Turks, he became furious, regarding their action as a great treachery against Christianity and a threat to the Latin principalities in Syria and lower Asia Minor. He invaded the Armenian principality of Kesum and Ra'ban in 1115, but without great success. Apparently Dgha Vasil appealed to the Armenian Thoros I, son of Constantine, Roupenid ruler of Partzapert (1100-1129) in Cilicia. Matthew of Edessa says Thoros summoned Dgha Vasil, treacherously seized him, and delivered him to Baldwin, who tortured him and took all his territories by force, thus destroying Armenian sovereignty in Kesum and Ra'ban. Betrayed and deprived of his possessions, Dgha Vasil went with some troops to Constantinople, where they were received by the Byzantine emperor with great honor (139). Kogh Vasil's widow was an ambitious woman who sought to control the territory of her late husband. While she negotiated with the Seljuks, she pressured Kourtig, guardian of the boy Dgha Vasil, to pillage the monasteries of the Syrians, who shared the Armenians' religious beliefs and like them had been victimized by the Byzantines and the Turks. Kourtig, whom Michael Rabo calls an evil man who hated the Syrians, usurped the Red Monastery from the Syrians in Kesum, expelled the inmates, and handed over the monastery to the Armenian Catholicos Gregorius and the Armenian monks. He also expelled Syrian monks from five monasteries in the region of Zabar, called the Monasteries of Beth Qinaya [The Reed Monasteries] which were under the control of Baldwin, lord of Kesum and Mar'ash (140).

After Kesum and Ra'ban fell into his hands, Baldwin of Le Bourg felt encouraged to seize other Armenian principalities, especially the citadel of [513] Birta (Arabic al-Bira), ruled by the Armenian Abu al-Gharib. Accompanied by his nephew Galeran, count of Saruj, and a host of Frankish forces, Baldwin attacked al-Bira, thus engendering "more hatred against the Christians than against the Turks" (141). Abu al-Gharib resisted bravely, but finally surrendered in 1117 after a year-long siege. The Anonymous Edessan says that when he realized that the siege would be prolonged and no one would come to his rescue, he agreed to surrender the citadel to Baldwin on condition that Galeran marry his daughter. The condition was accepted; Galeran married Abu al-Gharib's daughter and received Birta and all the surrounding territory as her dowry (142).

Matthew of Edessa says Baldwin of Le Bourg overthrew the Armenian princes one by one, dealing with them more harshly than the Muslims had. He harassed those princes who were not under the Turks' rule and sent them into exile. He destroyed Kogh Vasil's principality and expelled its leaders, who took refuge in Constantinople. Still not satisfied, he ruined the Armenian Prince Bagrat, who lived in Ravendan (Rawandan), not far from Cyrrhus near Aleppo, and pillaged his principality. He captured Constantine, the Armenian lord of Gargar, and threw him in chains into prison in the citadel of Samosata, where he died; following a great earthquake, his body was found on the bank of the Euphrates (143). The Franks were apparently motivated by a desire to seize the Armenians' treasures. Matthew of Edessa says he would write more about their evil deeds but did not dare because the Armenians were under their authority and power (144).

Having subjugated the Armenian princes and taken control of their territories, Baldwin of Le Bourg by now felt more secure than ever in his principality. In complete confidence he left Edessa in 1118 to become the ruler of the kingdom of Jerusalem (145). He felt no one was better qualified to succeed him as lord of Edessa and defend the northeast front of the Latins' domains than Joscelin I of Courtenay. Thus Joscelin replaced Baldwin in Edessa, and the two leaders were finally reconciled (146).

Joscelin I tried to be more conciliatory toward the Armenians than Baldwin of Le Bourg had been. Abandoning his former cruel nature, says Matthew of Edessa, he took a very humane and compassionate attitude toward the city's inhabitants (147). William of Tyre says both Baldwin and Joscelin supplied Edessa with adequate food and arms, and thus it became more formidable than other nearby cities (148). But Joscelin battled constantly with Ilghazi, the Turkish Artukid ruler of Mardin (1107-1122), and his nephew Nur al-Dawla Belek (149). Like earlier Frankish leaders, Joscelin took an Armenian wife, the sister of Leon I, Armenian Roupenid prince of Cilicia; the marriage produced a son, Joscelin II (150). After her death Joscelin married Marie, sister of Roger of Antioch, receiving the fortress of Azaz as her dowry (151). Going to Antioch to bring her to Edessa, he crossed the Euphrates and stayed the night in Birta. There he was informed by people from Murayba and Umqa and the province of Birta that a number of Turks were pillaging the region.

Joscelin and Galeran marched against the supposed Turkish marauders, unaware that they were an army of 4000 horsemen under Nur al-Dawla Belek, the lord of Aleppo, Hanzit, and Hisn Ziyad (Khartabert, Kharberd, Kharput). Unbeknownst to Joscelin and Galeran, Belek was camped at a spring called Haig [Spring of Life] in the province of Edessa, near Rashkifa. Trying to rescue the country from Belek, Joscelin and Galeran mounted swift horses and pursued the Turks, thinking they could find them in the Rashkifa district. They marched from night to midday, consumed by heat, dust, and thirst. When they saw Belek's camp, they realized their small force was no match for his great army. As they went to the river to seek water for themselves and their horses, the Turks struck them down one by one. Then [515] the Turks surrounded them, capturing Joscelin and Galeran and twenty-five to sixty knights on September 13, 1123, and brought them to Edessa (152). Belek told the citizens of Edessa he would release his captives if they surrendered the city to him, but when they refused and insulted him, he took Joscelin and Galeran to Hisn Ziyad (153). Matthew of Edessa says Belek took Joscelin and Galeran to Kharberd (Khartabert, Kharput, Hisn Ziyad) in chains and threw them into prison, while twenty-five of their comrades were taken to Balu a town east of Khartabert on the Euphrates (154). Sadness and fear fell upon the faithful Christians, and because of their grief the Christians of Edessa did not celebrate the feast of the Cross that year (155). Ibn al-Athir reports that when Joscelin was captured, he was placed in a camel's skin which was then sewn shut. He was asked to surrender Edessa but refused. Seeking to be released, Joscelin offered to pay great amounts of money and free many Muslim captives, but his offer was rejected. Belek took him to the fortress of Khartabart with his cousin Guliam (Galeran), "a devil of the *kuffar* (infidels)," and many prominent knights (156). According to Ibn al-Adim, Belek asked Joscelin and Galeran to hand over the fortress in exchange for their freedom, but they refused, saying, "We and our lands are like loads carried by camels. When a camel becomes wounded, its load will be shifted to another. Now what was in our hands has become the property of someone else" (157).

The misfortune of Joscelin's capture was soon compounded by the capture of King Baldwin II. While he was in Antioch, Baldwin learned that Joscelin had been taken captive and decided to rescue him. In April 1123, he assembled troops to fight Belek and rescue Joscelin. He appointed Geoffrey the Monk, a brave and mighty man and a most fervent Christian, to take over Edessa and his own kingdom in the absence of himself and Joscelin (158). Belek was then ravaging the regions of Gargar, Samosata, and Hisn Mansur. Baldwin came from Samosata to Kesum, planning to rescue [516] the inhabitants. On hearing that Baldwin was in Kesum, Belek collected his force and camped at the river Singa (Ptolemy calls it the Singas). Baldwin, unaware that Belek and his army were nearby, took a few knights with him and reached the Singa bridge, less than a mile away. Most of his cavalrymen were far off. Suddenly Belek's men sprang from their hiding place like wolves and captured King Baldwin, his sister's son, and many others (on the fourth day of the Week of White Apparel, according to the Syriac sources) (159).

Belek took the prisoners to Gargar and tortured them until Baldwin was forced to surrender Gargar. The Anonymous Edessan says that earlier, Belek had told Joscelin and Galeran, then imprisoned at Hisn Ziyad, that he would bring Baldwin to join them (160). So it happened six months later, according to Ibn al-Qalanisi and Ibn al-Adim, that Baldwin was in chains in a deep dungeon in the fortress of Hisn Ziyad together with Joscelin and Galeran (161). Baldwin's capture was a great loss to the Franks in Syria, although the affairs of his kingdom ran smoothly under Eustace Grenier, lord of Caesarea and Sidon, who was chosen as regent. After Eustace died in June 1123, William of Bury, lord of Tiberias, was chosen to replace him (162).

The Anonymous Edessan describes Belek's good administration and character, showing his defense of the poor and his treatment of his Christian subjects. Under Belek, he says, the land was delivered from the thieves and brigands who infested it and robbed the poor. Peace prevailed in the land. It was reported that Belek would hang a Turk if he stole even a crust of bread from a poor person. He never allowed anyone in his domain to [517] harm the Christians, even by a simple word, much to the credit of this Turkish lord (163).

The liberation of Baldwin, Joscelin and Galeran is related by both Western and Eastern sources, but with varying details. In mid-August 1123, four months after Baldwin II was captured, a number of Armenian soldiers, variously given as fifteen, twenty, or fifty, left the fortress of Beth Hisni (Behesni) in the Kesum mountain, having bound themselves by an oath to rescue the captives (164). They plotted with Godfrey the Monk and the queen and went to Hisn Ziyad. Ten of them carried grapes, fruits, and fowls, pretending to be poor peasants complaining that their steward had done them wrong. The others stayed behind, ready to help carry out the plot. When they reached the upper gate of the fortress, there were only two or three guards; the others were at a banquet given by the commander for his officers, who had had too much drink. When the guards went to tell the commander about the visitors, the Armenians seized the swords hanging between the gates and killed the porter and everyone they found. Quickly they summoned their comrades from beyond the walls; they shut the gate, killed everyone inside, and occupied the fortress, with the help of Armenians from the city, and began seeking the prisoners.

Joscelin, the first one rescued, vowed to King Baldwin that he would not rest until he had reached Jerusalem and raised an army to release him. The captives reportedly made him swear not to change his clothes, eat meat, or drink (except the wine of the Eucharist) until he had collected troops and rescued them. He went to Kesum, Tall Bashir, and Antioch, and then, on the advice of Patriarch Bernard, to Jerusalem. The people were happy, believing the king and Galeran would soon be safe and they would control the treasure of Hisn Ziyad, and Joscelin began gathering troops to free Baldwin and the rest of the captives.

Word of the disaster was sent to Belek in Aleppo. When he heard that Khartabart had been taken by deception, the Turks rushed and laid siege to it by night, investing the fortress closely, so that no one could go in or out. By setting up catapults and ordering mining operations, he succeeded in demolishing the tower. He tortured all the Armenians in it who had betrayed him and had them flayed alive. Belek kept only King Baldwin and his [518] kinsman Galeran, moving them to Harran, where they were imprisoned (165). In 1124 he took the captives to Aleppo and imprisoned them in its citadel (166).

After failing to rescue the captives, Joscelin and his men turned their vengeance against the province of Aleppo, which belonged to Belek. Jocelin attacked Buza'a, in the Wadi of Batnan, and then Hailan, destroying Muslim shrines, cutting down trees, and taking captives. On the western bank of the wadi, he destroyed Muslim graves and the shrine of Dakka (167). Retaliating against his sacrilegious act, the religious judge of Aleppo, Abu al-Hasan Ibn al-Khashshab, with the support of Aleppo's Muslim leaders, destroyed the altars of the city's Christian churches, changed their doors, and converted them into mosques (168). Resenting a cross placed atop the minaret of the city's great mosque in 1102 on the orders of Ridwan (then the lord of Aleppo), Ibn al-Khashshab had it destroyed (169). Ibn al-Adim says several churches were converted; even a cathedral became a mosque, named al-Sarrajin. Ibn al-Khashshab left only two churches as traces of the Christian community (170). The Anonymous Edessan says that early in May 1123, Ibn al-Khashshab ordered the Christians to rebuild two mosques that Joscelin had destroyed. But the church stewards said, "We will not do this, for we should thereby open a door against ourselves, so that wherever a mosque is destroyed, we must rebuild it out of church funds." On Friday, at the judge's order, thousands of Muslims with carpenters' tools and axes rushed to the churches. They entered the Church of Saint Jacob, broke the pulpit and the angels of the altar, defaced the sacred images, cut an opening in the south wall of the sanctuary and prayed there, and made it a mosque. They did the same thing with the Greek church of Theotokos (the Virgin Mother of God) and the Nestorians' church. They sacked the churches and the cells of the bishops. The Malkites fled to Antioch, and the Orthodox Syrians (Jacobites) to Qal'at Ja'bar; all of these events reportedly happened on May 6,1123 (171).

[519] Joscelin continued to invade Shabakhtan, Turkoman and Akrad. He seized over 10,000 sheep and cattle, killed many Muslims, and took others captive. He invested Jabbul and its environs, then went to Dayr Hafir and asphyxiated its inhabitants with smoke in the caves, exhumed graves, and looted the dead. In 1124 some of

Belek's men encountered a group of Franks at Azaz, near Aleppo; after a fierce fight at Mashhala they killed forty Franks and took their belongings. Others, wounded, fled to Azaz (172). At this time Galeran went to Belek and offered to deliver the fortress into his hands. But Belek put the king and his nephew in chains once more, threw them into prison, and went to encamp at Manbij. At this point Hassan ibn Gümüshtekin, the lord of Manbij, who was defending the city's citadel, sent a messenger to Joscelin and Geoffrey the Monk, asking them for aid and promising to hand over Manbij in return. In the ensuing battle between Joscelin and Belek's forces, the Turks were defeated and Belek was mortally wounded by an arrow (173). Ibn al-Adim says that Gümüshtekin's brother Isa shot Belek, then pulled the arrow from his collarbone and spat on him, declaring, "This one has killed many Muslims" (174). To be sure of Belek's death, Joscelin asked his men to search for the body, which they recognized from the markings on his armor. They cut off his head and carried it with congratulations to Joscelin. Placed in a sack, the head was taken to Antioch, Tyre, and then Jerusalem as a token of Joscelin's success (175). The valiant Geoffrey the Monk was also killed. Belek's army fled to Aleppo, and the Turks proclaimed his uncle's son, Husam al-Din Timurtash ibn Ilghazi, as their leader in his place (176).

After Belek's death on May 6, 1124, King Baldwin II, who had been moved to Aleppo, passed into the hands of Timurtash. While he was in prison there, says Matthew of Edessa, Joscelin and the queen made a pact with Timurtash to ransom him, agreeing to hand over the king's daughter and Joscelin's son as hostages and to pay him 100,000 *dahekan*s, but [520] Galeran and King Baldwin's nephew remained in Timurtash's clutches and were eventually executed (177). The other Syriac sources confirm that Timurtash ransomed the king and his sister's son for 100,000 dinars, and that the lord of Shayzar played an important role in Baldwin's release (178). Baldwin was in captivity about sixteen months, from April 18, 1123 to August 29-30, 1124 (179).

The Muslim sources give a different account of Baldwin's release. Ibn al-Adim says that Timurtash, through the mediation of Abu al-Asakir Sultan ibn Munqidh, the lord of Shayzar (who sent his children and his brothers' children to Timurtash as hostages until the negotiation was settled), made an agreement with Baldwin to release him for a payment of 80,000 dinars, of which 20,000 was to be paid in advance. After the initial payment was made, Timurtash released Baldwin from his chains and honored him at a banquet. He also gave the king a royal outergarment, a golden headgear, and slippers, and returned the horse Belek had taken from him on the day of his capture. Baldwin agreed to restore to Timurtash the towns of Azaz, Zardana, and Kafratab, and not to aid Dubays, the son of Sayf al-Dawla Sadaqa, Mazyadid Shi'ite lord of Hilla (1107-1134), who had rebelled against the Abbasid Caliph al-Mustarshid (1118-1135); after the caliph expelled him from Iraq, he went to the Jazira and Syria and allied himself with the Franks. Timurtash then sent Baldwin to the fortress of Shayzar, where he was held until the lord of Shayzar received the hostages (Baldwin's daughter and Joscelin's son) (180). Usama ibn Munqidh, an eyewitness to these events, says there were in Shayzar certain hostages, including Frankish and Armenian knights, whom Baldwin, the Franks' King, had offered as security for the financial obligation which he owed to Husam al-Din Timurtash (181).

Michael Rabo gives an account of Dubays's rebellion not found in other sources, but seems to confuse Dubays with his father Sadaqa I, lord [521] of Hilla from 1086 until his death in 1107. When al-Mustarshid became caliph, he says, he expelled the entertainers from his father's royal house and burned their musical instruments; he also expelled 3000 pretty women who had been his father's boon companions. On hearing this, the Muslims became outraged, saying those who were entrusted with the faith (the caliphs) secretly led a dissolute life, and that this was the cause of the Arab state's decline. Dubays revolted against the caliph and accused him of moral depravity like his father, but the Turks sided with the caliph. Dubays, angered, left to ally himself with the Franks and brought them to Aleppo, hoping that after capturing it they would hand it over to him (182).

Although King Baldwin was released from captivity, the hostages he had given, including his five-year-old daughter Yvette, were neither released nor redeemed (183). Ibn al-Adim says Abu al-Asakir ibn Munqidh held the hostages because Baldwin had reneged on his agreement with Timurtash. Baldwin sent Timurtash a letter informing him that his patriarch, Bernard of Valence, whom he could not contradict, had objected to his agreeing to surrender Azaz and other cities and fortresses to Timurtash and pay a ran-f om for his freedom. The letter makes it clear that Baldwin had not willfully violated his agreement with Timurtash, but was unable to comply with it because he had been censured by the patriarch. The communications between Baldwin and Timurtash show that the hostages were not likely to be released (184).

King Baldwin apparently decided the only way to end the impasse was to fight Timurtash. He found an ally in Dubays, lord of Hilla, who joined the Franks and urged them to capture Aleppo, saying its citizens favored him because he was a Shi'ite like themselves and would quickly surrender the city to him (185). After Salim ibn Malik, lord of Qal'at Ja'bar, brought Dubays together with Joscelin and Baldwin, he entered into an agreement with them, whereby he was to receive Aleppo and the Franks wiould have its possessions, together with other places within the province of Aleppo (186).

[522] In October 1124 Baldwin and Joscelin marched against Aleppo, joined by Dubays and his company, which included Isa ibn Salim ibn Mali; the Artukid Yaghi Siyan, son of Abd al-Jabbar, lord of Balsh (Balis), and Sultan Shah, Ridwan's son, whom the Artukids had removed from his position as lord of Aleppo (187). When Timurtash learned that Aleppo was about to be attacked, he went to Mardin to ask his brother Sulayman for help, but Sulayman was sick, near death, and unable to help. So Timurtash remained there, awaiting his brother's death so that he could replace him as lord of Mardin. When the citizens of Aleppo saw that Timurtash had delayed too long in Mardin, they concluded that he had failed to get aid from Sulayman. They appealed to Sayf al-Din Aksunkur al-Bursuki, lord of Mosul, to take possession of the city and save them from the infidels (188). Al-Bursuki left for Aleppo; at al-Rahba, he was joined by Zahir al-Din Tughtigin, lord of Damascus, and Samsam al-Din Kirkhan, son of Qaraja, lord of Hims. *En route* he sent a message to the people of Aleppo, saying he could not reach the city while the Franks were attacking it. So that he could help them effectively, he told them, they should surrender the citadel to his deputies and prepare to seek refuge there if the Franks took the city. They agreed, and al-Bursuki marched on, arriving on January 29, 1125 to a joyous welcome by the citizens of Aleppo. He stayed there a while, then went back to Mosul (189). The arrival of this large Muslim force evidently kept Baldwin II from capturing Aleppo. He and his allies withdrew as the Muslim forces moved to the stronghold of al-Atharib, which had belonged to the Franks. Baldwin retired to Antioch and finally returned to Jerusalem in April 1125, after two years' absence (190).

The Anonymous Edessan, however, says that for nine months the Franks and Dubays besieged Aleppo, attacking it from every direction. The people of the city began to suffer from a shortage of food and provisions and were forced to eat unclean animals. They were about to surrender the city when a messenger came to report that al-Bursuki, lord of Mosul, was on his way to save them. Dubays urged the Franks to let him lead an army to the Euphrates to prevent al-Bursuki from crossing and attacking Aleppo, but the "stiff-necked" Franks rejected his advice. Meanwhile, al-Bursuki [523] crossed the Euphrates at night and reached Aleppo. The citizens opened the gates for him, and he attacked with fury, forcing the Franks to retreat and take refuge in the Jawshan mountain. Ten days later, they went to Antioch. The Turks pursued them as far as Atharb and took all their belongings, and al-Bursuki returned to Aleppo with great joy (191).

Ibn al-Adim gives a similar account, but reports many abominable acts allegedly committed by the Franks. He states that at the siege of Aleppo they cut down trees, destroyed Muslim shrines, and exhumed Muslim graves, then carried the coffins to their tents and used them as vessels for food. They robbed the dead and attached ropes to the legs of bodies that had not yet decayed and dragged them in plain view of the Muslims. Some of them cried, "This is your Muhammad!" or "This is your Ali!" Ibn al-Adim says that whenever the Franks captured a Muslim, they cut off his hands and male organ and handed him over to the Muslims, but adds that Muslims did the same thing to any Frank they captured (192).

King Baldwin II had his hands full of problems. He had not only to look after his own kingdom but, as regent of Antioch, to protect that principality. His most immediate problem was the growing influence of Aksun-kur al-Bursuki, who had become a foe to be reckoned with. In 1121, the Seljuk Sultan Mahmud made al-Bursuki lord of Aleppo and al-Jazira, Sinjar, Nisibin and other cities (193). Since his lordship was also acknowledged by Tughtigin, lord of Damascus, and Kirkhan, son of Qaraja, lord of Hims, the Franks' position in Syria was seriously threatened. Al-Bursuki also won the support of Sultan ibn Munqidh, lord of Shayzar, whom he visited in March 1125, and who sold him (for 80,000 dinars) the Frankish hostages, Baldwin's daughter and Joscelin's son (194). Confident of his strength, al-Bursuki began attacking some towns within the principality of Antioch. He laid siege to Kafartab and captured it in May 1125, before Baldwin II and Pons, lord of Antioch, who was with him, could get to it. He then besieged Zardana, twenty-five miles southwest of Aleppo, but soon left it to attack Azaz, twenty-five miles north of Aleppo (195).

[524] On June 11, 1125, in a ferocious battle with the Franks, the Muslims were badly defeated and lost a great number of men (196). The Anonymous Edessan says that the Turks lost 2000 men, but al-Bursuki escaped with some troops and was chased by the Franks to Aleppo. On arriving there, he charged his son Mas'ud with the city's administration and left for Mosul to raise a new army (197). Ibn al-Adim, however, says that after their defeat the Muslims negotiated briefly with the Franks and agreed to share Jabal al-Summaq [The Black Mountain] and other places then held by the Franks (198). Baldwin also had to deal with Tughtigin of Damascus, who supported al-Bursuki. On January 25, 1126, he met Tughtigin's forces at March Suffar, southwest of Damascus. Tughtigin was beaten and lost many men (199). While the Franks chased his fleeing troops, a contingent of Turks attacked the Frankish camp and stole everything in their tents (200). Baldwin again found himself face to face with the Muslims when Pons, the son of Bertram, count of Tripoli (1112-1137), attacked Rafaniyya in the Apamea district on March 31, 1126. Shams al-Khawas, the town's ruler, appealed to Tughtigin and al-Bursuki for help, but Rafaniyya was unable to hold out and surrendered to Pons and Baldwin II after an eighteen-day siege (201). As a result, the Franks controlled the road between Antioch and Jerusalem and were able to assure the safety of the principality of Antioch (202).

Al-Bursuki, who had raised an army, marched to al-Raqqa in Syria and camped at the fortress of al-Na'ura on the Euphrates, some eight miles from Aleppo. Joscelin I communicated with al-Bursuki, proposing that he take over half of the villages between Azaz and Aleppo and that they should fight over other places. Al-Bursuki accepted these terms (203). Fulcher of Chartres says that al-Bursuki gathered an army and marched to Syria, where he attacked the fortress of al-Atharb but failed to capture it. Baldwin II, along with Joscelin, rushed to oppose him, although they faced another threat from an Egyptian fleet that was attacking the ports of the Kingdom [525] of Jerusalem (204). The forces of Baldwin II and Joscelin camped at Imm, thirty-three miles west of Aleppo and Artah. According to Ibn al-Adim, Baldwin dispatched a message to al-Bursuki, offering to surrender Rafaniyya to him in return for his withdrawal from the country. Al-Bursuki agreed and withdrew. But the Franks soon violated the agreement, believing that they would not have peace with al-Bursuki unless they held all the villages which they had agreed the previous year to share with the Muslims. Al-Bursuki declined, but it appears that he was unwilling to fight the Franks. He himself withdrew to Qinnesrin and Sarmin, while his forces went to al-Fu'a and Danith. The Franks marched to Ma'arrat Misrin, but because of a shortage of food and provisions, they returned to their own territories in August 1126 (205).

Tughtigin fell ill and was carried by a litter to Damascus. Al-Bursuki retreated to Aleppo and then to Mosul, where he was murdered by a group of Batini Assassins in the mosque on Friday, November 26, 1126. That night he dreamed that a pack of dogs had attacked him, and he killed some of them. When he related the dream to his companions, they advised him to leave his house for a few days, but he refused. The dream came true when he was attacked by ten Batini Assassins; after he killed some, the rest overpowered him and killed him (206).

Michael Rabo shows the assassination of al-Bursuki in a different light. He says that in 1129 (not 1126), Joscelin entered the district of Amid, pillaged the city up to its gate, and annihilated the Turks and the Kurds in the Shuma Mountain. Husam al-Din, the lord of Mardin, then had in his custody two famous Frankish knights, one called Bar Noul (probably Renault or Arnault), and another called Galeran. Al-Bursuki gave him an ultimatum: kill these knights, or he would destroy his city. Husam al-Din then killed the knights. Almost immediately, however, he heard reports that al-Bursuki had been stabbed by an Ismaili (assassin) while he was praying in the mosque on Friday. The sword did not penetrate al-Bursuki's body because he was wearing a shield. The assassin was captured, but he gestured to two accomplices [526] to finish the task; they stabbed al-Bursuki in the belly, beneath his shield, and he died. When Husam al-Din learned of the death of al-Bursuki, who had threatened to destroy his city, he regretted killing the two Frankish knights (207).

Al-Bursuki's son, Izz al-Din Mas'ud, succeeded him as ruler of Mosul. Believing that his father's killers were from the city of Hama, he went to Syria. His march into Syria alarmed Tughtigin, lord of Damascus, who, thinking Mas'ud intended to invade his territory, prepared to fight him. Izz al-Din Mas'ud besieged al-Rahba, whose governor eventually had to surrender it to him, but he was suddenly struck by a severe illness and died at a young age in 1127 (208). After al-Bursuki's death and that of Tughtigin in 1128, Syria (especially Aleppo) fell into utter chaos, suffering greatly from a lack of leadership, which the Franks exploited. The Franks were so aware of the situation of the Muslims that when al-Bursuki died, Baldwin II dispatched a message to Izz al-Din,

who was then in Aleppo, informing him of his father's death (209). After Mas'ud died, there was a power struggle among several men, including Kuman (Tuman), Qutlugh Abah, Fada'il ibn Badi', and Badr al-Dawla Sulayman ibn Abd al-Jabbar, who finally took over the city, with the citizens' approval. Taking advantage of the chaotic situation, Joscelin marched against Aleppo but left after its people offered him a bribe (210).

Like their Muslim foes, the Franks also suffered from dissension, in the form of a rivalry between Joscelin and Bohemond II. When the elder Bohemond died, his son and namesake was living with his mother in Apulia, Italy, where he remained until he was eighteen. Whether (as the Anonymous Edessan says) he was invited by Baldwin II to come to Antioch and take over his father's principality or not, Bohemond II sailed for Syria with twenty-two ships, ten of them oared, arriving at al-Suwaydiyya, the port of Antioch, in September 1126 (211). Usama ibn Munqidh, whose father, the lord of Shayzar, had a strong relationship with the Franks, says [527] that a ship arrived at al-Suwaydiyya carrying a lad in rags. This lad appeared before Baldwin II and introduced himself as the son of Bohemond, and Baldwin delivered Antioch to him (212).

According to Fulcher of Chartres, when Bohemond II came to Antioch, Baldwin II went out with a magnificent procession and received him warmly, to the cheers of the people. Baldwin turned over to him all his land (the principality of Antioch) and married him to his second daughter, Alice. He promised to give him the throne of the kingdom after his death, but for the present he gave him Antioch and Cilicia. After the wedding, Bohemond took his seat on the throne and the assembled nobles took an oath of fealty to him. Thus, the houses of Jerusalem and Antioch were bound together. Then Baldwin II returned to Jerusalem (213).

But the rivalry between Bohemond II and Joscelin quickly turned into hostility. Bohemond II turned out to be ambitious and aggressive, like his father, and was even more zealous in defending the goals of the Franks. Such traits did not escape Usama ibn Munqidh, who said, "That devil, the son of Bohemond, proved a terrible calamity to our people" (214). In 1127 Bohemond II retook Kafratab, which Aksunkur al-Bursuki had captured in 1125. In 1128, he attacked Shayzar, which belonged to the father of Usama ibn Munqidh, and the next year he captured the fortress of Qadmus (215). Joscelin saw Bohemond II as a rival. Taking advantage of the chaotic situation, he marched on the city in 1127, only to find that Bohemond had done the same. The two Frankish leaders found themselves fighting for possession of whatever they could get of Syria (216).

William of Tyre says the reasons for the enmity between Joscelin and Bohemond are unknown and notes that, contrary to honorable customs, Joscelin sought help from a band of infidel Turks. He ravaged the land of Antioch with sword and fire and subdued its Christian inhabitants. All this happened without the knowledge of Bohemond II, who was fighting the [528] Turks (217). Michael Rabo blames Bohemond II for the strife with Joscelin. He says that Bohemond, whom he calls arrogant, tried to impose his authority over all the Franks, causing dissension and warfare among them. Joscelin seized this opportunity to ravage the district of Antioch, plundering whatever he could find, but did not oppress the city's inhabitants. His actions outraged the Latin patriarch of Antioch, Bernard, who ordered the churches closed and the celebration of the Eucharist, prayers, pealing of bells, and the burial of the dead suspended. Finally, Joscelin and Bohemond were reconciled and Joscelin gave back what he had stolen (218). Michael Rabo may have based his account on that of Matthew of Edessa, who says that because of his forceful character and great power, Bohemond II succeeded in making all the Franks, including Joscelin, the count of Edessa, subjugate themselves to his authority (219).

King Baldwin II hurried to Antioch to meet with Bohemond II and Joscelin before the situation became worse, perhaps fearing that their dispute would give the Muslims an opportunity to harass them. With the help of Patriarch Bernard, he succeeded in reconciling them. William of Tyre asserts that Joscelin yielded to the entreaties of Baldwin and Bernard because he was overcome suddenly by a serious illness. Fearing the prospect of death, he repented his evil deeds and vowed that if God saved his life, he would make peace with Bohemond II and pay him homage. When he had recovered, Joscelin swore fealty to Bohemond in the presence of the king and the patriarch. With the two lords reconciled, King Baldwin II returned to Jerusalem (220).

Michael Rabo, however, says that when Joscelin assaulted Aleppo in 1128 (the actual date was 1127), the Turks, who could not fight him, made peace and pledged to pay him 12,000 dinars annually. But some Turks incited others from Azaz to eliminate Joscelin. They administered poison to him and six of his knights. The knights

died, but through the care of physicians Joscelin's life was saved. When he recovered, he had those who had poisoned him and their children killed (221).

[529] The reconciliation with Joscelin was not the end of Bohemond's trouble. He had to face the Turks and the Roupenid Armenians, who ruled Cilicia. Conditions in Cilicia became chaotic after the death of Thoros I, ruler of Partzapert in 1129, followed shortly by the poisoning death of his son Constantine. Since Constantine had no heir, Thoros's brother Leon became the new ruler in 1130 and began to quarrel with Bohemond II. The chaos in Thoros's principality whetted the appetite of both the Danishmend Ilghazi, the lord of Melitene and parts of Cilicia, and Bohemond. Ilghazi, whose power had been enhanced by Thoros's death, became even more powerful when Cassianus, a Byzantine governor of the region of Pontus in northeast Asia Minor, voluntarily surrendered the fortresses in the region to him; in return, Ilghazi gave Cassianus protection and required him to join his army (222). During this time, Armenian marauders from Cilicia had been attacking and plundering Ilghazi's territory. Angered, he decided to attack the Armenians and ravage their country. Bohemond II had likewise suffered from the lawless actions of these Armenians, and he also prepared to march against Cilicia. The Turkish and the Frankish forces happened to invade Cilicia from opposite sides, each unaware of the presence of the other. But while Ilghazi had a strong force, Bohemond had only a few knights. The Armenian prince Leon managed to avoid encountering both invading forces.

The Turkish and Frankish forces met in a fierce battle at Anazarba (Ayn Zarba) in February 1130. After losing a number of men, the exhausted Franks took refuge on a high mound. The Turks surrounded and annihilated them, including Bohemond II. They could not identify him at first, but when they realized the body was that of Bohemond, they cut off his head, scalped it, and kept his beautiful hair. Then they took the head, along with the arms and the horses they had taken from the Franks, to Ilghazi, who in turn sent it to the Abbasid caliph in Baghdad (223). Ilghazi's annihilation of Bohemond II provoked the amazement of the Anonymous Edessan: "How strange! The father of Ilghazi took the father of this Bohemond captive, while the son Ilghazi destroyed the army of his son, the young Bohemond II, and killed him" (224).

[530] Bohemond's untimely death caused problems of succession. He and his wife Alice, the daughter of King Baldwin II, had only one child, a daughter named Constance. The people of Antioch lamented that without a prince, they would face the danger of an attack by their enemies, the Turks. They held a council and summoned King Baldwin to come to Antioch and solve their problem, and he agreed to do so as quickly as he could. But his daughter had other ideas; although her young daughter Constance was sole heir to the principality of Antioch, the ambitious Alice planned to disinherit her and rule Antioch herself. To effect this plan, she sent a message to Imad al-Din Zangi, atabeg of Aleppo, asking him to assist in confirming her as the ruler of Antioch; in return, she would become his dependent. The messenger was captured and brought before King Baldwin II. He confessed all the details of the plot and was put to death. Baldwin rushed to Antioch, taking with him his son-in-law Fulk, count of Anjou (225). Baldwin was refused entrance to the city on Alice's orders, but the Frankish dignitaries of Antioch, including Peter Latinator, a monk of St. Paul, and William Aversa, who opposed her, had the gates opened, and Baldwin and Fulk entered the city. With reluctance Alice appeared before her father, who was indignant at her behavior. The king placed Antioch under his own authority until Constance was of age; to appease his daughter, he granted her the coastal cities of Laodicea and Jabala (226). Ibn al-Adim says Baldwin captured some of the men who had plotted with his daughter and had their hands and legs cut off (227)

The Franks' situation worsened with the death of King Baldwin II on August 21, 1131. Preparing for his death, the king had invited Fulk of Anjou to come to the East as heir to the kingdom. Fulk arrived in the spring of 1129; on June 2 of that year he married Melisend, Baldwin's eldest daughter, receiving Tyre and Acre as dowry, and so became Baldwin's sole heir (228). Fulk and Melisend were crowned and consecrated by William, the Latin [531] patriarch of Jerusalem, in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher on October 14, 1131 (229). The new king was faced with intrigues by Baldwin's daughter Alice. Taking advantage of her father's death, she conspired with William, lord of the fortress of Sihyoun, Pons, lord of Tripoli, and Joscelin II of Edessa to take control of the government of Antioch. On discovering her intrigues, the Frankish knights in Antioch appealed to King Fulk to thwart her plan. But when he arrived in Tripoli, Pons refused to let him enter the city. Fulk put Pons and his supporters to flight and captured some of his men. Finally, through the mediation of loyal advocates of peace, the new king and Pons were reconciled. Before departing Antioch, Fulk left the principality in the hands of Rainaud Masoire,

a capable man of high birth (230). At the behest of his wife Melisend, the king allowed her sister Alice to return, to Antioch. Alice sought to marry her daughter Constance to the son of the Byzantine emperor; the Frankish princes of Antioch and the clergy were outraged, fearing the city would fall into the hands of the Greeks. To solve the problem, King Fulk recommended that Constance marry Raymond, the son of Count William of Poitou, then at the court of King Henry of England. On arriving in Antioch, Raymond married Constance and became ruler of Antioch. Distressed, Alice retired to Laodicea, where she lived in semi-seclusion until her death in 1136 (231).

The death of King Baldwin II was followed shortly by that of Joscelin. Although exhausted by a long illness and awaiting death, Joscelin, the formidable Frank, still had some energy left for combat. Marauders had been attacking and ransacking the fortress of Tall Arran, between Aleppo and Manbij, and Joscelin went out with a force to defend his territory. He ordered tunnels dug under the fortress to undermine the attackers. When he entered the tunnels to examine the work himself, bricks fell upon him and he was almost buried alive. He was rescued but had suffered many fractures. He was carried on a litter to Tall Bashir. Meanwhile, reports had reached him that Ilghazi ibn Danishmend was marching with his forces against the principality of the Armenian Roupenids. Despite his ill health, Joscelin summoned his son and namesake, telling him to go out and challenge Ilghazi. When the son, a coward, began to make excuses, Joscelin took matters into his own hands and went out with a force to challenge Ilghazi. Realizing that Joscelin had come out to challenge him, Ilghazi [532] became frightened and returned to his own country. Joscelin marched on to Duluk; there he died and was buried in the village church (232).

Footnotes

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1 H. A. R. Gibb, ed., Introduction to *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades* (London: Luzac, 1967), 14-32, in H. A. R. Gibb, *Saladin: Studies in Islamic History*, ed. Yusuf Ibish (Beirut: The Arab Institute for Research and Publishing, 1974), 30-44.

2 The Anonymous Edessan, 60 of the Syriac text, 73 of the English translation, 79 of the Arabic translation.

3 Albert of Aachen, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, *R. H. C. Occ.*, 4 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1867), 607; Al-Qadi Baha al-Din Ibn Shaddad, *al-Nawadir al-Sultaniyya wa al-Mahasin al-Yusufiyya*, *R. H. C. Or.*, 3 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1884), 243.

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4 Benjamin Z. Kedar, *The Franks in the Levant, 11th to 14th Centuries* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1993), 135-136 and Jean Richard, *The Crusades 1071-1291* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 100-108.

5 For a comprehensive treatment of this subject, see Kedar, *The Franks in the Levant*, 135-174; Kedar, *Crusade and Mission: European Approach toward the Muslims* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 42-57; Joshua Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: European Colonisation in the Middle Ages* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1972), 47-52; Hans Eberhard Mayer, "Latins, Muslims and Greeks in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem," London, 1983), 175-192.

6 Claude Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord a I'epoque des croisades et la principauté franque d'Antioche* (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1940), 41-42; Kedar, *The Franks*, 137.

7 Diya al-Din Abd al-Wahid al-Maqdisi, *Sabab Hijrat al-Maqadisa ila Dimashq*, in M. A. Dahman, ed., Shams al-Din Muhammad ibn Ali Ibn Tulun, *al-Qala'id al-Jawhariyya fi Tarikh al-Salibiyya*, 1 (Damascus, 1980), 68; Daniella Talmon-Heller, "Arabic Sources on Muslim Villagers under Frankish Rule," in *From Clermont to Jerusalem: The Crusades and Crusader Societies 1095-1500*, Alan V. Murray, ed., (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), 103-117; Kedar, *The Franks*, 138; Richards, *The Crusades 1071-1297*,100-108.

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8 *Chronique D 'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*, M. L. De Mas Latrie, ed. (Paris: M. V.Jules Renouard, 1871), 28-29.

9 *Rihlat Ibn Jubayr* (Beirut: Dar Sadir, 1964), 274-275, reproduced in *R. H. C. Or.*, 3: 448-449, and trans. R. J. C. Broadhurst as *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1952), 316-317; Mayer, "Latins, Muslims and Greeks," 181.

10 Al-Maqdisi, in Shams al-Din Muhammad ibn Ali Ibn Tulun, *al-Qala'id al-Jawhariyya fi Traikh al-Salibiyya* 1 (Damascus, 1980), 68; Kedar, *The Franks*, 138, n. 10. Cf. Hadia Dajani-Shakeel, "Some Aspects of Muslim-Frankish Christian

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Relations in the Sham Region in the Twelfth Century," in *Christian-Muslim Encounters*, Yvonne-Yazbeck Haddad and Wadi Zaidain Haddad, eds. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1995): 194-197.

11 J. Prawer, "The Settlement of the Latins in Jerusalem," *Speculum* 27 (1952): 496-497.

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12 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, Translated by Gregorius Saliba Shamoun as *Tarikh Mar Mikha'il al-Suryani al-Kabir* (Damascus: Sidawi Printing House, 1996), 588, 590; edited by J.B. Chabot as *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, Patriarche Jacobite d'Antioche, 1166-1199* (Paris: *n.p.*, 1899-1910), 185, 191; J. W. Thompson, *Economic and Social History of the Middle Ages, 300-1300* (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1959), 1: 406.

13 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 606-607 (French, 221-222).

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14 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 590 (French, 190-191), gives the name of only one of these Latin bishops, Brikha (Benedict) of Edessa.

15 William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, trans. Emily Atwater Babcock and A.C. Krey, 1 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943), 1: 458-459.

16 Jacques De Vitry, *The History of Jerusalem AD 1180* (London: Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, 1896), 79-80.

17 For a thorough analysis of the Maronites and their adherence to the Church of Rome, see Matti Moosa, *The Maronites in History* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1986, reprinted Gorgias Press, 2005.).

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18 Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia and the Crusades, Tenth to Twelfth Centuries: The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa*, trans. A. E. Dostourian (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1993), 179.

19 William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 517.

20 Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia*, 221-222.

21 R. Grousset, *L'Empire du Levant d'Orient Historie de la Question* (Paris, 1964), 298.

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22 Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 648; William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 450, 522; N. Iorga, *L'Armenie Ciliciénne* (Paris: J. Gamber, 1930), 93; Harold S. Fink, "The Foundation of the Latin States, 1099-1118," in *A History of the Crusades: The First Hundred Years*, M. W. Baldwin, ed. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), 1: 392; Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades et du Rayaume Franc de Jérusalem*, 1 (Paris: Librairie Jules Tallander, 1935): 438, and 2: 868; Cahen, *La Syrie*, 230.

23 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 593 (French, 197).

24 Ordericus Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of England and Normandy*, trans. Thomas Forester, 3 (New York: AMS Press, 1968), 289; also trans. Marjorie Chibnall, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, 5 (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1996), 325.

25 William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 450; Robert Lawrence Nicholson, *Joscelyn I, Prince of Edessa* (Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1954), 5.

26 William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 451.

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27 The Anonymous Edessan, 64 (English, 76; Arabic, 84).

28 The Anonymous Edessan, 65 (English, 76; Arabic, 85); Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia*, 177-178, mentions the agreement but says nothing about its terms.

29 Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia* 178; Abu Ya'la Hamza Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, ed. H. F. Amedroz (Beirut: Matba'at al-Ad al-Yasu'iyyin, 1908), 138; Izz al-Din Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil* fi al-Tarikh, *Recueil des historians des Croisades* 1 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1872), 208; Aliyya Abd al-Sami' al-Janzuri, *Imarat al-Ruba al-Salibiyya* (Cairo, 1975), 90-92.

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30 The Anonymous Edessan, 66 (English, 77; Arabic, 86).

31 Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia*, 192.

32 Athir, *al-Kamil*, 1: 217-218.

33 The Anonymous Edessan, 67 (English, 78; Arabic, 86-87).

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34 Athir, *al-Kamil*, 1: 218-219.

35 Athir, *al-Kamil*, 1: 208-210.

36 Fulcher of Chartres, 135, esp. n. 4.

37 The Anonymous Edessan, 61, 63 (English, 74; Arabic, 81).

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38 Fulcher of Chartres, *Fulcheri Carnotenis historia Hierosolymitana (1095-1127) mit Erläuterungen und einem Anhange*, ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg: Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1913), trans. Frances Rita Ryan as *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem 1095-1127* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1969), 135; Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 524; Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 589 (French, 188).

39 Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia*, 176-177; Gregorius Bar Hebraeus, *The Chronography of Bar Hebraeus*, E. W. Budge, trans. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1932), 82-83 (English, 236-237); The Anonymous Edessan, 61-62 (English, 74; Arabic, 80-81); William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 411; Ralph Bailey Yewdale, *Bohemond I, Prince of Antioch* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1924), 92-93; Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1964), 1: 320-321; E. Honigmann, "Malatya," in C. E. Bosworth et al., eds., *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, 6 (Leiden: EJ. Brill, 1991): 230-231.

40 The Anonymous Edessan, 75, n. 3 of the English translation, gives the date as 1103.

41 Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 83 (English, 237), presents these events in almost exactly the same words as Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 590 (French, 188).

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42 Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia*, 177.

43 Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 563-564; James Lea Cate, "The Crusade of 1101," in M. W. Baldwin, ed., *A History of the Crusades*, 1: 354; James A. Brund-age, "An Errant Crusader: Stephen of Blois," *Traditio*, 16 (1960): 391-392.

44 Athir, *al-Kamil*, 1: 203. Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 559, puts the number at 200,000, still an exaggeration. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 2: 19, says the figure should be divided by at least ten.

45 Ordericus Vitalis, trans. Forester, 3: 307-308, and trans. Chibnall, 5: 355-357. Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 610, says Alexius offered Ibn Danishmend 260,000 bezants for Bohemond.

46 Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 611-613; Yewdale, *Bohemond I*, 96; William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 451, n. 49.

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47 Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia*, 192, adds that Ibn Danishmend gave Richard of the Principate, Bohemond's sister's son, to the Emperor Alexius in return for a great sum of money. Ter-Gregorian (Galust) Iskenderian, *Die Kreuzfahrer und Beziehungen zu den armenischen Nachbarfürsten bis zum Untergange der Grafschaft Edessa* (Weida, i. Th.: Druck von Thomas und Hubert, 1915), 63, follows Matthew's account.

48 The Anonymous Edessan, 61-62 (English, 74; Arabic, 81).

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49 The Anonymous Edessan, 78 (English, 85; Arabic, 99), says Roger married the sister of Baldwin of Le Bourg.

50 Ordericus Vitalis, trans. Forester, 3: 309-322, trans. Chibnall, 5: 359-379. For more on this legend see F. M. Warren, "The Enamoured Moslim Princess in Ordericus Vitalis and the French Epic," *PMLA* 29 (1914): 341-358. Roger was killed along with 7,000 of his fellow Christians on June 27-28, 1119, by the forces of Il-Ghazi, the Artukid governor of Mardin (1117-1122), at al-Balat, between two mountains near Darb Sarmada, to the north of al-Atahrib (Zaranda). The massacre came to be known as *ager sanguinis* (The Field of Blood). See Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia*, 224; William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 530-531; Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 699 (French, 204-205); The Anonymous Edessan, 82 (English, 88; Arabic, 104); Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 2: 150; Robert L. Nicholson, "The Growth of the Latin States, 1118-1144," M. W. Baldwin, ed., *A History of the Crusades*, 1: 413; R. C. Smail, *Crusading Warfare 1097-1193* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 179.

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51 William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 457.

52 Athir, *al-Kamil*, 1:221.

53 Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia*, 178; Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia*, 193; Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 614-615; Ralph of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi Siciliaee Regis*, *R H. C. Occ.* 3 (Paris: Farnborough, Hants, Gregg, 1866), 710; William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 456; Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades*, 1: 403-404; Nicholson, *Joscelyn I*, 7; Janzuri, *Imarat*, 94-95; Sa'id Abd al-Fattah Ashur, *al-Haraka al-Salibiyya*, 1 (Cako: Maktabat al-Anglo-al-Misriyya, 1963), 443.

54 Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia*, 19; Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 614.

55 Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, 143, also in H. A. R. Gibb, *The Damascus Chronicle*, 60; Athir, *al-Kamil*, 1: 221; Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 614; Ralph of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi*, 710; Bernhard Kugler, Albert von Aachen (Stuttgart, 1885), 337;

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Charles Oman, *A History of the Art of War in the Middle Ages, A.D. 378-1278*, 1 (New York: Burt Franklin, 1924), 320-324; Fink, "The Foundation," 389; Andre Beaumont, "Albert of Aachen and the County of Edessa," in *The Crusades and Other Historical Essays*, L. J. Paetow, ed. (New York: F. S. Crofts, 1928), 127; Nicholson, *Joscelyn I*,1, esp. n. 8, offers critical remarks.

56 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 593 (French, 195).

57 William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 458.

58 Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia*, 178; Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 614-616; Ralph of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi*, 710; Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia*, 193; William of Tyre, *History*, 1:458-459; Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, 143, and trans. Gibb, 60; Athir, *al-Kamil*, 1: 220-223; Badawi Abd al-Latif Awad, ed., *Tarikh al-fariqi*, 274; Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 593 (French, 195); The Anonymous Edessan, 70 (English, 80; Arabic, 90-91); Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 2: 43;

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Nicholson, *Tancred*, 141-144; Nicholson, *Joscelyn I*, 8-11.

59 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 593 of the Syriac text, 195 of the French translation.

60 Nicholson, *Joscelyn I*, 141, n. 51, gives the best estimate of losses and summarizes the accounts of the different sources.

61 Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia*, 193.

62 William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 459.

63 Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, 143, and trans. Gibb, 61.

64 Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 2: 44; Fink, "The Foundation," 389.

65 A.A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, 2 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1954), 410.

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66 Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 616; Ralph of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi*, 712; William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 459; Grousset, *Histoire*, 1: 407; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 2: 43.

67 Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 61, gives Tancred's message to Bohemond; Janzuri, *Imarat*, 380-381, gives an Arabic translation of the letter; Grousset, *Histoire*, 1: 408.

68 Ibn al-Adim, *Zubdat al-Halab min Tarikh Halab*, Sami al-Dahhan, ed. (Beirut: al-Matba'a al-Catholikiyya, 1954), 2: 148-149; Yewdale, *Bohemond I*, 100-101; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 2: 45; Ashur, al-Haraka, 1: 404-405.

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69 Anna Comnena, *The Alexiad*, trans. Elizabeth A. Dawes (London: Rutledge & Kegan Paul, 1967), 296-297; Yewdale, *Bohemond 1*, 101.

70 Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, 297; Ralph of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi*, 712; Yewdale, *Bohemond I*, 192; W. B. Stevenson, The Crusaders in the East (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1907), 78-79; Grousset, *Histoire*, 1: 414.

71 Ralph of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi*, 712-713.

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72 Frances Rita Ryan, ed., Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia*, 192, n. 1; Yewdale, *Bohemond I*, 106.

73 Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia*, 181; William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 472; Ordericus Vitalis, trans. Forester, 3: 365-367.

74 Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia*, 194.

75 Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia*, 194.

76 Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia*, 193, and William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 471-472, mention the treaty but say little about it. For details of the agreement see Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, 350-357; Yewdale, *Bohemond I*, 127-129; Vasiliev, *History*, 2: 411.

77 William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 472. Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia*, 194, says Bohemond died in his native land without being able to return to the East.

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78 Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 616.

79 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 593 (French, 195); The Anonymous Edessan, 70 (English, 80; Arabic, 90-91); Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia*, 197; Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 616; Fink, "The Foundation," 393.

80 Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, 148, and trans. Gibb, 69; Adim, *Zubdat*, 2: 150.

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81 Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia*, 197-198; Stevenson, *The Crusaders*, 83, follows Matthew of Edessa.

82 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 594 (French, 195); The Anonymous Edessan, 71-72 (English, 80-82; Arabic, 91-93), gives substantially the same account.

83 Athir, *al-Kamil*, 1: 260-261.

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84 Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 84-85 (English, 242); Fink, "The Foundation," 393. Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia*, 201, says Joscelin ransomed Baldwin by paying Chavli 30,000 *dahekan*s.

85 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 593-594 (French, 195). The Anonymous Edessan, 71-72 (English, 80-81; Arabic, 91-93), differs only slightly; see Janzuri, *Imarat*, 104-107.

86 Reinhold Röhricht, *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem 1100-1292* (Innsbruck, 1898), 51.

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87 The Anonymous Edessan, 69-70 (English, 80; Arabic, 91). Nicholson suggests that Joscelin may have acted the same as Tancred and Bohemond. I cannot agree, because Joscelin did everything in his power to have Baldwin of Le Bourg released; Nicholson, *Joscelyn I*, 13.

88 Athir, *al-Kamil*, 1: 262-263; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 84-85 (English, 242).

89 William of Tyre, *History*, 2: 34-35.

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90 Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil*, 1: 262-263; Runciman, *A History of The Crusades*, 2: 112.

91 The Anonymous Edessan, 73 (English, 82; Arabic, 93), says that Joscelin asked the lord of Mosul (Chavli) for help.

92 Ibn al-Athir *al-Kamil*, 1: 262.

93 Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia*, 201, appears to object because two Christian leaders sought the help of a Muslim against another Christian leader.

94 Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia*, 201; Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 649; Runciman, *A History of The Crusades*, 2: 112-114; Nicholson, *Joscelyn I*, 19-22.

95 Adim, *Zubdat*, 2: 153.

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96 Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia*, 201-202.

97 Bernhard Kugler, Boemund und Tankred Fürsten von Antiochien (Tübingen, 1862), 39-40; Grousset, *Histoire*, 1: 443.

98 Bar Hebraeus, *Tarikh Mukhtasar al-Duwal*, ed. Rev. Anton Salihani (Beirut: al-Matba'a al-Catholikiyya, 1958), 199; Awad, *Tarikh al-Fariqi*, 275.

99 The Anonymous Edessan, 75-79 (English, 83-85; Arabic, 95-98).

100 Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia*, 203-204.

101 Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, 169; Adim, *Zubdat*, 2: 154; The Anonymous Edessan, 75-79 (English, 83-85; Arabic, 95-98). Ferdinand Chalandon, *Essai sur le Règne d'Alexis I, 1081-1118* (Paris: A. Picard, 1900), 251, calls Sukman "Kokman." Nicholson, *Joscelyn I*, 35-43, gives a full account of these campaigns.

102 Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia*, 204.

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103 Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 672; Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia*, 204; Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, 169; The Anonymous Edessan, 74 (English, 82; Arabic, 94).

104 Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 670.

105 Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia*, 201.

106 The Anonymous Edessan, 73-74 (English, 82; Arabic, 94).

107 Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia*, 205; Stevenson, *The Crusaders*, 88.

108 Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, 169, and trans. Gibb, 102; Adim, *Zubdat*, 2: 154.

109 Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, 169; Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia*, 205.

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110 Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia*, 205-206; The Anonymous Edessan, 74-75 (English, 83; Arabic, 95), says that through the instrumentality of Satan, a Frank who had a grudge against his lord told Mawdud that the Franks were in full flight, faint from hunger, and weakened by fatigue, and if he pursued them, he would inflict great losses on them.

111 Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 675.

112 Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, 173, uses the phrase *mutamallik al-Rum*, i.e., the one who rules over the Rum (Byzantines); Chalandon, *Essai*, 252. Gibb, *The Damascus Chronicle*, 112, n. 1, translates it as "tyrant," saying *mutamallik* means "would-be king" or "self-proclaimed king". In fact, it means "the person who rules," and carries the same connotation as *malik* (king). Runciman, *A History of The Crusades*, 2: 121, n. 1, is clearly incorrect in translating the term as "usurper." It is doubtful that Ibn al-Qalanisi used it in a derogatory sense.

113 Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, 173-174; Gibb, *The Damascus Chronicle*, 112-113.

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114 Athir, *al-Kamil*, 1: 280.

115 Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, 173; Athir, *al-Kamil*, 1: 279-280. Some sources confuse this expedition with one the previous year. The campaigns of 1110 and 1111 may rightly be taken together as Mawdud's first expedition against Edessa. See Ashur, *al-Harka*, I: 316-317, and Janzuri, *Imarat*, 143-144.

116 Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia*, 207; Athir, *al-Kamil*, 1: 280-281; Adim, *Zubdat*, 2: 158-159; Grousset, *Histoire*, 1: 463.

117Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 681; Adim, *Zubdat*, 2: 159.

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118 Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 682; Athir, *al-Kamil*, 1: 281-282. Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 84 (English, 244), says Ridwan shut the gates of Aleppo in Mawdud's face.

119 Adim, *Zubdat*, 2: 159; Ashur, *al-Haraka*, 1: 462-463.

120 Athir, *al-Kamil*, 1: 282; Ibn al-Athir, *al-Tarikh al-Bahir fi al-Dawla al-Atabegiyya*, ed. Abd al-Qadir Ahmad Tulaymat (Cairo: Dar al-Kutub al-Haditha, 1963), 17-18; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 84 (English, 244).

121 Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia*, 211.

122 Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 665-666.

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123 For an extensive account of these events see R. L. Nicholson, *Tancred: A Study of His Career and Work in their Relation to the First Crusade and the Establishment of the Latin States in Syria and Palestine* (New York: AMS Press, 1978), 180-190.

124 Athir, *al-Kamil*, 1:274.

125 Athir *al-Kamil*, 1: 278; Adim, *Zubdat*, 2: 155-157.

126 Adim, *Zubdat*, 2: 163.

127 Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia*, 211; Stevenson, *The Crusaders*, 97; Nicholson, *Tancred*, 223.

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128 Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia*, 209-211; Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, 181, and trans. Gibb, 126.

129 Athir, *al-Kamil* 1:210.

130 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 594-595 (French, 196); Grousset, *Histoire*, 1: 473, and 2: 873-874.

131 The Anonymous Edessan, 75-79 (English, 83-85; Arabic, 95-98).

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132 Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia*, 212-213; Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades* , 1: 491, and *L'Empire du Levant*, 299. See Nicholson, *Joscelyn I*, 45-51.

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133 Athir, *al-Kamil*, 1: 288-290. The Anonymous Edessan, 77 (English, 85; Arabic, 98) and Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 86 (English, 245) make little mention of this campaign.

134 Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, 187; Athir, *al-Kamil*, 1: 290, and *al-Tarikh al-Bahir*, 4-8, 19; Albert of Aachen, *Liber Christianae*, 700; The Anonymous Edessan, 77-78 (English, 85; Arabic, 98).

135 Athir, *al-Tarikh al-Bahir*, 19.

136 Athir, *al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh*, 1: 292-293.

137 Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia*, 211; Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 594-595 (French, 198-199), wrongly gives the name of the widow as "Kogh Bakis",

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who was actually the boy Dgha Vasil's wet nurse, not his mother. A man named Kourtig was the boy's guardian.

138 Athir, *al-Kamil*, 1: 293, gives the date of Kogh Vasil's death as 1114 (not 1112) and does not mention Dgha Vasil.

139 Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia*, 219-220.

140 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 595 (French, 199); Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, (English) 246-247.

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141 Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia*, 220.

142 The Anonymous Edessan, 80 (English, 86; Arabic, 101).

143 Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia*, 220. Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 595 (French, 200), says a violent earthquake took place and many houses in Samosata collapsed. Constantine and many others perished in the ruins. See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, (English) 247.

144 Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia*, 221.

145 Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia*, 225; Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia*, 221; Athir, *al-Kamil*, 1: 314; The Anonymous Edessan, 80 (English, 86; Arabic, 101); Fink, "The Foundation," 405.

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146 The Anonymous Edessan, 80, 83 (English, 86, 88; Arabic, 101, 105); Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia*, 225; Nicholson, *Joscelyn I*, 52; Ashur, *al-Haraka*, 1: 474.

147 Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia*, 225.

148 William of Tyre, *History*, 2: 141.

149 On Joscelin's wars with the Artukids, see Nicholson, *Joscelyn I*, 52-61.

150 William of Tyre, *History*, 2: 52; The Anonymous Edessan, 108 (English, 275; Arabic, 133).

151 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 600 (French, 210); Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 87-88 (English, 250). The Anonymous Edessan, 86-87 (English, 90-91; Arabic, 109-110), says Joscelin married Roger's daughter, not her sister. See Nicholson, *Joscelyn I*, 62, n. 351.

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152 Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, 208, and trans. Gibb, 166.

153 The Anonymous Edessan, 86-87 (English, 90-91; Arabic, 109-110); Nicholson, *Joscelyn I*, 63, and "The Growth of the Latin States," in Baldwin, ed., *A History of the Crusades*, 1: 418.

154 Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia*, 228-229.

155 The Anonymous Edessan, 89 (English, 91; Arabic, 112).

156 Athir, *al-Kamil*, 1:344.

157 Adim, *Zubdat*, 2: 206.

158 Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia*, 229-230; The Anonymous Edessan, 88 (English, 91; Arabic, 111); Grousset, *Histoire*, 2: 875.

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159 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 600 (French, 210-211); Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 88 (English, 251).

160 Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 88 (English, 251), says Hisn Ziyad and Khartabart designate the same place.

161 Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, 209, and trans. Gibb, 167; Adim, *Zubdat*, 2: 211. I have generally followed The Anonymous Edessan, 88-89 (English, 91-92; Arabic, 111-112). Slightly different accounts are given by Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia*, 239-240; Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia*, 229; Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 603 (French, 211); and William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 540-541. Athir, *al-Kamil*, 1: 352-353, says King Baldwin fought Belek not to save Joscelin, but to curb the influence of Belek, who had besieged the fortress of Gargar near Khartabart. See Grousset, *Histoire*, 1: 587; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 2: 162; Nicholson, *Joscelyn I*, 65; Ashur, al-Haraka, 1: 513; Janzuri, *Imarat*, 121.

162 William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 547.

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163 The Anonymous Edessan, 89 (English, 92; Arabic, 112).

164 Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia*, 247; William of Tyre, *History*, 1: 541; Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 600 (French, 210-211); The Anonymous Edessan, 89 (English, 92; Arabic, 112); Athir, *al-Kamil*, 1: 353; Adim, *Zubdat*, 2: 213.

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165 William of Tyre, *History*, I: 544; Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia*, 230; The Anonymous Edessan, 92 (English, 93; Arabic, 115-116); Adim, *Zubdat*, 2: 213.

166 Adim, *Zubdat*, 2: 217.

167 The Anonymous Edessan, 93 (English, 94; Arabic, 116)

168 Adim, *Zubdat*, 2: 214-215.

169 Sibt ibn al-Ajami, *Kunuz al-Dhahab*, 1: 191, quoted in Janzuri, *Imarat*, 172, n. 142.

170 Adim, *Zubdat*, 1: 214-215.

171 The Anonymous Edessan, 93 (English, 94; Arabic, 116-117).

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172 Adim, *Zubdat*, 2: 216-217.

173 Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia*, 232; The Anonymous Edessan, 93-94 (English, 94; Arabic, 117).

174 Adim, *Zubdat*, 2: 219. Athir, *al-Kamil*, 1: 335, says no one knows whose arrow killed Belek.

175 Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia*, 262-263; William of Tyre, *History*, 2: 16.

176 Adim, *Zubdat*, 2: 220. Athir, *al-Kamil*, 1: 356, says that Timurtash loved a life of ease and quiet, and to escape the constant state of warfare with the Franks in Syria he had settled in Mardin in 1122. See Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 603 (French, 218).

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177 Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia*, 232-233; Nicholson, *Joscelyn I*, 65-72.

178 Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 88 (English, 251); Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 603 (French, 211).

179 Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia*, 275.

180 Adim, *Zubdat*, 2: 221-222. See Usama ibn Munqidh, *Kitab al-I'tibar*, trans. Philip Hitti as *An Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior in the Period of the Crusades* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1929), 150.

181 Usama ibn Munqidh, *An Arab-Syrian Gentleman*, 133. Adim, *Zubdat*, 2: 222, says the twelve hostages included Baldwin's daughter, Joscelin's son, and other Franks (who may have been knights, as Usama says), but does not mention Armenian knights as being among them.

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182 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 607 (French, 211), errs in saying that Dubays revolted in the time of al-Mustazhri, father of al-Mustarshid. Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 88 (English, 252), corrects this mistake.

183 Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia*, 275; William of Tyre, *History*, 2: 21.

184 Adim, *Zubdat*, 2: 222-223.

185 Athir, *al-Kamil*, 1: 360, 394.

186 Adim, *Zubdat*, 2: 223; Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia*, 234, says Dubays and the Franks made an alliance but gives no details. Nicholson, *Joscelyn I*, 72, and "The Growth of the Latin States," 1: 423-424, argues incorrectly that Baldwin broke his

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agreement with Timurtash, and he and Joscelin then negotiated with Dubays.

187 Adim, *Zubdat*, 2: 223-224.

188 Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, 212, and trans. Gibb, 172-173; Athir, *al-Kamil*, 1: 360-361, and *al-Tarikh al-Bahir*, 25; Adim, *Zubdat*, 2: 223.

189 Athir, *al-Kamil*, 1: 360-361.

190 Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia*, 274-275.

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191 The Anonymous Edessan, 97-98 (English, 96-97, Arabic 121-122). Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia*, 234, and Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 607 (French, p. 221), mention this event only briefly.

192 Adim, *Zubdat*, 2: 224-225.

193 Athir, *al-Tarikh al-Bahir*, 24.

194 Adim, *Zubdat*, 2: 230-231; Runciman, *A History of The Crusades*, 2: 173.

195 Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia*, 278-279, calls Azaz "Hasar".

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196 Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia*, 234-235; Adim, *Zubdat*, 2: 231.

197 The Anonymous Edessan, 100-101 (English, 98; Arabic, 125); Athir, *al-Kamil*, 1: 362-363.

198 Adim, *Zubdat*, 2: 231; William of Tyre, *History*, 2: 25.

199 William of Tyre, *History*, 2: 27-30; Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 606 (French, 223).

200 Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, 212-213.

201 Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, 216; Adim, *Zubdat*, 2: 232.

202 Grousset, *Histoire*, 1: 641.

203 Adim, *Zubdat*, 2: 232.

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204 Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia*, 298.

205 Adim, *Zubdat*, 2: 233-234; Nicholson, *Joscelyn I*, 77-78; Ashur, *al-Haraka*, 1: 528-529.

206 Athir, *al-Kamil*, 1: 365, and *al-Tarikh al-Bahir*, 41; Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, 214; William of Tyre, *History*, 2: 32, says al-Bursuki was stabbed to death by his servants and other members of his household; Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia*, 236, says he was killed by people from his nation called Hajji; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 88 (English, p. 252); Adim, *Zubdat*, 2: 234-235.

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207 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 609-610 (French, 225).

208 Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, 217; Athir, *al-Kamil*, 1: 366, 374. Adim, *Zubdat*, 2: 237, says Mas'ud was poisoned.

209 Athir, *al-Kamil*, 1: 366.

210 Athir, *al-Kamil*, 1: 389-390, says that Baldwin II came to Aleppo on the heels of Joscelin; Adim, *Zubdat*, 2: 237-238; Nicholson, *Joscelyn I*, 79.

211 The Anonymous Edessan, 101 (English, 98; Arabic, 125); Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia*, 237; Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia*, 297-298; William of Tyre, *History*, 2: 32-33; Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 609 (French, 224); Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 88-89 (English, 253); Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 2: 175-176.

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212 Usama ibn Munqidh, *Kitab al-I'tibar*, trans. Hitti, 150; Athir, *al-Kamil*, 1: 476, and by the same author, *al-Tarikh al-Bahir*, 99.

213 Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia*, 303; Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia*, 237; William of Tyre, *History*, 2: 33; The Anonymous Edessan, 101 (English, 98; Arabic, 125); Nicholson, *Joscelyn I*, 80, n. 421.

214 Usama ibn Munqidh, *Kitab*, 150.

215 William of Tyre, *History*, 2: 33-34; Nicholson, *Joscelyn I*, 81, n. 422.

216 B. Kugler, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge* (Berlin: G. Grotesche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1880), 116.

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217 William of Tyre, *History*, 2: 34.

218 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 609 (French, 224); Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 88-89 (English, 253).

219 Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia*, 237.

220 William of Tyre, *History*, 2: 34-45; Nicholson, *Joscelyn I*, 82.

221 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 609 (French, 224). Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 88-89 (English, 253), says the Turks of Aleppo bribed Joscelin's Frankish cooks with gold, then made him and six of his knights drink deadly poison.

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222 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 609 (French, 227); Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 89 (English, 255).

223 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*^ 609 (French, 227); Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 89 (English, 255).

224 The Anonymous Edessan, 102 (English, 99; Arabic, 126-127).

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225 William of Tyre, *History*, 2: 51-52, n. 16; Röhricht, *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem*, 203.

226 William of Tyre, *History*, 2: 44-45; Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 612 (French, 230), says Joscelin came to Antioch with Baldwin II; Bar Hebraeus, 89 (English, 255); Nicholson, *Joscelyn I*, 88-89, and "The Growth of the Latin States," 1: 431; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 2: 184.

227 Adim, *Zubdat*, 2: 246-247.

228 William of Tyre, *History*, 2: 51; Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 614-615 (French, 236), incorrectly places Baldwin's death and the marriage of Fulk to Melisend in the year 1135.

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229 William of Tyre, *History*, 2: 51.

230 William of Tyre, *History*, 2: 55.

231 William of Tyre, *History*, 2: 59-60, 77-79.

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232 William of Tyre, *History*, 2: 51-52, says that Joscelin went to challenge Sultan Kilij Arslan. See Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 614 (French, 236); The Anonymous Edessan, 103 (English, 99-100; Arabic, 128); Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 89 (English, 255); Nicholson, *Joscelyn I*, 91.

Matti Moosa's

The Rise of the Zangids and the Fall of Edessa

This material, which is presented solely for non-commercial educational/research purposes, appears as Chapter 15 in Dr. Moosa's *Crusades: Conflict Between Christendom and Islam* (Piscataway, NJ., 2008) pp. 533-574.

Footnotes

While the Franks were involved in internecine disputes, they also faced a rising threat from the Zangids. For years, Joscelin and King Baldwin II had fought with the Muslim lords of Syria, including Imad al-Din Zangi, whose help Baldwin's daughter Alice sought in her attempt to gain control of the principality of Antioch. Perhaps the Franks believed that the Zangids were simply another group of Muslims who would soon be engaged in constant quarrels among themselves, much to their own advantage. They do not seem to have considered seriously the stated intention of Imad al-Din Zangi to unite his people and drive them out of Syria. But this new Muslim lord's threat was different and extremely devastating. The rise of the Zangids was the beginning of the end of the Franks' power in Syria, and eventually it led to their loss of Jerusalem.

Before we discuss the Zangids, it is appropriate to examine the situation of the Franks and the Muslims in Syria. No historian has done this with more insight than Ibn al-Athir, who asserts that when Imad al-Din Zangi came to power (1127), the Muslims in Syria were weak, while the *mushrikun* (polytheists, the Christian Franks) were strong. The Franks' kingdom had grown tremendously, extending from Mardin and Shabakhtan in Syria to al-Arish in Egypt, and from al-Jazira to Nisibin and Ras al-Ayn. Their military detachments harassed travelers as far away as Diyarbakr. They controlled all the roads leading to Damascus except the one through al-Rahba. Fearful Muslim merchants traversed the country at great risk to their lives as well as their merchandise. The Franks had become powerful enough to subdue the lands and peoples of Islam. They exacted tribute from the Muslims simply to keep them under control. They even sent messengers to Damascus to ask whether the Greeks, Armenians, and other Christians the Muslims had taken captive wished to stay under Muslim rule or return to their own people. Those who chose to stay were free to do so, but the Franks took those who wanted to leave into their own territory. In the true spirit of Islam, which regards the Muslims as superior to all non-Muslims, Ibn al-Athir [534] laments that this state of affairs demonstrates the Muslims' humiliation and their loss of power and prestige to the Christian infidels. To show the Franks' highhandedness, he says they took half the city of Aleppo and divided everything with the Muslims, even the mill situated at Bab al-Jinan (Gardens Gate), only a few miles from Damascus. In short, the condition of the Muslims in Syria was at its lowest point (1).

Ibn al-Athir was correct. The Muslims' culture not only in Syria but also in Iraq and Egypt was in a shambles. The Abbasid caliph was a mere figurehead; the true power was in the hands of the Seljuk sultans. Syria was ruled by various Turkish atabegs who often acted independently of the sultans. Egypt was ruled by the Shi'ite Fatimids, who on account of religious differences were enemies of the Sunnites of Iraq and Syria, and sometimes even allied themselves with the Franks against their fellow Muslims. The weakness of the Abbasid caliphate encouraged Dubays ibn Sadaqa ibn Mazyad, the Arab ruler of the city of Hilla in Iraq, to defy the authority of both the caliph and the sultan. A Shi'ite, Dubays did not regard the Abbasids or the Sunnite Seljuks as friends. His father, Sadaqa ibn Mazyad (1086-1107), had controlled the region around Hilla and attempted to carve a state of his own in southern Iraq. He became so formidable that he arrogated to himself the tide of Sayf al-Dawla (Sword of the State); Ibn al-Athir calls him Amir al-Arab (Prince of the Arabs) (2). He even supported the Seljuk Sultan Muhammad, son of Malikshah, against his brother Berkyaruk. But when the sultan realized that Sadaqa was a Shi'ite (he was also accused of being a Batini, or Isma'ili Assassin), he had him killed in 1108. In a show of magnanimity, he apologized to Sadaqa's wife for killing her husband and allowed his son Dubays to

take his father's place. Dubays proved more ambitious than his father; in 1120 he attacked and pillaged Baghdad. He defiantly pitched his tent opposite the palace of the Abbasid Caliph al-Mustarshid bi Allah (1118-1135), who asked the Seljuk Sultan Mahmud, son of Sultan Muhammad (1118-1131) for help (3). The sultan ordered Aksunkur al-Bursuki, atabeg of Mosul, to fight Dubays, but when the two met in battle in 1122 on the eastern bank of the Euphrates, al-Bursuki was defeated. With more help from the Seljuks, Dubays finally was defeated in the [535] spring of 1123 at al-Mubaraka, between Baghdad and al-Kufa. He fled first to Basra and then to Qal'at Ja'bar in Syria, where he allied himself with the Franks and incited them to capture Aleppo (4).

The Egyptian historian of the Crusades, Sa'id Abd al-Fattah Ashur, notes sadly that while the Franks were establishing their foothold in Syria and northern Iraq, the Abbasid caliphate, which was supposed to lead the Muslim forces against the Franks, was not strong enough to protect itself against the Turks (5). The rift between the Abbasids and the Seljuks grew wider. The Caliph al-Mustarshid had hoped to free himself of the Seljuk yoke by building up his own army, but he was betrayed by his deputy in Baghdad, Yaranqush al-Zakawi, who defected to the Seljuks and convinced Mahmud to march on Baghdad with a great force. The caliph offered him precious monetary gifts and implored him not to attack Baghdad, but the sultan refused. To save his life the caliph, weeping, left his palace with his women and entourage and camped west of Baghdad. Worse yet, he was betrayed by the Kurdish lord of Arbil, who also defected to the Seljuk cause. When Sultan Mahmud's forces began to pillage Baghdad, the caliph appealed to Imad al-Din Zangi for help. Zangi rushed to save him, and as he and his force reached Baghdad, Mahmud sued for peace. The sultan, still more powerful than the caliph, appointed Zangi as his deputy over Iraq, apologized for his attack on Baghdad, and forgave the citizens of Baghdad for revolting against him (6).

Like the Abbasid state, the Seljuk state was unable to challenge the Franks due to weakness and internal dissension. When Sultan Mahmud came to power in 1118, he was only fourteen years old. He was inclined to pleasure and left the affairs of state to his ministers and his uncle, Sharaf al-Din Anushirwan Sanjar, but Sanjar was less interested in the conflict between the Muslims and Franks in Syria than in extending his authority to Persia. Meanwhile, the Rum Seljuk lords of Anatolia, who were constantly in conflict with each other and the Danishmends, and occasionally with the Byzantines, had no time left to think of their brethren in Syria, who were being threatened by the Franks (7). Thus, the Franks benefitted from the [536] weakness of the Abbasid and the Seljuk states in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, until the Zangids' rise to power. They also benefited from the political turmoil in the Fatimid caliphate of Egypt. The strong Vizir al-Afdal, the son of Badr al-Din al-Jamali, was killed on December 5, 1121, and no other capable Egyptian emerged to run the government. Like the Abbasids and the Seljuks, the Fatimid caliphate was waning, a fact that allowed the Franks to enjoy moderate security and peace until they were challenged by Imad al-Din Zangi (8).

This anomalous state of affairs in the East was further complicated by an extreme Shi'ite sect, the Isma'ilis, also known as Batinis or Assassins. Their main objective was to eliminate the power of the Sunnite Abbasids and the Seljuks. To achieve this objective, al-Hasan ibn al-Sabbah (d. 1124), their very able chief, built up an elaborate organization of his followers with various degrees, like those of the Masonic movement. The initiation of the members into these degrees was conducted in utmost secrecy. The last degree was that of the Self-Sacrificers, usually credulous young men taught to kill. These young men were drugged with hashish (and hence were called 'Hashshashin' or Assassins) and then were taken to a famous citadel called Alamut, captured by al-Sabbah, where, in a place like the paradise described in the Quran, they indulged in eating, drinking, and mating with black-eyed virgin nymphs. After tasting this luxurious life, they would be drugged again and transported to the presence of al-Sabbah. He would ask them where they were, and they would say they were in paradise. He would then tell them that if they followed his orders, killed the person he named, and died while carrying out their mission, they would return to the same place. These gullible, green young men became the most brutal instrument used to eliminate prominent Sunnite leaders (9).

The Isma'ilis played havoc with the Abbasids, the Seljuks, and occasionally the Franks. One of their first victims was Nizam al-Mulk, the prominent Vizir of the Seljuk Sultan Malikshah (assassinated in 1092), renowned for his administrative ability, justice, and magnanimity (10). In 1103 [537] the Batinis assassinated Janah al-Dawla, the lord of Hims, and three years later they killed Khalaf ibn Mula'ib, lord of Apamea, at the urging of Abu Tahir al-Sa'igh al-Ajami of Aleppo (11). In 1109, some Isma'ilis occupied the fortress of Shayzar, taking advantage of

the absence of its Muslim lords, the Banu Munqidh, who had gone to observe the Christian celebration of Easter. But the lords of Shayzar returned to save their fortress, and with the help of its people they annihilated the Batinis (12). The same Batinis also eliminated Sharaf al-Din Mawdud, atabeg of Mosul, in 1113. Ironically, while they were causing havoc to both the Abbasids and the Seljuks, Ridwan, the Seljuk lord of Aleppo, hired them to kill his opponents for lack of religious faith (13). There were many Batinis in Aleppo, and Ridwan may have feared them and tried to win their support.

After Ridwan died in 1113, his son Alp Arslan al-Akhras (the Stammerer), the maternal grandson of Yaghi Siyan, lord of Antioch, was urged by Sa'id ibn Badi, the governor of Aleppo, to eliminate the Batinis. Sultan Muhammad told him that his father had refused to deal with the Batinis, but he should kill them (14). Al-Akhras gave this task to Ibn Badi; he arrested the Batinis' leader, Abu Tahir al-Sa'igh, with a group of his followers and killed many, but some managed to flee and took refuge with the Franks (15). But by 1114, Sa'id ibn Badi had fallen out of favor with al-Akhras, who imprisoned him and then released him after he paid a ransom. Ibn Badi went to stay with Salim ibn Malik, the lord of Qal'at Ja'bar, and, on learning that Ilghazi, son of Artuk, lord of Aleppo, was in the vicinity, went to ask him for help in returning to Aleppo. But on the way, Sa'id ibn Badi and two of his sons were attacked by Batinis with knives. Ibn Badi, badly wounded, [538] was carried back to Qal'at Ja'bar, but another Batini attacked and killed him (16).

Although Sultan Muhammad occupied the Batinis' Persian fortress, Shah Dhar, and killed many more of them (17). they grew stronger and continued their murderous activity. By 1126, when they killed Aksunkur al-Bursuki, ruler of Mosul, they were so powerful that their leader Bahram took control of the fortress of Banyas. After his uncle Ibrahim was killed, Bahram fled Baghdad to Syria, where he became the Batinis' chief propagandist. He gathered around him many followers, often violent, and acted in secrecy. He moved from Aleppo to Damascus, whose lord Tughtigin treated him kindly, not because he esteemed him, but because he feared him. Bahrain's followers increased in number, and he had more power than Tughtigin's vizir, Abu Ali Tahir ibn Sa'd al-Mazdaghani. When he wanted a fortress for himself and his followers, al-Mazdaghani gave him Banyas. Soon Bahram began to persecute the Sunnite Ulama and jurists, who were afraid to speak even one word against him (18). From Banyas he sent his propagandists to spread the Isma'ili call and assassinate those who opposed them. The Batinis took new fortresses, including Qadmus (19). The ambitious Bahram tried to extend his authority to Wadi al-Taym, in the district of Ba'lbak, which was populated by Druze (Arabic *Duruz*), Nusayris, and Magians, led by al-Dahhak. Bahram attacked them in 1128, but al-Dahhak, with a force of a thousand men, killed Bahram and a great number of his men; the rest of his followers fled to Banyas.

Bahram was succeeded by Isma'il al-Ajami, whom al-Mazdaghani also treated gently. Tughtigin finally realized how dangerous these Batinis were and decided to get rid of them, but died in 1128 without acting against them. His son and successor, Taj al-Muluk Buri, retained his minister al-Mazdaghani, who supported the Batinis and favored their deputy in Damascus, Abu al-Wafa, whose power exceeded that of Buri himself. Ibn al-Athir says that al-Mazdaghani sent messages to the Franks, offering to hand Damascus over to them in exchange for the city of Tyre. To carry out this plan al-Mazdaghani, working with Isma'il al-Ajami, placed guards at the gate of the mosque in Damascus, so that the Franks could come in and take over the city. When Buri learned of the plan, he summoned al-Mazdaghani [539] and had him killed; his head was fixed above the gate of the citadel. Buri ordered that all the Batinis be killed; Ibn al-Athir says 6,000 of them were killed during Ramadan in September 1129 (20). Al-Ajami appealed to the Franks and offered them Banyas in exchange for protection, but he died later that year and was buried in Banyas (21).

Taj al-Muluk Buri's best efforts could not destroy the Batinis' power. On May 7, 1131, two Persian Assassins who had entered his service as soldiers attacked him, inflicting serious wounds from which he died the following year (22). In 1135 fourteen Batinis attacked and killed the Caliph al-Mustarshid, whom the Seljuks had banished to Azerbayjan. The assassins cut off his head, flayed him, and left him naked. Nearly two days later, some people of Maragha carried him to the town, wrapped him in a shroud, and buried him in the cemetery of Sunkur al-Ahmadili (23).

Thus, the Muslims in the East were in a state of disarray when Imad al-Din Zangi came on the scene. Ibn al-Athir describes Zangi's rise as an act of Allah's providence, designed to save the Muslims from their enemies:

> When Almighty God saw how [unable] the princes of Islam were to protect the Muwahhidin (Unitarian Muslims) from their powerful enemy (the Christian Franks), who had subdued and humiliated them, he intended to raise someone who would avenge them against the Franks and shoot the "Devils of the Cross" with heavenly missiles to annihilate them. God perused the list of his brave, sagacious and honorable ones; of his choicest men, he saw no one more fitted, resolute and determined than the Shahid (martyr) Imad al-Din Zangi to carry out this mission (24).

Imad al-Din al-Isfahani, however, calls Zangi a ruthless opportunist who ruled his territories with a rod of iron, a tyrant and an oppressor, with a tigerlike character and a lionlike fury. He did not decline to use violence, nor did he show kindness. He controlled Syria from 1128 until he was killed [540] in 1146. He was feared for his authority and hated for oppression. But Allah destined that he would close his life with happiness and *Shahada* (martyrdom) and enabled him to carry on the *jihad*, which is the best of the principles of worship (25). Carole Hillenbrand correctly states that Ibn al-Athir's statements cannot be reconciled with those of al-Isfahani, but we must realize that Ibn al-Athir had a different perspective. To him Zangi was the *shahid* through whom God blessed the Muslims to fight the Franks; without him, all of Syria would have been lost (26). The most plausible explanation of Ibn al-Athir's attitude is that what mattered to him as a Muslim was Zangi's struggle against the infidels, not his perfidious action against his fellow Muslims.

Imad al-Din Zangi was born into a prestigious and powerful family. His father, Qasim al-Dawla Aksunkur al-Hajib, was one of Sultan Malik-shah's commanders and one of his most reliable confidants (27). As a reward for his distinguished abilities, the sultan offered him Aleppo. When his father was killed by Malikshah's brother Tutush in 1094, Zangi, then only ten years old, enjoyed the protection of his father's mamluks, especially Zayn al-Din Ali. When the Seljukid commander Kerbogha captured most of Syria and then Mosul in the name of Sultan Berkyaruk, he summoned these mamluks and asked them to bring Imad al-Din to him. He told them that Imad al-Din was like his own son, and he himself would take the primary responsibility for his upbringing. Zangi joined Kerbogha in his attack against Sukman, son of Artuk, lord of Amid, and showed extraordinary bravery (28). Zangi served under the atabegs of Mosul, Jekermish (d. 1106) and Chavli Saqaveh (Jawli/Jawali Saqawa).

When Chavli rebelled against Sultan Muhammad and fled to Syria in 1108, Zangi allied himself with Mosul's new governor, Sharaf al-Din Mawdud. He took part in Mawdud's struggle against the Franks in Syria and [541] remained in his service until the Batinis assassinated him in a Damascus mosque in 1113. Zangi continued to serve under Juyush Beg, the new governor of Mosul, and fought in Edessa, Saruj, and Samosata (29). He later joined Aksunkur al-Bursuki in his campaign against Dubays ibn Sadaqa, the prince of Hilla, and finally became the governor of Wasit and then Basra before 1126, when Sultan Mahmud charged him with subduing the Abbasid Caliph al-Mustarshid (30). In 1127 the sultan named him governor of Mosul, on the recommendation of al-Qadi Baha al-Din Abu al-Hasan Ali ibn al-Shahrzuri and Salah al-Din Muhammad al-Yaghisiyani (31).

Having established himself in Mosul, Zangi turned his attention to other parts of Iraq and Syria. He captured al-Jazira, whose inhabitants surrendered to him peacefully. Soon other cities, including Nisibin, Sinjar, Saruj, and al-Bira fell into his hands. About this time Joscelin, count of Edessa, sent a message asking Imad al-Din Zangi for a brief truce. Zangi accepted, needing a respite to consolidate his power and regroup his forces before he battled the Franks (32). Aleppo was his next and most important target. The city was in great turmoil, since the Franks had taken half its people and possessions. The citizens appealed to Zangi for help and promised to obey his authority. He accepted their offer, and on the way he occupied Manbij and Buza'a. On June 18, 1128, he marched into Aleppo, whose inhabitants quickly hailed him. He set out immediately to put the city's affairs in order (33).

Imad al-Din Zangi proved more ambitious and resilient than the other atabegs, who were constantly fighting one another. A man of vision, he believed it was his destiny to unify the Muslims of Syria and Iraq before he challenged the Franks (34). Although his position among the Muslims was by now secure, he moved to strengthen it by marrying Khatun, daughter of Ridwan, former lord of Aleppo. This marriage gave him a claim to the [542] rights of the Seljuks in Syria, and in 1129 he also acquired from Sultan Mahmud a royal decree establishing his authority over all Syria (35). Zangi's advantage was enhanced when Samsam al-Din Kirkhan ibn

Qaraja, lord of Hims, and Sultan ibn Munqidh, lord of Shayzar, submitted to his authority, having decided it was futile to defy this strong leader.

The city of Damascus was the prize Zangi cherished, and he was determined not to let it slip through his hands. Its lord, Taj al-Muluk Buri, had faced a threat of invasion by Baldwin II, king of Jerusalem, in 1129. Zangi, pretending that he planned to fight the Franks, appealed to Buri to help him. Buri sent his son Baha al-Din Siwinj and some of his men, to whom Zangi gave assurances of his good intentions. Not thinking Zangi intended to encroach on his territory, Buri instructed Siwinj, then in Hama, to raise an army which included the amir Shams al-Khawas. Zangi welcomed Siwinj's forces with great honor and feigned interest in them, but then betrayed them. Apparently Kirkhan Qaraja, the lord of Hims, who was in Zangi's company, had instigated him against Buri. Zangi arrested Siwinj and other leaders of his force and pillaged their camp. He attacked and captured Hama after learning it was unguarded, and then marched on Hims. He asked Kirkhan's sons to hand the city over to him, but they refused. He laid siege to the city for forty days without success, then turned against Kirkhan and tortured him. He returned to Mosul, taking with him Kirkhan's son Siwinj and a number of leading citizens of Damascus. After a lengthy negotiation he reached an agreement with Buri to release his son and men; Buri agreed to a ransom of 50,000 dinars, but did not pay it. Ibn al-Athir, who describes these events at length, says that Zangi made a big mistake (36). Ibn Wasil says that Zangi consulted some hypocritical Muslim jurists who issued a *fatwa* allowing him to turn against Kirkhan's son and his army. He says Zangi perpetrated a shameful act for which people rightly criticized him, for there is nothing more repulsive than perfidy (37). Zangi returned in 1130 to Syria, where he attacked al-Atharb and defeated the Franks. He attacked the fortress of Harim, near Antioch, but left after its people agreed to pay him half the city's revenue. He also attacked the towns of Tall Bashir and Ma'arrat Misrin, held by the Franks (38). The Artukid lords of Syria could [543] not tolerate Zangi's formidable power in Syria and Iraq, which threatened their own authority. Tamirtash, son of Ilghazi, lord of Mardin, his cousin Rukn al-Dawla Dawud ibn Mu'in al-Din Sukman, and other Artukid amirs assembled an army of 20,000 men; they fought Zangi at Sarji, between Mardin and Nisibin, but he routed them and took possession of Sarji (39).

Imad al-Din Zangi's effort to create a united front against the Franks in Syria was temporarily thwarted by dissension among the Seljuks after the death of Sultan Mahmud in 1131. His son and successor Dawud faced great resistance from his uncles, the most formidable of whom was Seljuk I, lord of Persia. Taking advantage of the family split, the Caliph al-Mustarshid supported Seljuk I against his brothers, and Mas'ud, another of Dawud's uncles, asked Zangi for help. Zangi responded by marching on Baghdad to fight both the caliph and Seljuk, but was defeated at Takrit in 1133. Encouraged by Zangi's defeat, al-Mustarshid marched on Mosul with a force of 30,000 men in the summer of 1133. Zangi, perhaps intimidated by such a great force, left Mosul in the hands of his deputy, Nasir al-Din Chaqar (40). He returned the next year to attack Baghdad, this time joined by Dubays ibn Sadaqa of Hilla, but he was beaten again and fled to Mosul (41). He suffered another blow when Shams al-Muluk Abu al-Fath Isma'il, atabeg of Damascus, attacked his territory in Syria and occupied Hama. Thus, the edifice of unity which Zangi had tried to create was destroyed by the Muslims themselves (42).

Ironically Isma'il, who had come to power by capturing Banyas from the Franks and subduing his own brother Shams al-Dawla Muhammad, lord of Ba'lbak, but later became cruel and tyrannical, found himself in such a predicament that he had to appeal to Zangi for help. He had taken into his service a Kurd named Badran who knew nothing of Islam or its laws. Having no sense of justice, Badran oppressed both men of high station and common people and exacted money illegally from them. Isma'il himself was given to sexual immorality, abhorrent behavior, and avarice, and increasingly inclined toward low and unworthy actions (43) He had alienated his best [544] men; Sayf al-Dawla Yusuf ibn Firuz, his chamberlain, fled to Tadmur (Palmyra) (44). His subjects hated him for his bad conduct and attempted to get rid of him. Sensing that he was about to lose his position, Isma'il appealed to Zangi to rescue him, offering to hand over Damascus in return.

While Zangi prepared to march on Damascus, reports came in February 1135 that Isma'il had been killed in a plot arranged by his mother, Safwat al-Mulk Zumurrud, and replaced by his brother Shihab al-Din Mahmud (45). Zangi marched to al-Ubaydiyya; from there he sent a delegation to ask the citizens of Damascus to surrender the city. The people resented Zangi's march against their city; he besieged and attacked it, but faced strong resistance organized by Mu'in al-Din Unur, a mamluk of Tughtigin, the former lord of Damascus. He

realized that capturing Damascus would require him to sacrifice a large number of men. When the Caliph al-Mustarshid sent Zangi a message ordering him to lift the siege and come to Baghdad to help him fight the Seljuk Sultan Mas'ud, he was forced to sign a peace with the Damascenes in March 1135 and return to Aleppo (46).

In the spring of 1135 Zangi extended his military activity in Syria, occupying al-Atharb, Zardana, Tall Aghdi, Ma'rrat al-Nu'man, and Kafartab (47). In April 1136, Sayf al-Din Sawar (or Aswar), Zangi's deputy in Aleppo, attacked the Franks near Laodicea and captured over 7000 men, women, and children and 100,000 cattle. They destroyed most of the city of Laodicea, then went on to attack the fortress of Shayzar. Ibn al-Athir says that Bilad al-Sham (Syria) was filled with captives and cattle, and the Muslims were extremely happy when the Franks could not challenge them (48). Having seen Zangi's successful opposition to the Franks, the Muslim leaders of Damascus in 1137 assembled a great expedition to attack the Frankish principality of Tripoli, commanded by a certain mamluk named Bazwash. He met Pons, son of Bertram, the lord of Tripoli, in battle; Pons was defeated and fled to the hills of Lebanon, but was captured by the inhabitants and killed (49). He [545] was succeeded by his son Raymond II, who vowed to avenge his father. But the defeat of Pons showed that the Franks were not invincible and encouraged Zangi to continue challenging them. In June 1137 he tried to capture Hims, then governed by Mu'in al-Din Unur, deputy of the Buris, atabegs of Damascus. But when he learned that the Franks were on their way to rescue Hims, he changed his plans and went to attack the Frankish fortress of Ba'rin (Montferrand), in the land of Tripoli, near Hama.

In 1137 Zangi struck the first great blow against the Franks at Ba'rin, which belonged to Raymond II, the new lord of Tripoli. Zangi, whom William of Tyre calls "a very wicked man and most cruel persecutor of the Christians," evidently sought to take advantage of the chaotic situation in Tripoli after the death of Pons. In the face of this danger, Raymond appealed for help to his uncle, King Fulk of Jerusalem, who assembled a force and marched to Ba'rin (50). At about the same time, the Byzantine Emperor John Comnenus II (1118-1143), son of Alexius I, led his army into Cilicia and took the towns of Tarsus, Adana, Mamistra, and Anazarba (Ayn Zarba), and then advanced, hoping to capture Antioch. He was motivated by revenge; at Constantinople the princes of the first Crusade had promised his father to hand over these cities, which once belonged to the Byzantine Empire, but they did not keep their pledge (51).

The Syriac sources, however, say that Emperor John attacked these cities because he was angry with Prince Leo, the Roupenid Armenian, who resented the Byzantines' encroachment on his territories. He captured Leo, along with his wife and sons, and sent them to Constantinople. Then he marched against Antioch but failed to capture it (52). King Fulk received a message from the people of Antioch asking for assistance, but he was preparing then to march to rescue Raymond of Tripoli. After consulting with his men, Fulk decided to march against Zangi first, and then go to help Antioch (53). In a fierce battle, Fulk was defeated and lost over 2000 men. [546] Raymond and some knights were taken prisoner, while Fulk and some of his men sought refuge at Ba'rin. They had no time to take food and provisions and soon, struck by hunger, were forced to kill and eat their horses. Fulk called on Joscelin II of Edessa and the Latin patriarch of Jerusalem for help. Meanwhile, Zangi intensified his siege of the fortress of Ba'rin, confident of success. Fulk saw no option except to negotiate for a surrender, hoping to be allowed to leave in peace. Zangi initially rejected his offer, but when he learned that Frankish reinforcements were coming, he changed his mind and allowed Fulk and his men to leave after paying him 50,000 dinars. After he was released, Fulk met the forces of Antioch and Edessa near Acre and thanked their commanders for their sympathy and willingness to help. Zangi turned Ba'rin over to Shams al-Din Lajin; it was held by his sons until the time of Nur al-Din, the son of Imad al-Din Zangi, who delivered it to the commander Shams al-Din ibn al-Muqaddam (54).

When the Byzantine Emperor John Comnenus II attacked Cilicia and wrested many towns from Prince Leo the Armenian, Raymond of Poitiers, the lord of Antioch (1136-1149), could not hope for help from King Fulk of Jerusalem, who was busy with Zangi at Ba'rin. To save his principality, Raymond, with Fulk's approval, made an agreement with John Comnenus whereby he would rule Antioch as the emperor's deputy and swear allegiance to him. The emperor did not enter the city himself, but was satisfied to have his banner hoisted on its citadel (55). Thus, by March 1138 the Franks and Byzantines had formed a united front against Zangi. In April they captured the fortress of Baza'a, between Aleppo and Manbij. The Muslims they captured there were taken to al-Atharib, west of Aleppo on the road to Antioch, and imprisoned, but Zangi's deputy Sawar attacked al-Atharib and

released them (56). In the same month, Christian forces attacked the fortress of Shayzar. Zangi, however, managed to create a rift between the Franks and the Byzantines. He would send a message to the Byzantine emperor, [547] hinting that the Franks did not trust him and planned to desert him. Then he would send the Franks a message saying the emperor planned to seize all their possessions in Syria. Soon, says Ibn al-Athir, the two sides began to fear and distrust each other (57). Zangi's clever ruse paid off. The Franks soon withdrew from Shayzar. Zangi sent his forces to occupy al-Ma'arra and Kafartab in May 1138, Baza'a in September, and al-Atharib in October (58). Thus, the Franks' power in Syria began to crumble.

Zangi had not yet fulfilled his ambition to control all of Syria and drive out the Franks. He was focused on two major cities—Damascus, held by the Buri atabegs, and Edessa, held by the Franks. He had attempted to capture Damascus but faced fierce resistance from its people. He concluded that if he could not take it by force, perhaps an easier way was to get it through marriage. He proposed marriage to Safwat al-Mulk Zummurud Khatun, the widow of Taj al-Muluk Buri, atabeg of Damascus; in return he would take Hims, which was under the Buris' authority. The marriage transaction was completed in June 1138. Zangi took Hims and compensated its governor, Mu'in al-Din Unur, by giving him another fortress (59). Subsequent events proved Unur to be more astute than Zangi. Later in 1138 the atabeg of Damascus, Shihab al-Din Mahmud, son of Taj al-Muluk Buri, was murdered in bed by three of his close associates. Unur immediately summoned Shihab al-Din's brother, Jamal al-Din, lord of Ba'lbak, and installed him as the new atabeg of Damascus. Zangi thus lost his chance at controlling the city through his marriage to Safwat al-Mulk (60).

Although his wife urged him to avenge her against Unur, Zangi preferred to forget about Damascus for a while. He attacked and captured Ba'lbak in October 1139. He returned to attack Damascus in 1140 after the death of its atabeg Jamal al-Din, who was succeeded by his son, Mujir al-Din Abaq, but he encountered strong resistance from Mu'in al-Din Unur (61). As Zangi intensified his attacks against Damascus, Unur appealed to King Fulk of Jerusalem, even proposing to deliver Banyas to him and offering the sons of Damascene nobles as hostages in exchange for his support. After much deliberation Fulk agreed to assist Unur and the Damascenes against Zangi, "the most cruel enemy, and a menace to both kingdoms" (62). [548] Ibn al-Qalanisi, who relates their agreement, says that Unur exaggerated the danger posed by Zangi, stating that if he occupied Damascus, the Franks would lose their hegemony in Syria (63). Fulk marched on Banyas and occupied it in 1140. Meanwhile, Zangi attacked Hawran and reached the Ghota (Gardens) of Damascus. On the night of June 22, 1140, he raided Damascus, frightening its people. Since he had only a small force he could not capture the city, but he returned to his own territory with an enormous amount of booty. The Franks reached Damascus and met with its ruler, Mu'in al-Din Unur (64). From this time until 1144, when he attacked Edessa, Zangi directed his efforts against the principality of Antioch (65). King Fulk, meanwhile, sought to increase the security of his kingdom by building several fortresses: Safad, between Damascus and Acre; Yabna, on the road to Ascalon; Tall Safita, between Bethlehem and Ascalon; and Beth Jibrin, south of Tall Safita, which he gave to the Knights Hospitallers (66). He also built the fortress of Kerak east of the Dead Sea to enhance the protection already afforded by the fortress of al-Shawbak (Krak de Montreal) (67). Fulk died on November 10, 1142, after falling from his horse. He was succeeded by Baldwin III, his underage son by his wife Melisend, daughter of King Baldwin II (68). A new chapter in the struggle between Zangi and the Franks would soon begin.

Although Imad al-Din Zangi clearly cherished the hope of capturing Damascus, the opposition he faced from its people and the collaboration of Mu'in al-Din Unur with King Fulk temporarily kept him from fulfilling that goal. He may have felt he needed to destroy the Franks' power in Syria before the Muslim cities, especially Damascus, would yield to his authority. The primary center of Frankish power was Edessa, and capturing it would achieve his dream of uniting Syria under his rule and even challenging the [549] Franks' dominion of Jerusalem. Thus, the situation afforded an ideal opportunity for him to strike.

Edessa was a center of Christianity for the first century of the Christian era. In Imad al-Din Zangi's time, it was inhabited chiefly by Armenians and Syrian Orthodox (Jacobites) (69). Ibn al-Athir says Edessa (al-Ruha) was the noblest city of the Christians, one of the "Patriarchal Sees" after Jerusalem, Antioch, Rome and Constantinople, and for this reason the conquest of Edessa was the grandest of all conquests (70). There were other reasons why Zangi wanted to capture the city. For one thing, the Franks' hatred of the Muslims and the proximity of Edessa to their territory made it a great threat to them. Moreover, the Franks had not only fortified

Edessa but added several nearby fortresses which allowed them to invade Muslim territory as far away as Diyarbakr, Mardin, Nisibin, Ras al-Ayn, and al-Raqqa. Most important, it grieved the *Shahid* (martyr) Zangi to leave Edessa in the hands of the *kuffar* (infidels), controlled by Joscelin II, his knights, and his men (71). Thus, in the period between the death of King Fulk and the elevation to the throne of his underage son Baldwin III, whose mother Melisend became his guardian, "accursed Zangi with a mighty host laid siege to Edessa" (72).

Imad al-Din Zangi was the first of the Muslim leaders to use the sensitive symbol of jihad to unite the strife-torn Muslim East and defeat the infidel intruders, the Christian Franks. As we have seen, Ibn al-Athir imputed his rise to divine providence, declaring that when Allah saw the weakness of the Muslim princes and their inability to defend the Muslim religion, he found no one among his chosen men better qualified to lead them. Zangi systematically challenged the Franks until in 1144 he finally captured Edessa, one of their most prized possessions. Several factors facilitated this victory. Primary among these were the conflict between the Franks and the Byzantine state and the ongoing feud between Raymond, prince of Antioch, and Joscelin II, prince of Edessa (73). The enmity between these two became so intense that neither of them was concerned about the disasters it caused. Rather, says William of Tyre, "Each rejoiced in the distress of the other and [550] exulted over any untoward mischance" (74). But one of the most decisive factors in the loss of Edessa was the attitude and actions of its prince.

Joscelin II succeeded his father Joscelin I at his death in 1131. Unlike his father, he lacked the qualities expected in a ruler. The Anonymous Edessan says, "He was a stupid youth and void of understanding" (75). William of Tyre is likewise unkind, calling Joscelin far inferior to his father. Short, with dark hair and a broad face scarred by smallpox, bulging eyes and a prominent nose, he was given to excessive revelry and drunkenness, licentiousness, and uncleanliness of the flesh. Although Joscelin II was known for his generous disposition and military prowess, due to his lack of energy and sinful behavior he lost much of the land (the County of Edessa) that his father had so ably ruled (76). His attitude toward the Byzantines, the Franks, and the local Syrians may have contributed to this loss. He meddled in the Syrians' ecclesiastical affairs, leading them to despise him and collaborate with the Muslims against him. He even treacherously robbed the Monastery of Mar Barsoum, greatly revered by the Syrians. He had strained relations and rivalry with both Raymond of Poitiers, prince of Antioch (1136-1149), and the Byzantines. Worst of all, he showed little if any concern about the imminent Muslim danger in the person of Imad al-Din Zangi, atabeg of Mosul, who since 1128 had begun to assert his hold over Syria. Arab writers also attest to Joscelin's courage and military prowess. Ibn al-Athir says, "Joscelin, may Allah curse him, was indisputably one of the tyrants and devils of the Franks. He was extreme in his hatred of the Muslims. He was always in the vanguard of the Franks in their warfare because of his courage, sound mind, and hatred and cruelty toward al-Milla al-Islamiyya (the Muslim nation). By his captivity all Christendom suffered a great loss" (77).

As ruler of Edessa, Joscelin II had amicable relations with its Armenian citizens, mainly because he himself was half Armenian. His mother was the sister of the Armenian Prince Leon I (1123-1135), whose niece Arda had married Baldwin I of Boulogne (78). He was closer to the Armenians [551] than his father, favoring them over the Syrians. Ibn al-Adim calls him "Joscelin the Armenian" (79). The tragic fall of Edessa (and later most of the Frankish strongholds in Syria) may to a large extent be blamed on his lack of vision and determination. By nature he preferred an easy life of pleasure. So he went to live in Tall Bashir (Turbessel), away from disturbance, showing no concern for Edessa. As the city's Syrian and Armenian inhabitants were mostly traders, not men of arms, its protection was left entirely to mercenaries who did not receive regular wages and often had to wait a year or more to collect what was due them (80). Worse yet, Joscelin II and Raymond of Poitiers were antagonistic and hateful toward one other. The root cause of their hostility was prejudice and political rivalry. Joscelin, born in the East and half-Armenian, saw Raymond, a relative newcomer, as an intruder. Moreover, he owed some of his territory to his status as a vassal of the prince of Antioch (81). King Fulk of Jerusalem (1131-1143) had urged them to reconcile in order to overcome the Muslim threat, but there was no such pressure from Baldwin III, a mere child, under the regency of his mother Melisend.

The shrewd Imad al-Din Zangi took advantage of this dissension to strike a blow against Edessa, the bulwark of the Latin states. It commanded the trade route from Mosul to Aleppo and separated the Muslims of Iraq from the Seljuks of Rum (Asia Minor). As long as it was in Latin hands, it remained a menace to Muslim lands and

people (82). Thus, armed conflict between Zangi and Joscelin was inevitable. Michael Rabo says that Imad al-Din Zangi had pursued Kara Arslan of Hisn Ziyad, who asked Joscelin II for help, offering as a reward the fortress of Beth Bula. Joscelin sent an army to help Kara Arslan, not realizing that it was not in his interest to oppose Zangi, a Turk pursuing another Turk. Zangi used this action as a pretext to attack Edessa. After hearing that Joscelin had temporarily gone to Antioch and the people of Harran that Edessa had no garrison to protect it, he attacked the city on November 28, 1144 (83).

The Anonymous Edessan, however, states that Joscelin gathered his army and went to pillage a region on the banks of the Euphrates, near Balis [552] and al-Raqqa (Callinicus). Imad al-Din Zangi attacked the Artukids and wrested from them the towns of Dara, Tall Mawzalt, Jomlin, and Shabakhtan. The Artukids appealed to Joscelin for help and gave him the fortress of Babula, in the district of Gargar. Joscelin prepared to fight, but the crafty and prudent Imad al-Din Zangi made peace with the desperate Artukids, knowing that Joscelin was in no position to fight him. Zangi, who had besieged Amid, kept sending spies to see whether there was a garrison in Edessa. After he received reports from Fadl Allah Ja'far, a prominent Muslim of Harran who hated the Edessans, that there were no Frankish troops there, he sent one of his valiant men, Salah al-Din al-Yaghisiyani, to attack Edessa or, if he could not take the city by storm, to besiege it and gather information about its fighting strength. Meanwhile, he sent a messenger to the people of Edessa asking them to surrender peacefully, saying he did not want to destroy the city (84). If Salah al-Din and his men had reached Edessa the night they marched, they would have captured it without trouble because its citizens were unprepared, but they lost their way and found themselves on the road to Harran. They immediately turned around and laid siege to Edessa on Tuesday, October 28, 1144. They came to a cemetery and killed some people. On discovering that the city was weak, they sent messages to Imad al-Din Zangi by pigeon, urging him to rush to their aid.

Zangi arrived two days later with an enormous force. He pitched his tent on the northern side of Edessa, on a hillock near the Sa'at Gate (Gate of the Hours), above the Church of the Confessors. The Persian Jamal al-Din, who was in charge of Imad al-Din Zangi's revenues, pitched his tent on a nearby hillock, and Salah al-Din, Zangi's chief commander, camped on a hillock near the cemetery where the celebrated Syrian Saint Ephraim was buried. Zayn al-Din Ali Kuchuk, lord of Arbil and Shahrzur, camped near the boundaries of St. Barsoum; Dubays ibn Sadaqa al-Mazyadi, lord of Hilla, settled at the Kasas Gate. Other commanders, including Abu Ali, governor of Za'faran, the lords of Sebaberk, Ayn al-Dawla, lord of Shabakhtan, and Husayn, lord of Manbij, pitched their tents in other parts of the city. Zangi's force included a great number of Kurds, Arabs, and Aleppines. Edessa had no standing garrison and was too weak to challenge this multitude. Its people were cobblers and weavers, silk merchants and tailors, priests and deacons. Edessa had three bishops then—a Latin, Bishop Papios, a Syrian, Basilius Bar Shumanna, and an Armenian, Iwannis (John), [553] who refused to surrender the city. Papios sent messengers to Antioch and Jerusalem asking for help, but no response came from Antioch, and the help from Jerusalem was too late. The city was in total chaos, and there was no leader to determine a course of action because Joscelin was absent. One fact stands out: in this turbulent situation the people of Edessa, both Syrians and Armenians, cooperated fully with the Franks to defend the city and its citadel, despite the bad treatment they had suffered from the Franks (85).

Imad al-Din Zangi offered the people time to surrender before he destroyed the city, saying, "Fools, you see that there is no hope of saving your lives; why do you watch and hope? Have mercy on yourselves, your sons and daughters, your wives and houses, and your city, in order that it shall not be laid waste and empty of inhabitants" (86). But they responded very foolishly, offering insults and taunts. Meanwhile, some of Zangi's men showered the city walls with stones propelled by engines, while others were digging under the walls of the city and filling their foundation with wood, naphtha, and sulphur to burn them down. The citizens of Edessa fought heroically and tried to fill the ditches. The whole city was busy; even the women, girls, and boys, weary and exhausted, carried stones, water and other materials to the laborers who were trying to shore up the foundation. The situation was horrendous beyond measure. The Syrian bishop, Basilius Bar Shumanna, consulted with the other two bishops, and they agreed to send a message to Imad al-Din Zangi accepting his ultimatum for surrender. Unfortunately, an ignorant man named Hasnun al-Qazzaz snatched it from the messenger's hand and tore it to pieces. Finally a section of the wall collapsed, and the people worked in vain to rebuild it. Imad al-Din Zangi

decided there was no point in waiting further; he attacked the city and captured it on Saturday, Christmas Eve 1144 (87). Six thousand people lost their [554] lives on that day alone. Imad al-Din Zangi allowed his troops to pillage the city for three days, and the atrocities they committed were beyond description. Men and women, young and old, brides and bridegrooms, priests and deacons, and especially children were put to the sword (88). Many of them were suffocated, and the corpses were piled high. Others were taken captive. But the Anonymous Edessan says that Imad al-Din Zangi spared about 10,000 men, women and children who had been captured by his troops (89). The priest Gregory writes in his continuation of the history of Matthew of Edessa that Imad al-Din Zangi ruthlessly shed a tremendous amount of blood. He respected neither age nor youth, but had old men and children slaughtered like lambs. He so terrified the inhabitants by the sword that the victimized people fled to shelter in the Citadel of Maniacs. Brothers [555] did not take care of their brothers, nor did fathers and mothers have pity on their sons and daughters. Because of this painful situation, those who rushed to seek refuge in the citadel failed to reach it; as many as two thousand died of suffocation in the crowd, reportedly including the bishop of the Franks (90). The Anonymous Edessan, however, says that the bishop was killed by an axe blow to the head as he rushed to the citadel, and many priests, deacons, and monks were slain (91). Michael Rabo laments:

> What tongue could speak, and what hand would not tremble if it tried to relate the calamity which befell Edessa on Saturday, December 23, 1144? The Turks with rattling swords and lances entered the city. They slaughtered old men, children, men and women, suckling babes, priests, deacons and monks, brides and bridegrooms. What a painful story! The city of Abgar, the friend of Christ, was trodden because of our sins. You could see the priests killed and the deacons slaughtered, the sub-deacons mangled, the churches looted and the altars turned upside down. What a calamity! Fathers deserted their own children and mothers lost compassion for their children. Some fled to the mountain, while others gathered their children as the hen does to the chicks, waiting to die or be taken captive. Some older priests carried with them coffins containing relics of saints and martyrs. In the midst of this affliction they kept repeating the words of the Prophet (Micah 7:9): "I will bear the indignation of the Lord, because I have sinned against him." They kept praying until they were silenced by the sword. Their bodies were found later, stained with [556] their own blood while their hands clung to the coffins of the relics of saints and martyrs (92).

Thousands of those wretched people who fled to the citadel trod on one another and died at its gate because the Franks inside would not open it, having orders from the Latin Bishop Papios not to open it until he himself arrived. When Papios came and the gate was opened, he could not enter because of the piled-up corpses. When he tried to squeeze through, a Turk struck him dead with an arrow.

After Imad al-Din Zangi went through the city and saw the horrible carnage, he ordered the killing stopped. He came upon the Syrian Bishop Basilius Bar Shumanna, who had been dragged along by the Turks with a rope. When he saw this old man with his shaven head, Zangi inquired about him and was told his identity. He chided the bishop for not delivering the city into his hands and sparing the wretched people from being killed. The bishop answered courageously that what had happened was much better than surrendering the city. Imad al-Din Zangi asked how this could be, and the bishop replied in eloquent Arabic, "As for you, you should be proud because you have defeated us by the power of the sword. As for us, you will regard us with respect when you know that we swore not to betray the Franks and stood by our word. Now we pledge not to betray you, since God has willed that we become your slaves." When Imad al-Din Zangi saw the bishop's courage and realized that his words were logical and rational, he ordered that he be clothed and brought to his tent, and asked the bishop for advice regarding the destiny of the city. Thus peace was restored; a herald proclaimed that those who had escaped the sword should return to their homes, and those who had taken refuge in the citadel were given a pledge of amnesty and surrendered. The Turks, says Michael Rabo, left a few Armenians, Syrians and Greeks alive, but they killed all others, meaning the Franks. Imad al-Din Zangi treated Bishop Basilius with honor and dignity and entrusted him with the repatriation of the inhabitants of Edessa who had left. In this manner many were saved. Bishop Basilius occupied a distinguished position throughout Imad al-Din Zangi's rule over Edessa until the latter's murder in 1146 (93).

[557] According to the Anonymous Edessan, many Frankish men, women and children and priests and deacons had taken refuge in the citadel, with a quantity of gold, silver, vessels, and raiment. Imad al-Din Zangi ordered them brought out. As they came out, many townsmen joined them because Zangi had sworn to take them across the Euphrates, after which they could go wherever they wished. The commander Salah al-Din al-Yaghisiyani entered the citadel and took the hand of Metropolitan Basilius, who was in the citadel, and said to him, "Reverend! We want you to swear on the cross and the Gospel that you will be true to us, for you know that all of you deserve death because you have resisted our sultan (Imad al-Din Zangi) and insulted our prophet. Now we are ready to be gracious to you, since we have freed all of your captives. Also, you ought to know very well that this city, like the capital city, prospered for two hundred years after the Aluslims captured it. Today it is fifty years since the Franks took Edessa and ruined it and its district, as you see. Our sultan, protected by Allah, is ready to be good to you; so live in peace, sheltered under his authority, and pray for his life" (94).

Salah al-Din's men brought out the Syrians and the Armenians who were in the citadel, and they returned to their homes. But they robbed the Franks of all they had, gold, silver, jewels, and church vessels—chalices, patens, and crosses. They separated the priests and dignitaries from the rest, stripped off their clothes, and sent them naked to Aleppo. They also separated the craftsmen among the prisoners, each man by his trade. They tortured about two hundred of the rest. They used some as targets for their arrows and killed others by the sword; all were annihilated. Imad al-Din Zangi tried to act graciously toward the inhabitants of Edessa. After asking Bishop Basilius to keep his covenant with the Muslims, he gave the Edes-sans cattle, oxen, and fodder, and appointed Zayn al-Din Ali Kuchuk, the lord of Arbil and Shahrzur, as governor of Edessa, with other seven chiefs and a great number of troops. The Anonymous Edessan lauds Kuchuk for being just and kind toward the Edessans, allowing them to ransom their captives (95).

Gregory the Priest, who gives a very short account of the disaster at Edessa, has nothing good to say about Imad al-Din Zangi, declaring he ruthlessly shed much blood without respect for the elderly or the innocent. He adds that when this tyrant saw that his soldiers were slaughtering people ruthlessly and mercilessly as if they were animals, and that many had died, [558] among them the Frankish Bishop Papios, he became deeply sorry and commanded his soldiers to sheathe their swords. But he ordered the Franks who had been taken prisoner slain, and their women and children led into captivity. Then "the arrogant conqueror" stopped the butchery of the people of Edessa, not out of benevolence, but because his troops had had enough of shedding blood and taking booty. Showing his arrogance, Zangi boasted that over the years no great and eminent warrior, other than himself of course, had been able to control this city blessed by Christ (96). Michael Rabo and the Anonymous Edessan to some extent share the sentiment of Gregory the Priest regarding Imad al-Din Zangi's attitude, but seem more tolerant toward Zangi.

The Muslim sources agree with the Syriac sources that Imad al-Din Zangi took advantage of Joscelin's absence and took Edessa by the sword, and that great numbers of Armenians and Franks perished. Ibn al-Qalanisi says that Zangi's troops proceeded to kill and pillage, taking enough captives and booty to delight their hearts. After inflicting havoc on the city and its people, he ordered his men to sheathe their swords and stop looting. He ordered the rebuilding of the destroyed houses and properties and pacified the people (97). Ibn al-Athir also says that Zangi captured Edessa by the sword, and that his men went on killing and looting. He declared the city open to the carnage wrought by his men. They turned crosses upside down, annihilated its priests and monks, killed its knights and brave men, and filled their hands with booty. But when Zangi saw the city, he liked it. He regretted the havoc he had caused and decided that it was not a good policy to destroy it. He ordered his men to free the Edessan men, women and children whom they had taken captive and allowed them to return to their homes, together with their belongings. All the captives went home, and only a few were lost. But Ibn al-Athir also relates a revealing anecdote about Zayn al-Din Ali Kuchuk, Zangi's deputy, who was with him when Edessa was taken. Among the women captives was a beautiful damsel who fell into his hands, but he had to give her up when Zangi ordered all female prisoners released. Later Zangi's son Nur al-Din (who succeeded his father in 1146) attacked Edessa again, and among the captives was the same beautiful woman. Nur al-Din sent her to Zayn al-Din, who immediately had his way [559] with her and came out smiling, telling his men that he had rushed to make love with the woman for fear that he would lose her as he did before (98).

It is clear that Imad al-Din Zangi targeted the Franks rather than the Syrians and Armenians who had been the Turks' subjects before the Franks took over the city, and that his main objective was to free the city from Frankish rule (99). Lamenting the slaughter of the Christians, William of Tyre quotes Psalms 94:6, "They slay the widow and the stranger, and murder the fatherless" (100). But Ibn al-Athir quotes the Quran, Sura Houd 11:102, "Such was the scourge which your Lord has visited upon the sinful nations. His punishment is stern and harrowing," to show with obvious satisfaction that the calamity that befell Edessa was a divine punishment of these same Christians. Thus the *kuffar* were frightened and fled before the believers (101). Ibn al-Athir relates how divine providence helped the Muslims capture Edessa. Sitting in the presence of the Frankish king of Sicily, he says, was a learned Muslim man from the Maghrib (Morocco) whom the king greatly honored. While the Muslims were attacking Edessa, the king had sent an army to invade north Africa. Turning to the learned Moroccan, he said, "See what our army has done to the Muslims. Where was your Muhammad, who did not come to their aid?" The learned man, half-asleep, opened his eyes and said, "He was present at the capture of Edessa." Everyone laughed at his words, but the king told them not to laugh, for he would not say what he had said without foreknowledge. Shortly the king received the news that the Muslims had captured Edessa. Ibn al-Athir follows this anecdote with another. He says that a righteous Muslim saw the Shahid (martyr) Imad al-Din Zangi in a dream after he was killed, and he was in a perfect state. The righteous Muslim asked him, "What did Allah do to you?" Zangi replied, "He forgave me." The man said, "Forgave you for what?" Zangi said, "He forgave me for capturing Edessa" (102). The destiny of Edessa was sealed. Most of its Christian citizens were massacred or taken captive, and the Muslims settled down in the city. Some Christians escaped to Jerusalem; [560] there they found no place of refuge except the convents, which with much difficulty provided them with food and shelter (103).

The loss of Edessa, the center of the Franks' power in Syria, was the beginning of the end of their domination. The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, ruled by Melisend, the mother of the underage Baldwin III, was too far away to influence the outcome of the battle in Edessa, and the Latin principalities of Antioch and Tripoli were too weak to challenge the Turks in Syria. It is fair to say that Edessa's falling under the control of Imad al-Din Zangi (and later of his son Nur al-Din) foreshadowed the fall of Jerusalem to Saladin in 1187. It was the result of the Franks' weakness, not the Turks' unity or Zangi's military prowess. Far from united, the Turks were suffering from divisions and dissension. Seljuk amirs fought one another, and the Abbasid caliphs fought all of them, for since the eleventh century they had been intent on retrieving the power and the domains they had lost to the Seljuks in Syria (104).

In a difficult situation, the Franks tried to weaken the Turks' influence by allying themselves with the Artukid rulers of Damascus and Mardin. As a token of this alliance, they offered the town of al-Bira (Birta), on the east bank of the Euphrates, to the ruler of Mardin. Forty days after capturing Edessa, Imad al-Din Zangi ordered his men to march against al-Bira, which was held by Joscelin II; he attacked it from Maundy Thursday to the evening of Easter Sunday, in the middle of March 1145. Zangi's troops met fierce resistance from the citizens but routed them. The Frankish force of Raymond III, count of Tripoli, commanded by Robert the Fat and another man also named Robert, tried vainly to rescue the city. They embarked in two armed boats with weapons and provisions, but as they approached the fortress, they foolishly sounded a trumpet; the Turks, forewarned, rushed upon them from every direction. Some of the men jumped into the water and were caught by the enemy. Robert the Fat jumped into the river and, walking through mud, reached a village on the west bank of the Euphrates. The Turks came to the village and found him hidden in a barn full of straw. They seized him and brought him to Imad al-Din Zangi, who sent him to prison in Aleppo. The other Robert, with only a few men, continued to fight but was struck in the eye by an arrow and died instantly (105).

[561] Imad al-Din Zangi left al-Bira after receiving a report that his deputy in Mosul, Nasir al-Din Chaqar, had been assassinated (106). While Zangi was occupied at al-Bira, Alp Arslan, son of the Seljuk Sultan Mahmud, apparently went to Mosul. Some of his men had told him that the city and all the surrounding area belonged to him, and if he got rid of Chaqar, he would surely possess them; so Chaqar was killed. When Zangi learned of Chaqar's death, he feared he would lose the city to Alp Arslan. He rushed back to Mosul, executed those who had assassinated Chaqar, and appointed Zayn al-Din Ali Kuchuk as deputy in his place. Ibn al-Adim says that Zangi killed Farrukhshah (more properly Farrukhanshah), who had killed Chaqar (107). The Franks, fearing Zangi would return, thought they could save al-Bira by offering it to the Artukid Najm al-Din, lord of Mardin,

but that action did not benefit them, since the city was still given to the Muslims. In fact, the Franks eventually lost all their possessions east of the Euphrates (108).

The Syrians who had fled to Samosata and other towns in 1144 returned to Edessa on the order of Zangi, who was charitable toward them. Their conduct, however, was far from honorable. Michael Rabo says briefly that at this time, the strife in the Syrian Church became active (109). The Anonymous Edessan elaborates on the dangerous and evil actions of the Syrians, both clergy and laymen. Like dogs or wolves, the clergy devoured each other with hatred and vilification and caused great problems for their shepherd, Bishop Basilius Bar Shumanna. They and the wealthy men of the Syrian community ignored the counsel of the bishop, who vainly implored them to change their wicked ways. Of all the priests the M^orst was Abdun, a wicked and immoral man, the source of all the trouble within the church. He was so evil that he did not reform even after losing his own son during the siege of Edessa. He continued his unjust acts, blaspheming the Sacraments and lying about prophecies and the Holy Scriptures. Bishop Basilius says he personally heard these blasphemies from Abdun's own mouth and [562] felt guilty for not rebuking him, fearing he would retaliate. Another evil man was the priest Barsoum, son of Isma'il, whom the Anonymous Edessan calls base and stupid. He had no knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, the power of God, or the love of Christ. His chief traits were iniquity and godlessness. He constandy violated church canons. When the Muslims occupied Edessa, he ingratiated himself with them by spying for them and caused incalculable losses to the Christian community. In the morbid and threatening atmosphere, says the Anonymous Edessan, the Christians of Edessa suffered more under the Turks than under the Franks. Although some Franks had married women of Edessa who retained their religion, during the Turkish occupation many women voluntarily married Turks and converted to Islam. Within a year of the Muslim occupation, he says, over a hundred Edessan women married pagans (Muslim Turks). So God was angry with them, and delivered them to calamity (110).

The Syriac writers generally praise Imad al-Din Zangi for his treatment of the Christians of Edessa. Michael Rabo states simply that Zangi came to Edessa, encouraged the Syrians, and treated all the Christians with compassion (111). The Anonymous Edessan gives more detail. He reports that five days after the fall of Edessa, Imad al-Din Zangi, accompanied by his governors, chiefs, commanders, and councillors, came to Edessa on Tuesday of the Festival of Pentecost. He passed the east gate and entered by the north gate, where the town had been captured. His men had repaired the breaches and rebuilt the seven towers destroyed by the siege engines, inscribing on them in Arabic the story of the capture of Edessa and the name of Imad al-Din Zangi. Bishop Basilius Bar Shumanna, together with clergy, deacons, the Christian congregation, and a huge crowd of Muslims from various quarters came to welcome him. The atabeg (Zangi) received the Christians warmly. He took the Gospel and kissed it. Greeting the bishop and asking about his health, he said, "I have come for your sake to provide for your needs."

Despite Imad al-Din Zangi's magnanimous treatment of the Christians, his men showed little respect for the church buildings. They destroyed the Church of the Confessors outside the city and used stones from it to rebuild the city walls. Near the Church of Saint Yuhannan (John) they also built a magnificent citadel in which Zangi lodged. Because the Franks had beautified the church, renewed its bricks, and changed its roof, they set [563] guards to save it from damage. Many bishops and patriarchs were buried in it. The Franks' bishops were buried behind the pulpit. A slab of red marble on Papios's tomb had engraved on it the story of his death. The bodies of King Abgar and Saint Addai the Apostle had been placed in a gilded silver coffin. When the city was captured, the coffin was stolen and the bones scattered. The believers later collected many fragments, put them in an urn, and placed it in the northern part of the Church of St. Theodore, which belonged to the Syrians. As an act of vengeance, the Muslims also took two churches where the Franks had prayed; they converted the church of St. Thomas to a stable and made the church of St. Stephen a fodder barn. Furthermore, they destroyed the churches of St. Theodore and St. Michael the Angel on the south side of the city, and used the stones to repair gaps in the wall and the upper citadel. The Muslims also completely rebuilt the mosque, which had formerly been the residence of the Franks' bishop.

Imad al-Din Zangi entered by the gate of al-Sa'at (Hours), went down to the springs, and inspected them carefully. Then he went to the Church of St. Thomas the Apostle, where he ate. He went next to the round spring called the Spring of Abgar, named for the king whose court had stood there. That night he went up to St. John's

Church, where he made his headquarters, around which his chiefs pitched their tents. In the morning he summoned the bishop and inquired about a well south of the town, where lepers where healed. The bishop told Zangi the well was said to have the divine power of healing because the man "who stole the kerchief with which Christ rubbed His face at His crucifixion dropped it into this well. When Zangi heard the story, he said, "I believe that the blessing of Christ is able to work miracles." Suffering much from gout in the feet and wanting to be cured, Zangi mounted his horse and went to the well, drew water from it, and washed his feet. On the site stood the ruins of a monastery; only the altar remained. Zangi ordered that an inn be built for the sick "who might come there to be healed, and that all the surrounding fields become part of the property (this order was not fulfilled because of his assassination). Afterwards Imad al-Din Zangi visited the Syrian churches and contemplated their beauty. He ordered that two great bells be mounted on their tops, as was the custom of the Franks. Before leaving, he admonished the bishop and the congregation to guard the town and not to betray his government. To stabilize Edessa, he also brought 300 Jewish families and settled them there (112).

[564] The following year, Imad al-Din Zangi left Edessa and sent his troops to attack the supposedly impregnable Qal'at Ja'bar (the fortress of Ja'bar, once called Dawser), vowing not to leave until he had reduced it to his power (113). While sleeping outside the fortress wall on the night of Saturday, September 14, 1146, the day of the Festival of the Cross, he was stabbed to death by two of his trusted eunuchs, who then fled to the fortress (114). His wise old commander, Salah al-Din al-Yaghisiyani, took Zangi's son Nur al-Din Mahmud to Aleppo, installed him as ruler of the city, and seized the enormous treasure stored there. The Turks did not bury Imad al-Din Zangi immediately; some of his men carried his body to al-Raqqa, where he was buried (115). There are varying accounts of Zangi's death. Ignatius Sahdo of Edessa says he was killed in his sleep one night by some Christians (116). Bar Hebraeus relates two different stories about Zangi's murder. By one account, during his attack on Qal'at Ja'bar, as Zangi sat in his tent inspecting a bowl of gold made for him, one of his slaves (also his armor-bearer) struck him with a sword from behind and cut off his head. According to the other story, one night, as Zangi was sunk in a drunken sleep, three of his slaves killed him. His murderers fled to the foot of the wall and called to the sentries, "Pull us up that we may give you some good news." The sentries lowered a basket and pulled them up one by one. When they reached the top, they said, "We have just killed Zangi, and at present no man knows about it." The sentries blew the horns and cried out to those below, "Rise up and bury your lord who has been killed, before he stinks!" When the people went to Zangi, they found him dead (117). Gregory the Priest, the Armenian source, says that Zangi was assassinated by his eunuch acting alone (118). Ibn al-Qalanisi also says Zangi was murdered by a single eunuch of Frankish origin, whose name he gives as Yaranqash. Harboring hatred toward Zangi for some unknown reason, the eunuch took advantage of his drunken stupor to kill him (119). Imad al-Din al-Isfahani likewise says that Yaranqash killed [565] Zangi. He says it was Zangi's custom to have Turkish, Armenian and Greek young men stand guard around his bed as he slept. They began to revel and make noise, and he rebuked them and told them to quit. The young men, who had intended to kill him, seized the opportunity; Yaranqash, the ringleader, fell on the drunken Zangi, slaughtered him, and took his personal ring (120). Ibn al-Adim also says that the eunuch Yaranqash killed Zangi and came to Qal'at Ja'bar shouting, "Raise me up! I have killed the atabeg!" The men in the fortress answered, "May Allah curse you. By killing him you have practically killed all the Muslims." Unlike Ibn al-Qalanisi and al-Isfahani, he says it was Zangi's son Nur al-Din who took the ring from his father's finger (121).

Ibn al-Athir, however, says that while Zangi was sleeping (he does not mention his being drunk), a band of his mamluks (freed slaves) attacked him but did not kill him. As they fled to the citadel, some men inside shouted to Zangi's men that he had been murdered. They rushed to find him, and (as one of Zangi's men told Ibn al-Athir's father) he had still a spark of life. Seeing the man, Zangi thought he intended to kill him and pointed a finger at him, as if to beg him for compassion. Awed by his dignity, the man stood still and said, "My lord, who did this to you, that I may kill him?" But Zangi could not speak. Momentarily, he pronounced the *Shahada* (Muslim testimony of faith) and breathed his last (122).

The Franks were jubilant over the death of Imad al-Din Zangi. One gloated, "What a happy coincidence! A guilty murderer, with the bloody name *Sanguinus*, has become ensanguined with his own blood" (123). The Arab sources, however, praise him for his handsome appearance, strong character, and great achievements (124 Despite Zangi's magnanimous treatment of [566] the Christians of Edessa, the fact remains that his men

destroyed and defiled Christian churches, turning some into stables and granaries and converting one into a mosque. It is no surprise that William of Tyre calls him "that greatest persecutor of the Christian faith" (125).

The assassination of Imad al-Din Zangi was happy news for Joscelin II, who was anxious to recapture Edessa. With Zangi dead, he believed, his government would be in chaos and his chiefs would fight one another for leadership and forget about Edessa. In fact, Zangi's death did cause a rift between his two sons, Sayf al-Din, who controlled Mosul, and Nur al-Din Mahmud, who with the support of Salah al-Din Muhammad ibn Ayyub al-Yaghisiyani established himself in Aleppo. His territory was divided between them, with the river Khabur as a natural boundary (126). At first the brothers fought for control of their father's state, but they finally reconciled, and Sayf al-Din submitted to the authority of Nur al-Din so that other rulers, especially the Franks, would know they were in full agreement (127). Zangi's death emboldened his enemies, who surrounded his domain, hoping to pounce and capture whatever they could. Mu'in al-Din Unur, a mamluk of Zahir al-Din Tughtigin, atabeg of Damascus, who ruled in the name of his master's grandson, sent a force to occupy Ba'lbak, then ruled by Najm al-Din Ayyub ibn Shadhi, the father of Saladin, and make the rulers of Hims and Hama his subjects (128). Unur, who had made an alliance with Baldwin III of Jerusalem against the Zangis, now reconciled with Nur al-Din and gave his daughter in marriage to him (129). In the east, the Artukids reclaimed the towns that Imad al-Din Zangi had captured, while Raymond of Poitiers, the lord of Antioch, marched against Aleppo and Hama and slaughtered many Muslims (130).

[567] Joscelin II, then in Tall Bashir, saw the chaotic condition of Imad al-Din Zangi's domain and thought the time was ripe to recapture Edessa (131). He appealed to Baldwin, lord of Kesum and Mar'ash, who promised to help. Meanwhile, says William of Tyre, a deplorable thing happened in Edessa, which the Muslims did not firmly control. While Nur al-Din Zangi was briefly detained at Mosul by matters pertaining to his succession, the citizens of Edessa secretly sent messengers to inform Joscelin II that the Turks had abandoned the city, except for a few left to guard the citadel. They begged Joscelin to assemble an army and rush to Edessa, promising they would surrender it to him (132).

Ibn al-Athir and other Muslim sources say that Joscelin II initiated the contact with the people of Edessa, mostly Armenians, urging them to revolt against the Muslims and surrender the city to him (133). To Joscelin, the recovery of Edessa meant the reversal of the Muslims' victory. But he had underestimated the Turks' determination to protect their authority after Imad al-Din Zangi's death. Moreover, he received no help from Raymond of Poitiers, who was angry at both Joscelin and Baldwin (134). Ibn al-Qalanisi says Joscelin brought together Franks from many places and attacked Edessa unexpectedly, in conspiracy with the native Christians. He occupied the city and killed its Muslim inhabitants. But when Nur al-Din Zangi received word that Joscelin had taken Edessa, he decided to attack the city. Accompanied by his commander Sayf al-Dawla Sawar (Sevar) and about 10,000 horsemen, he captured Edessa and forced Joscelin to flee. Nur al-Din Zangi pillaged the city and took many of its people captive (135). Ibn al-Athir says that after the murder of the "martyred atabeg [Imad al-Din Zangi]," Joscelin sent a message from Tall Bashir to the Armenian inhabitants of Edessa, urging them to revolt against the Muslims and surrender the city. He specified a day when he would arrive. After the people of Edessa responded positively to his message, Joscelin attacked and occupied the city but could not seize the citadel (136). Gregory the Priest does not mention any [568] plot involving the Christians of Edessa, but says that Joscelin and Baldwin joined forces to attack the city and took it by surprise. Joscelin was unsuccessful, however, because the Turks regrouped and after five days retook the city by storm. Gregory's account includes a lengthy and highly sentimental eulogy offered for Baldwin by the priest Barsegh (137).

The Syriac sources give a different account of Zangi's conquest of Edessa. The Anonymous Edessan says that when the Turkish governor of Aleppo (Nur al-Din Zangi) heard that Joscelin and Baldwin had assembled their troops in Duluk with the intention of attacking Edessa, he sent messengers to urge the governors of Edessa to be alert and guard the city, for he had no idea in which direction they might move. On receiving the message, the Turkish governors promptly made sure there were sufficient provisions in the city's fortresses. They also made the Christians swear fealty and took fifty Christian builders, craftsmen, and smiths as hostages. The Christians of Edessa were so terror-stricken that every evening they gathered with the Franks near the Abgar Monastery (138).

On Sunday, October 27, 1146, the Franks arrived in the vicinity of Edessa and hid in a nearby valley till the evening. When it was dark many of their valiant foot soldiers approached the southern part of the city, which

was unguarded. Aided by the Armenians guarding the wall, they climbed up ladders to two towers. When the Muslim sentries advanced to learn who was there, the Franks attacked them, killing some and throwing others down outside the wall. Once they were on the wall, they shouted praises to God and opened the gates, and the other Frankish fighters and horsemen entered the city as the Turks took refuge (139). At this point, says the Anonymous Edessan, the foolish Franks ceased fighting and ignored the Muslim sentries in the towers. Instead, they began plundering the houses and shops of both Muslims and Christians. Many Muslims took refuge in the fortifications, while others slid down by the wall at night and escaped to Harran. Joscelin II sent for the Syrian metropolitan (Basilius Bar Shumanna) and asked him to prepare siege engines to attack the forts. But all their efforts proved futile because some forts were too tall, and others were too well manned. For six days the poor city suffered misery. When the Franks saw [569] that they could not occupy even one fort, they became distressed and frightened.

Shortly, however, a spy from the enemy camp came to tell Joscelin, "Be ready, you and those who are with you. The forces from Aleppo and Manbij, mainly Turkomans and other people, have arrived, and they are hiding in the mountain. Tomorrow they will surround you in a circle. They are preparing to capture you while you are inside the city and annihilate you" (140). When Joscelin II heard this report, he was stricken with fear and uncertain what to do, because a great number of Turkish troops had already arrived and spread out in the mountains and in the city's southern plain. Distressed and frightened, he thought of sneaking out of the city by night. But how could he get through the Muslim force without being detected? Finally, on the third hour of the night, the Franks opened the northern gate, the Gate of the Sa'at (Hours), and began moving out. When the Christian inhabitants of Edessa saw that the Franks were leaving them to the Muslim oppressors, they were stricken with terror and trembling fell on them. The town was in total confusion, the air filled with bitter screams from women and children, mothers calling to their children who did not answer, lost children wandering in every direction searching for their mothers. Many were trampled to death by beasts and cattle. In every road many men and women, infants and children, even animals lay shamefully crushed. No one could help them. Such was the disgraceful exit of the natives, who left houses full of goods and basic necessities with their doors open, lamps lighted, and beds ready (141).

In their predicament, the Franks came upon an evil and destructive plan. They resolved to attack the Muslims, who still had them surrounded. Joscelin and those with him in the rear pounced on the nearby enemy on the left, i.e., the west. When Baldwin of Kesum heard the trumpets sound and saw that Count Joscelin had attacked, he himself advanced on the right. [570] The Frankish horsemen charged in utter confusion, without order. The Turks gave way on either side as the leaders charged past impetuously, then attacked from the rear and broke through their ranks. The Franks no longer thought of cohesion or order, only safety. They fled in disgrace, casting away their spears, shields, coats of mail, and all their armor, even the swords in their hands, for they were completely gripped by fear. Joscelin was wounded in the thigh by an arrow but managed to escape to Samosata. Baldwin, a handsome youth, was struck by an arrow, but no one knew who he was (142). Many priests, deacons, and monks also perished. Ibn al-Qalanisi says the Armenians and other Christians of Edessa were almost annihilated by the sword. The Muslims looted the entire city, even the goods and valuables of Joscelin and Baldwin, seizing huge amounts of furniture and personal items, and took many captives. They returned to Aleppo and other regions rejoicing over their victory and its spoils (143). On November 3, 1146, the Muslims became masters of Edessa which had not been sacked since its founding in the days of the Greek Seleucus, 1460 years earlier.

Under Imad al-Din Zangi in 1144 the city had been pillaged for only three days; this time the looting went on for a whole year. The Turks went about the city digging and searching through secret places, foundations, and roofs. They found many treasures hidden in the time of the fathers and elders, many of which the inhabitants knew nothing about (144). They found treasures of the Syrian Church—crosses, Gospels, chalices, patens, censors, Holy Chrism jars, and many other items, all made of gold and silver. They stole expensive covers, drapes, and curtains from the altars, together with copies of anaphoras (liturgical books) which kings of old had donated to the church. These had been sent to Edessa by Saliba, a faithful Edessan, and another faithful man named Kimash, both of whom lived in Constantinople and managed the church's business there. Every year they sent generous donations to the churches, monasteries, and poor people, but the wicked Abdun intercepted these gifts,

concealed them, and finally appropriated them. Thus Edessa was ruined, and its inhabitants were scattered and sold as captives in many lands (145).

The Anonymous Edessan continues the story of the tragedy of Edessa, saying that those who escaped the sword found refuge in the fort. [571] At nightfall they left the fort in groups of five and ten. Some, including the Syrian Bishop Basilius Bar Shumanna, made it to Samosata, which was then near the domain of the Franks. The Armenian bishop was captured and sold in Aleppo. Only a few priests were safe; most of them were either killed or taken captive. Abdun, the chief priest (the Anonymous Edessan calls him the chief of disorder and the great troublemaker), was captured by the Turks outside the city gate. He fell into a ditch and began crying out, offering a hundred dinars to anyone who would pull him out. A Turk descended into the ditch, took his purse of gold, and slew him, and his body became food for dogs (146). The Christians living east of the Euphrates, especially those of Mardin, Shabakhtan and Sebaberk, lent a helping hand to the afflicted Edessans. But those who lived west of the Euphrates, especially the priests, monks, and bishops, showed no mercy-only wickedness, and hardness of mind and soul (147).

The Muslim sources give few details about the attack on Edessa. They mention briefly that Nur al-Din Zangi captured the city, let it be pillaged, and took many of its people prisoner. Ibn al-Qalanisi says the Muslims rejoiced in their victory and their hearts were strengthened after they had lost courage and felt their cause forsaken (148). But to the Christians what happened to Edessa was calamitous. With a grievous voice like that of the prophet Jeremiah in his Lamentation, Michael Rabo says:

> O cloud of wrath, the day void of mercy, and the heavy and multiple affliction of the sons of Edessa. O night of death and the morn of hell and the day of desolation which stunned the sons of the wretched city. Who can speak or hear of what happened without shedding tears? The mother and her nursing child whom she carried on her shoulder were struck together by one arrow, and no one could repel it. The hooves of the persecutors' horses tread upon them unexpectedly. They were squeezed in the press of wrath. Arrows fell upon them at night like rain, and in the morning it was even denser because of the number of arrows and lances that massacred them while they walked through the path of blood. The Frankish cavalry escaped because they could not defend the people, and their infantry took refuge in a nearby abandoned fortress. The earth cried out because of the enormity of the calamity which befell [572] the Christians. The corpses of priests, deacons, monks, dignitaries, and poor people were piled up. Those who died were luckier than those who remained alive. Those who were still alive suffered incredible torment. They fell into the midst of the fire of the Turks' wrath. The Turks made them shed their clothes and shoes. They tied their hands behind them, beating them and forcing them, men and women, to walk naked alongside their horses. The Turks flayed the bellies of those who fell due to fatigue and torture, then left them dead to stink and become food for birds of prey. The air was foul with the stench of corpses and Athur (the district that extends from Syria proper to the north of Iraq) was crowded with captives (149).

The result was that Edessa lost its Syrian and Armenian inhabitants, and the Christian population decreased dramatically. Michael Rabo estimates that in the Turks' two occupations of Edessa in 1144 and 1146, some 30,000 were killed and 16,000 were taken captive, while only a thousand men made it to safety. No women or children remained; some were killed, and others were scattered through many countries. Edessa, desolate, was the picture of horror, clothed in black and drunk with blood. It was filled with the stench of the corpses of its sons and daughters, who were left to predators. It became the abode of jackals, and no one entered it except those searching for treasures. Its enemies, the people of Harran and others, ransacked its churches and the homes of its leading citizens and gloated over its destruction (150). Michael Rabo had every reason to weep over the fate of Edessa, the center of Syrian Christianity and home of the great School founded by St. Eph-raim (d. 373). It was the great Edessa, the Blessed City which, Muslim writers say, at one time housed over 300 churches and numerous monasteries (151).

Several contemporary Muslim writers, all Egyptians, see the fall of Edessa and the atrocities committed by Nur al-Din Zangi and the Turks differently. Hasan Habashi, in a very brief account of Zangi's attack on [573] Edessa, says nothing about the atrocities the Turks committed there (152). Husayn Mu'nis dismisses the whole event with a few—words, saying Nur al-Din punished and killed those Armenians who had betrayed the Muslims, and

out of fear the Christians of Edessa left the city (153). Sa'id Abd al-Fattah Ashur says, "As for the Christians of Edessa, they deserved to be punished for their treachery. They were not benefited by Joscelin II, who fled and left them to learn a harsh lesson from Nur al-Din's forces... the Turks did not distinguish between the Christian Franks and the native Syrian and Armenian Christians. They slaughtered them by the sword, and drove their women and children as captives to Aleppo" (154). Aliyya Abd al-Sami al-Janzuri seems to be more thorough and objective. Although she does not treat at length the atrocities committed by the Turks, she offers a broader view of the fall of Edessa, based on Syriac, Armenian, Latin and Arab sources, which she cites in several appendixes. She discusses in detail the churches of Edessa, indicating those which remained intact and those which the Muslims converted into mosques, and mentions briefly the meddling by Joscelin II in the affairs of the Syrian Church (155).

William of Newburgh (1136-1198) rightly says that Edessa, the center of Christianity in Syria, lay in ruins; its Christian inhabitants were the victims of both the Franks' ambition and the Turks' atrocities (156). He is perhaps the only writer who blamed Joscelin II for the fall of Edessa. Jocelin, says William of Newburgh, had violated the daughter of an Armenian citizen of Edessa who, as an act of revenge, betrayed the city to the Saracens (Muslims) (157). Joscelin II, who should have rallied the Christians to fight the Turks, recapture Edessa, and reinforce his crumbling authority, was too involved in the pursuit of pleasure to assume such an awesome responsibility. Instead, as we shall soon see, when he realized his purse was empty, he found it most expedient to rob the wealthy Syrian Monastery of Mar Barsoum. The Franks, and particularly Joscelin, bear the greater blame because they continued to interfere in the affairs of the Syrian Church, [574] compounding its problems. We should note here that the Syrian Church was in constant turmoil caused by recalcitrant and disobedient bishops, seeking either earthly gain or the patriarchate. This turmoil can in large degree be attributed to the rigid legalism of some patriarchs like Abu al-Faraj Athanasius VI of the Camra family and their insistence on observing the letter of church laws which even at the beginning of the eleventh century, at the height of the Middle Ages, seemed to be harsh and unbearable. Like the Byzantines before them, the Franks made themselves arbiters of the Syrians' ecclesiastical problems and thus weakened their own ability to govern.

Footnotes

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1 Izz al-Din Ibn al-Athir, *al-Tarikh al-Bahir fi al-Dawla al-Atabegyya*, Abd al-Qadir Ahmad Tulaymat, ed. (Cairo: Dar al-Kutub al-Haditha, 1963), 32-33.

2 Izz al-Din Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh*, Recueil des historiens des Croisades 1 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1872), 247.

3 Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil*, 329-330.

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4 Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil*, 346-348.

5 Sa'id Abd al-Fattah Ashur, *al-Haraka al-Salibiyya* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Anglo-al-Misriyya, 1963), 1: 549.

6 Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil*, 368-371, and *al-Tarikh al-Bahir*, 28-31.

7 For a detailed account of the activities of Sinjar, see Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil*, 318-323; Abd al-Mun'im Muhammad Hasanayn, *Salajiqat Iran wa al-lraq* (Cako: Maktabat al-Nahda al-Misriyya, 1970), 108-118, largely follows Ibn al-Athir.

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8 R. Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades et du Royaume Franc de Jerusalem* 1 (Paris: Librairie Jules Tallander, 1934), 530.

9 There is extensive source material on the Assassins. See Bernard Lewis, *The Assassins: A Radical Sect in Islam* (New York: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1968), and by the same author, "The Ismai'lites and the Assassins," *A History of the Crusades*, Marshall W. Baldwin, ed. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), 1: 99-131; Ashur, *al-Haraka*, 550-560.

10 Abu Ya'la Hamza Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, H. F. Amedroz, ed.

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(Beirut: Matba'at al-Ab al-Yasu'iyyin, 1908), 121; Imad al-Din al-Isfahani, *Tawarikh Al Seljuk*, al-Shaykh al-Fath ibn AH ibn Muhammad al-Bundari, abr., M. th. Hout-sma, ed. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1889), 62; Hasanayn, Salajiqat, 73.

11 Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, 149-150; Bernard Lewis, "The Sources for the History of the Syrian Assassins," *Speculum* 21 (1952): 485-486.

12 Usama ibn Munqidh, *Kitab al-I'tibar*, P. Hitti, trans. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1929), 153; Athir, *al-Kamil*, 272.

13 Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil*, 290-291.

14 Kamal al-Din Ibn al-Adim, *Zubdat al-Halab min Tarikh Halab*, Sami al-Dahhan, ed. (Beirut: al-Matba'a al-Catholikiyya, 1954), 2: 168.

15 Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, 189; Athir, *al-Kamil*, 291; Adim, *Zubdat*, 2: 168-169.

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16 Adim, *Zubdat*, 2: 170, 186-187.

17 Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, 151.

18 Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, 215; Athir, *al-Kamil*, 366-368.

19 Athir, *al-Kamil*, 383.

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20 Athir, *al-Kamil*, 383-384.

21 Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, 224; Athir, *al-Kamil*, 385.

22 Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, 230; The Anonymous Edessan, 105 (English, 2: 18; Arabic, 131); Lewis, "The Ismai'lites," 118.

23 Athir, *al-Tarikh al-Bahir*, 50. In 1140, the Batinis took the fortress of Masyaf through a deceptive strategy. In 1152 they killed Raymond II, the lord of Tripoli. Later, they also tried to kill Salah al-Din al-Ayyubi (Saladin).

They were not crushed until the mid-thirteenth century, when the Mongol Hulago destroyed their fort at Alamut.

24 Athir, *al-Tarikh*, 33-34; Carole Hillenbrand, *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 112.

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25 Isfahani, *Tawarikh Al Seljuk*, 205.

26 Athir, *al-Tarikh*, 38, and *al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh*, 1: 379-380; Hillenbrand, *The Crusades*, 113 and by the same author, "Ambominable Acts: The Career of Zengi," in *The Second crusade: Scope and Consequence*, Jonathan Phillips and Martin Hoch, eds. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), 111-132; Isfahani, *Tawarikh Al Seljuk*, 205.

27 Athir, *al-Tarikh al-Bahir*, 15; Abu Shama, *Kitab al-Rawdatayn fi Akhbar al-Dawlatayn*, 1 (Cairo: Matba'at Wadi al-Nil, 1870): 27-28; Jamal al-Din Muhammad ibn Salim Ibn Wasil, *Mufarrij al-Kurub fi Akhbar Bani Ayyub*, Jamal al-Din al-Shayyal, ed., 1 (Cairo: Matba'at Fu'ad al-Awwal, 1953), 11.

28 Athir, *al-Tarikh*, 16.

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29 Athir, *al-Tarikh*, 19-20; Abu Shama, *Kitab*, 1: 27.

30 Athir, *al-Tarikh*, 24-29; Gregorius Bar Hebraeus, *The Chronography of Bar Hebraeus*, E. W. Budge, trans. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1932), 88 (English, 253); W. B. Stevenson, *The Crusaders in the East* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1907), 121-122.

31 Athir, *al-Tarikh*, 34-35; Wasil, *Mufarrij*, 1: 31-32; the Anonymous Edessan, 104 (English, 101; Arabic, 130), inexplicably names Salah al-Din, Nasir al-Din, and Zayn al-Din Ali as those who urged the sultan to appoint Zangi as leader.

32 Athir, *al-Tarikh*, 37, and *al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh*, 1: 377-378; Wasil, *Mufarrij*, 1: 36.

33 Adim, *Zubdat*, 2: 244-245; Wasil, *Mufarrij*, 1: 37-38; Ashur, *al-Haraka*, 1: 565.

34 Stevenson, *The Crusaders* ,123.

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35 Adim, *Zubdat*, 2: 244; Wasil, *Mufarrij*, 1: 40; Ashur, *al-Haraka*, 1: 566.

36 Athir, *al-Kamil*, 386-387; Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, 228; Adim, *Zubdat*, 2: 245-246.

37 Wasil, *Mufarrij*, 1: 41-42.

38 Athir, *al-Kamil*, 388-389; Adim, *Zubdat*, 2: 254; Wasil, *Mufarrij*, 1: 42-43.

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39 Athir, *al-Kamil*, 389-390.

40 Athir, *al-Kamil*, 398-399, and *al-Tarikh al-Bahir*, 47-48; Wasil, *Mufarrij*, 1: 47-48.

41 Athir, *al-Tarikh*, 43; Wasil, *Mufarrij*, 1: 43, 47-48.

42 Grousset, *Histoire*, 2: 55.

43 Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, 245, trans. H. A. R. Gibb, as *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades* (London: Luzac, 1967), 228-229, calls Badran "Bertram;" Athir, *al-Kamil*, 403.

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44 Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, 245; Athir, *al-Kamil*, 404; Adim, *Zubdat*, 2: 255.

45 Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, 245-246; Athir, *al-Kamil*, 404-405; Adim, *Zubdat*, 2: 256-257.

46 Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, 248; Athir, *al-Kamil*, 404-405; Adim, *Zubdat*, 2: 258; Ashur, *al-Haraka*, 1: 671; Wafa Juni, *Dimashq wa al-Mamlaka al-Latinyya fi al-Quds 1098-1174* (Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, 1997), 154-158.

47 Adim, *Zubdat*, 2: 259.

48 Athir, *al-Kamil*, 416-417.

49 Athir, *al-Kamil*, 414-416; Stevenson, *The Crusaders* , 137; Ashur, *al-Haraka*, 1:

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573-574.

50 William of Tyre, *History*, 2: 85; Athir, *al-Kamil*, 421.

51 William of Tyre, *History*, 2: 83-84.

52 Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 93 (English, 264); Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 621 (French, 245); the Anonymous Edessan, 108-109 (English, 275-276; Arabic, 133-135); Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, 2 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1954), 415-417; Grousset, *Histoire*, 2: 85; Ferdinand Chalandon, *Jean II Comnène (1118-43) et Manuel I Comnene (1143-80)*, 2 (Paris: Picard, 1912), 115-116; Nicolas Iorga, *L'Armenie Cilicienne* (Paris: J. Gamber, 1930), 94.

53 William of Tyre, *History*, 2: 85-86.

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54 William of Tyre, *History*, 2: 85-92; Athir, *al-Kamil*, 421-423; Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, 259; Wasil, *Mufarrij*, 1: 72-74: Aliyya Abd al-Sami' al-Janzuri, *Imarat al-Ruha al-Salibiyya* (Cairo, 1975), 266-271; Ashur, *al-Haraka*, 1: 574-575.

55 William of Tyre, *History*, 2: 93: Stevenson, *The Crusaders*, 138-139; Grousset, *Histoire*, 2: 100; Chalandon, *Jean II*, 134-135; Vasiliev, *History*, 2: 416; Robert L. Nicholson, "The Growth of the Latin States, 1118-1144," in Baldwin, ed., *A History of the Crusades*, 1: 439.

56 Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, 265-266: Wasil, *Mufarrij*, 1: 78. William of Tyre, *History*, 2: 49-135, discusses in detail the conflict between Zangi and the Frankish forces.

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57 Athir, *al-Kamil*, 427-428; Wasil, *Mufarrij*, 1: 81-82.

58 Wasil, *Mufarrij*, 1: 74-79.

59 Adim, *Zubdat*, 2: 262.

60 Athir, *al-Kamil*, 431-432.

61 Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, 269-271; Athir, *al-Tarikh al-Bahir*, 59.

62 William of Tyre, *History*, 2: 105-106.

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63 Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, 272.

64 William of Tyre, *History*, 2: 106-109; Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, 273: Athir, *al-Kamil*, 435-436.

65 Stevenson, *The Crusaders* , 147-149.

66 Grousset, *Histoire*, 2: 138; Stevenson, *The Crusaders*, 146: Joshua Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1972), 83, 133, 265; E. J. King, *The Knights Hospitallers in the Holy Land* (London: Methuen, 1931), 34; J. S. C. Riley-Smith, "The Templars and the Teutonic Knights in Cilician Armenia," in *The Cilician Kingdom of Armenia*, T. S. R. Boase, ed. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1978), 94; Malcolm Barber, *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 34.

67 William of Tyre, *History*, 2: 127; Stevenson, *The Crusaders* , 146.

68 William of Tyre, *History*, 2: 134-135,139.

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69 William of Tyre, *History*, 2: 140.

70 Athir, *al-Tarikh al-Bahir*, 66-67. In fact, Edessa was not considered a See, but it was a very important center of Christianity.

71 Athir, *al-Tarikh*, 67.

72 William of Tyre, *History*, 2: 140.

73 For a detailed account of the conflict between the principalities of Antioch and Edessa, see al-Janzuri, *Imarat*, 273-294.

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74 William of Tyre, *History*, 2: 141.

75 The Anonymous Edessan, 103 (English, 99-100; Arabic, 128); Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 613 (French, 232).

76 William of Tyre, *History*, 2: 52-53; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 2 (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1965), 193, follows William of Tyre; Nicholson, "The Growth of the Latin States," 432, n. 18.

77 Amir, *al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh*, 1: 480-481, and *al-Tarikh al-Bahir*, 66, 102; Adim, *Zubdat al-Halab min Tarikh Halab*, 2: 301.

78 William of Tyre, *History*, 2: 52, esp. n. 12.

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79 Ibn al-Adim, *Bughyat al-Talab fi Tarikh Halab*, ed. Suhayl Zakkar, 1 (Damascus, 1988), 321.

80 William of Tyre, *History*, 2: 141.

81 William of Tyre, *History*, 2: 140-141, esp. n. 10.

82 Stevenson, *The Crusaders* ,153.

83 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 629 (French, 260-261), gives the date as 1145; see Bar Hebraeus, Chronography, 94-95 (English, 268-269).

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84 The Anonymous Edessan, 118-119 (English, 280-281; Arabic, 144-145); see Athir, *al-Tarikh al-Bahir*, 68-69.

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85 Saint Nersès Schnorhali (d. 1172), *Élégie sur la prise d'Édesse*, *R. H. C. Or.* 1, E. Documents Arméniens, E. Dulaurier, ed. (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1869), 226-268, esp. 245-255; Aziz Atiya, *The Crusades: Historiography and Biography* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1962), 42. For a partial Arabic translation, see al-Janzuri, *Imarat*, Appendix X, 386-395.

86 The Anonymous Edessan, 121 (English, 282-283; Arabic, 147).

87 On the capture of Edessa by Imad al-Din Zangi, see Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 638 (French, 277-278); the Anonymous Edessan, 118-136 (English, 2: 281-286; Arabic, 145-163); Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 268-270. See W. R. Taylor, trans., "A New Syriac Fragment Dealing With Incidents In The Second Crusades," *The Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 11 (1929-1930), 122. Taylor does not name the author; Syrian Orthodox Patriarch Aphram Barsoum

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(d. 1957) says he was a Syrian monk named Sahdo who later became metropolitan of Jerusalem as Ignatius Sahdo, and died at the start of the thirteenth century. See Aphram Barsoum, *al-Lulu al-Manthur fi Tarikh al-Ulum wa al-Adab al-Suryaniyya*, 4th ed. (Holland: Bar Hebraeus Verlag, 1987), 398-399, trans. Matti Moosa as *The History of Syriac Literature and Sciences* (Pueblo, CO: Passeggiata, 2000), 148, 2nd ed., Gorgias Press, 2003), 449. The story of Ignatius Sahdo is biography No. 217 in Chapter Two, Biographies of Scholars and Writers of the Second Period; Gregory the Priest, *The Continuation of Matthew of Edessa*, in *Matthew of Edessa* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1993), 243-244: Schnorhali, Élégie, 226-268, and trans. Janzuri,

Imarat, 386-395; Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, 279, and trans. Gibb, 266-268; William of Tyre, *History*, 2: 140-143; Roger of Hoveden (Howden), *Chronica*, trans. Henry T. Riley as *The Annals of Roger de Hoveden*, 1 (London, 1853, AMS Press, 1968): 249. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 2: 235-236; Nicholson, "The Growth of the Latin States," 446; Sir Hamilton A. R. Gibb, "Zengi and the Fall of Edessa," in *A History of the Crusades*, Baldwin, ed., 1: 449-462; J. B. Segal, *Edessa the Blessed City* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), 245-248; Janzuri, *Imarat*, 295-300; Ashur, *al-Haraka*, 2: 602-607; Wasil, *Mufarrij*, 1: 93-94, al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad Isma'il Abu al-Fida, *al-Mukhtasar fi Akhbar al-Bashar*, in *R. H. C. Or.*, 3 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1872): 26; Yusuf al-Dibs, *Tarikh Suriyya*, 6 (Beirut: Dar Nazir Abboud, 1900), 67.

88 Otto, Bishop of Freising, *Chronica*, trans. Charles Christopher Mierow with title *The Two Cities: A Chronical of Uuniversal History to the Year 1146 A. D.* edited by Austin P. Evans (New York: Octagon Books, 1966), 440, and by the same author, *Gesta Frederichi I Imperatoris*, trans. Mierow as *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1953), 71-73. The reference here is to the letter of Pope Eugenius III to King Louis VII of France, in which he mentions the calamities which befell Edessa; William of Tyre, *History*, 2: 143; Jean Edwards, *The Crusades 1071-1291*, 146-155.

89 The Anonymous Edessan, 123,125 (English, 283-285; Arabic, 148-151).

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90 Gregory the Priest, *The Continuation of Matthew of Edessa*, 243.

91 The Anonymous Edessan, 123 (English, 284; Arabic, 149-150). Otto, bishop of Freising (d. 1158), *The Two Cities*, 439-440, writes, "near the beginning of the one thousand one hundred forty-fifth year from the incarnation of the Lord, during the very festival of the Holy Nativity of Christ, there befell in the East, in consequence of the sin of the Christian people, a sad and lamentable misfortune. For Zangi, prince of Aleppo in Syria, with a ... horde of Saracens, besieged Rohais (Ruha/ Edessa). On the very day of the Lord's Nativity ... Zangi, having stormed the city, slew at the edge of the sword all Christians in it together with the bishop of the city, or reduced them to the terrible bondage of slavery. He foully polluted the church of Christ and particularly the basilica of the Blessed Mary (ever virgin) where the body of the apostle Thomas is buried ... He brought unfitting things into this church in mockery of the Savior... Having exterminated our people or made them subject to payment of tribute, he stationed Saracens (Muslims) there to inhabit the city."

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92 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 629 (French, 260-263); Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 94-95 (English, 268-270).

93 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 629 (French, 260-263); Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 94-95 (English, 268-270).

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94 The Anonymous Edessan, 125 (English, 285; Arabic, 151-152).

95 The Anonymous Edessan, 123-126 (English, 284-286; Arabic, 150-152).

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96 Gregory the Priest, *Matthew of Edessa*, 242-244.

97 Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, 279-280, and trans. Gibb, 266-268.

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98 Athir, *al-Kamil*, 457-458, and *al-Tarikh al-Bahir*, 87; Abu Shama, *Kitab*, 1: 49.

99 Athir, *al-Kamil*, 444-445, and *al-Tarikh al-Bahir*, 69; Wasil, *Mufarrij*, 1: 94, follows Ibn al-Athir; Grousset, *Histoire*, 2: 190; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 2: 237; Ashur, *al-Haraka*, 2: 605-607.

100 William of Tyre, *History*, 2: 143.

101 Athir, *al-Kamil*, 444-445, and *al-Tarikh al-Bahir*, 69.

102 Athir, *al-Tarikh*, 70; Abu Shama, *Kitab*, 1: 37, follows Ibn al-Athir.

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103 Sahdo of Edessa, cited in Taylor, "A New Syriac Fragment," 122, 124.

104 Hasan Habashi, *Nur al-Din wa al-Salibiyyun* (Cairo: Dar al-Fikr al-Arabi, 1948), 37; Ashur, *al-Haraka*, 2: 608-609.

105 The Anonymous Edessan, 127-128 (English, 286-287; Arabic, 153-154).

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106 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 632-633 (French, 284-285); the Anonymous Edessan, 128-129 (English, 286-288; Arabic, 154-156); Isfahani, *Tawarikh*, 205; Athir, *al-Kamil*, 446, and *al-Tarikh al-Bahir*, 71; Abu Shama, *Kitab*, 1: 41;Wasil, Mufarrij, 1: 95-96.

107 Adim, *Zubdat*, 2: 281, says Zangi killed Farrukhanshah, who killed Chaqar; Athir, *al-Kamil*, 448, says Farrukhshah was the brother of Alp Arslan (whom he calls al-Khafaji); Isfahani, Tawarikh, 205-206, refers to Farrukhshah as al-Khafaji. See the Anonymous Edessan, 129 (English, 288; Arabic, 155-156).

108 Athir, *al-Kamil*, 448; Wasil, *Mufarrij*, 1: 95-96.

109 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 632-633 (French, 284-285).

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110 The Anonymous Edessan, 131-132 (English, 288-289; Arabic, 156-158).

111 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 633 (French, 267-268).

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112 The Anonymous Edessan, 132-136 (English, 289-291; Arabic, 158-162).

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113 Athir, *al-Kamil*, 451-453; Wasil, *Mufarrij*, 1: 98-99.

114 The Anonymous Edessan, 137 (English, 291; Arabic, 163).

115 The Anonymous Edessan, 138 (English, 292; Arabic, 164). Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*,634 (French, 268), says Imad al-Din Zangi was drunk and was assassinated on Sunday, September 15,1146.

116 Taylor, "A New Syriac Fragment," 122.

117 Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 96 (English, 271).

118 Gregory the Priest, *Matthew of Edessa*, 244.

119 Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, 284-285, esp. n. 1 (citing Ibn al-Azraq al-Fariqi, *Tarikh al-Fariqi*), and trans. Gibb, 271. Ibn al-Qalanisi, 288, and Abu Shama,

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Kitab, 1: 46, say Yaranqash was later captured and taken to Aleppo and then to Mosul, where he was killed.

120 Isfahani, *Tawarikh*, 208-209; Abu Shama, *Kitab*, 1: 42, follows al-Isfahani.

121 Adim, *Zubdat*, 2: 281-282, 285. Interestingly, Adim, *Zubdat*, 2: 219, and Athir, *al-Kamil*, 355, say that when Nur al-Din Belek, Artukid ruler of Aleppo, was killed in 1124, he drew out the arrow that had hit him in the collarbone and said, "This (arrow) has practically killed all Muslims."

122 Athir, *al-Kamil*, 453, and *al-Tarikh al-Bahir*, 74; Abu Shama, *Kitab*, 1: 43, who follows Ibn al-Athir; Wasil, *Mufarrij*, 1: 99-100.

123 William of Tyre, *History*, 2: 146, esp. n. 18, where the editors observe that William evidently could not resist the temptation to indulge in a pun at Zangi's death.

124 Athir, *al-Kamil*, 453-155; Wasil, *Mufarrij*, 1: 100-106.

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125 William of Tyre, *History*, 2: 158.

126 Isfahani, Tawarikh, 209; Athir, *al-Kamil*, 455-456, and *al-Tarikh al-Bahir*, 76; Wasil, *Mufarrij*, 1: 109-110; the Anonymous Edessan, 138 (English, 292; Arabic, 164); Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 96 (English, 271); Stevenson, *The Crusaders* , 154; Marshall W. Baldwin, "The Latin States Under Baldwin III and Amalric I, 1143-1177," in Baldwin, ed., *A History of the Crusades*, 1: 531. On the situation after Zangi's death see Abu Shama, *Kitab*, 1: 46-50, mostly based on the account of Ibn al-Qalanisi.

127 Wasil, *Mufarrij*, 1: 111-112.

128 Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, 287-289, and trans. Gibb, 272-273.

129 Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, 289, and trans. Gibb, 275; William of Tyre, *History*, 2:147-148.

130 Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 96 (English, 272-273).

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131 Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, 288; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 2: 239-240.

132 William of Tyre, *History*, 2: 156-157.

133 Aiiir, al-Kamil, 457, and *al-Tarikh al-Bahir*, 86; Adim, *Zubdat*, 2: 290; Wasil, Mufarri/, 1:110-111.

134 The Anonymous Edessan, 138 (English, 292; Arabic, 165).

135 Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, 288, and trans. Gibb, 274; Wasil, *Mufarrij*, 1: 90-91.

136 Athir, al'Kamil, 457, and *al-Tarikh al-Bahir*, 86; Adim, *Zubdat*, 2: 290; Wasil,

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Mufarrij, 1: 110-111.

137 Gregory the Priest, *Matthew of Edessa*, 244-257.

138 The Anonymous Edessan, 138-139 (English, 292-293; Arabic, 164-165).

139 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 237 (French, 271).

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140 The Anonymous Edessan, 140 (English, 293-294; Arabic, 166-167).

141 The Anonymous Edessan, 138-142 (English, 292-295; Arabic, 168-172). William of Tyre, *History*, 2: 160, writes similarly: "The cries of women and children rose up, mingled with sobs and sighs. Mothers were calling for their lost children, and lost children were looking for their mothers. Children who wandered aimlessly looking for their mothers were trampled by horses, mules and ponies and no one was found to save them. In their attempt to make their way to the gate, armed soldiers, men, women and children pathetically crushed each other. Thus, the people grievously exited the city, leaving behind their homes full of goods and all necessities; the doors open, lamps lighted and beds ready."

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142 William of Tyre, *History*, 2: 161.

143 Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, 288.

144 The Anonymous Edessan, 145-146 (English, 296-297; Arabic, 171-172).

145 The Anonymous Edessan, 146 (Arabic, 172-173).

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146 The Anonymous Edessan, 146 (Arabic, 172-173); Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 97 (English, 273).

147 The Anonymous Edessan, 148 (English, 297-298; Arabic, 174).

148 Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, 288, and trans. Gibb, 275; Athir, *al-Kamil*, 1: 110-111.

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149 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 635-637 (French, 270-272); Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 237 (English), repeats Michael Rabo's narrative; Janzuri, *Imarat*, 384-385, gives an Arabic translation.

150 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 637 (French, 272); N. Iorga, *Brève Histoire des Croisades* (Paris, 1924), 92-93; Janzuri, *Imarat*, 353.

151 Abu al-Qasim Muhammad ibn Ali (Ibn Hawqal), *Surat al-Ard*, 2nd ed. (Beirut: Maktabat al-Hayat, 1964), 204; Abu al-Abbas al-Qarmani, *Akhbar al-Duwal wa Athar al-Uwal fi al-Tarikh*, Ahmad Hutayt and Fahmi Sa'd, eds., 3 (Beirut: Alam al-Kutub, 1992): 373; Janzuri, *Imarat*, 361-365.

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152 Habashi, *Nur al-Din*, 74-76.

153 Husayn Mu'nis, *Nur al-Din Mahmud: Sirat Mujahid Sadiq* (Cairo: al-Sharika al-'Arabiyya li al-Tiba'a wa al-Nashr, 1959), 205.

154 Ashur, *al-Haraka*, 2: 613-614.

155 Janzuri, *Imarat*, 359-371.

156 Willelmi Parvi, Canonici De Novoburgo (William of Newburgh), *Historia Rerum Anglicarum*, ed. and trans. Richard Hewlett as *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, 1 (London: Kraus, 1964): 58-59.

157 William of Newburgh, *Chronicles*, 58-59.

Matti Moosa's

The Franks and the Syrian Christians

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Footnotes

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The Franks' interference in the affairs of the Syrian Church seriously weakened their ability to keep the allegiance of the native population in Edessa and elsewhere. This interference was particularly evident in the case of Abu Ghalib bar Sabuni, brother of Bishop Sa'id bar Sabuni, which alienated the Syrians and turned them against the Franks. Abu Ghalib, a monk from the Arnish Monastery near Kesum and Ra'ban, was chosen as bishop of Edessa by Patriarch Abu al-Faraj Athanasius VI in 1101 and took the name Basilius at his ordination. Learned like his brother, but also impetuous and rebellious, he disobeyed both the patriarch and canon law. Forty days after his ordination he became involved in a dispute with the patriarch over some copies of the Gospels deposited at the church in Edessa. The rebellious priest Abdun had sold these Gospels, the property of the patriarchate, to the Syrian congregation of Edessa, using the proceeds to bribe the men in authority to help him keep his position. When the patriarch demanded their return, Abu Ghalib signed a pledge that he would not carry out his religious duties as bishop until he had returned the Gospels. But as soon as he was ordained, he broke his word, claiming that the Syrian dignitaries of Edessa would not allow him to hand over the Gospels. The patriarch sent Abu Ghalib a letter suspending him from service as bishop and denying him the right to style himself as chief priest. Abu Ghalib answered that the patriarch had no right to suspend him from service because the Edessans, not he, refused to deliver the Gospels to him. As a result the Syrian congregation of Edessa was split into two factions, one backing the defiant bishop, the other supporting the patriarch. Abu Ghalib challenged the patriarch's authority and angered him still further by continuing to ordain priests and deacons. The church in Edessa was thus in a chaotic condition.

What is important, says Michael Rabo, is that the Frankish governor of Edessa, Baldwin II of Le Bourg, supported Bishop Abu Ghalib. Syrian and Frankish delegations asked the patriarch to pardon Abu Ghalib, but even when Bishop Dionysius bar Modyana of Melitene (d. 1120) and seventy Syrian leaders went to the Monastery of Mar Barsoum and prostrated themselves before him, he refused. The patriarch promised to convene a synod [658] to look into Abu Ghalib's case, but did not keep his word. Worse still, he removed the old and learned Bishop Dionysius from his diocese for supporting Abu Ghalib (1). As the dispute between himself and Patriarch Athanasius went from bad to worse, Abu Ghalib turned to the Franks to solve his problem. He took his case to Bernard of Valence, the Latin Patriarch of Antioch (1100-1136), making the Orthodox (i.e., Syrian) Church the subject of criticism by outsiders. Patriarch Athanasius, who was then at the Aqshar Monastery near Antioch, was commanded by the Latin patriarch to proceed to Antioch. The Franks took him to St. Peter's Cathedral (called Cassianus) and asked him to pardon Abu Ghalib bar Sabuni, but again he refused.

The Franks used this refusal as a pretext to act against Patriarch Athanasius and the Syrians. They brought him to their church, treated him with deference and respect, and told him, "Be kind and pray over this bishop (Abu Ghalib) for the sake of our city Edessa." The patriarch replied, "The bishop has outdone his iniquity." The interpreter misunderstood him and told the Franks he was asking for money. The Franks said, "This is simony (selling church offices for money) and not in the spirit of St. Peter. It is not worthy of Christians to dismiss a chief priest from his office for money." As no one who understood the patriarch could be found, the Frankish interpreter said to him, "If you are dealing with money according to your church canons, consider that today you have been offered 10,000 dinars, and therefore you will release this bishop, who resorted to us." Patriarch Athanasius did not answer (evidently because he did not understand the interpreter), but promised to pray for

Bar Sabuni. The Franks gave him a sheet of paper and asked him to absolve the bishop in writing. As he took the paper and started writing, he looked at Bishop Sabuni and said, "Abu Ghalib, look what you have dragged me into." Abu Ghalib answered insolently, "If I am Abu Ghalib (father of the victorious one), know that you are Abu al-Faraj (father of release from grief and sorrow)." At this the patriarch lost his temper and threw away the paper. He stretched out his neck and said, "Cut off my head; I will not absolve this man."

The Franks ordered the patriarch and the bishop beaten. A Frankish bishop told the Latin patriarch, "Although these two wretches have acted [659] disgracefully and deserve to be beaten, it is not appropriate to use beating inside the cathedral." Shortly the Franks' anger cooled down, and they let the patriarch and those in his company go to the Syrian Church of the Mother of God in Antioch. But they forbade him to leave the city until they had convened a council to decide the case, and invited their bishops to attend the council. Patriarch Athanasius remained in the church, dejected, locked in a cell, permitted to talk to no one. Grief overcame the Syrian clergy and congregation. Five days later the Syrian priests asked the philosopher Abd al-Masih ibn Abi Durra of Edessa, a Chalcedonian who loved the patriarch and admired his piety, to see him. Abd al-Masih visited the patriarch in his cell and, in a friendly conversation, evidently convinced him that if he hoped to be released, he should offer money to Roger of Salerno, then governor of Antioch (1112-1119). The patriarch accepted this advice, and Roger ordered that he be allowed to leave Antioch and return to his monastery, telling the Latin patriarch, "You have no authority over the Syrians" (2).

The patriarch went soon afterwards to Amid and settled in the Monastery of Qanqart. Because of the controversy over Abu Ghalib, the bishop of Edessa, Patriarch Athanasius VI tightened his grip on the city's Syrian Christians. He ordered that the Syrian cathedral be closed and its bells stop ringing, with the result that disturbances in the city intensified. The Syrian priests rebelled and attacked one another. Thereafter, the communicants began to baptize their children in the churches of the Franks (3).

As if the trouble over Abu Ghalib bar Sabuni were not enough, another dispute arose between Al Camra, the patriarch's family, and the leaders of the Qarya family, who lived in Qanqart, regarding the ownership of certain land and other properties. These dignitaries complained to the governor of Amid against the patriarch, who in response excommunicated one of them, the deacon Ishaq (Isaac) of Qarya. Consequently, the dispute within the church became uncontrollable. Deacon Ishaq urged the governor [660] to let the patriarch leave Amid, since he was old and did not have much longer to live. The governor, anxious to expropriate the patriarch's possessions and impatient for him to die, visited the Monastery of Qanqart and asked him to pardon Ishaq, but the patriarch refused. The governor became angry, but the patriarch calmed him down by offering him gold. He realized he was a prisoner in Amid and desired freedom of movement. He sent Mikha'il Bar Shumanna, from the Syrian renowned Shumanna family, to appeal to Count Joscelin I to intercede on his behalf with the governor of Amid to let him leave the city. Joscelin responded by threatening to destroy Amid if the patriarch was not permitted to leave, and the governor of Amid reluctantly acquiesced. The grateful patriarch went to see Joscelin in Tall Bashir (Turbessel) and thank him for his support. He stayed there a few days and then returned to the Monastery of Mar Barsoum. On Pentecost Day, as he was performing the Eucharistic Service, just before praying for the Holy Spirit to descend and sanctify the Elements, he suffered a stroke and asked Bishop Timothy of Gargar to finish the service (Bishop Abu Ghalib also attended). Six days later, on June, 8, 1130 he died and was buried in the Monastery of Mar Barsoum (4).

A synod headed by Bishop Dionysius of Kesum selected Yuhanna Modyana (the Confessor) as the new patriarch. The bishops took the patriarch-designate to Tall Bashir to meet with Joscelin, who pledged to support him, and Yuhanna Modyana was ordained on February 17, 1129, at the Great Church of the Franks, in the presence of Joscelin and other prominent men. Through Joscelin's mediation, the new patriarch issued an order pardoning Abu Ghalib bar Sabuni along with the bishop of Sijistan, whom the former patriarch had excommunicated and expelled from his diocese. In compensation for the loss of his diocese, the bishop was offered the dioceses of Samosata and Samha, but was rejected by their congregations. Eventually, he went to Jerusalem and joined the Friars (Knights Templar). Ironically, he fell into an oven and was burned to death, fulfilling a prophetic warning by Patriarch Athanasius, who had once told him, "If you desert the diocese of Sijistan, you will never deserve to be buried [according to church canons]" (5).

[661] For many centuries, no saint held the love and adoration of the Syrians more than Mar (Saint) Barsoum (d. 458), the chief ascetic Syrian monk of his time. Like his contemporaries, Patriarch Severus of Antioch and Philoxenus of Mabug, he was an avid opponent of the controversial Council of Chalcedon and a defender of the faith of One Incarnate Nature of the Divine Logos. After he died, his right hand was preserved in a gilded coffin; when a monastery bearing his name was founded in 790 near Melitene, the monks kept the hand as a relic. The monastery of Mar Barsoum thrived until Joscelin II ravaged it in 1148 and carried its treasures to Tall Bashir, but then declined until the seventeenth century, when it stood deserted and in ruins (6).

In the twelfth century, the preserved hand of Mar Barsoum was the cause of controversy for both the Byzantines and the Franks. The Syrians believed it possessed divine power to heal and perform miracles (even today, Syrian Christians are known for their ardent belief in the intercession of saints). The Greeks (Byzantines) scoffed at them, claiming that the miraculous power of the saint's hand was sheer fiction. The test came in 1134, when swarms of locusts invaded the city of Edessa, leading the Christians to seek Mar Barsoum's help. They brought out the coffin containing the saint's hand to ward off the locusts. The Greeks (as was their bad custom, says Michael Rabo) urged the Franks to open the coffin to see whether it contained the saint's right hand. The monks refused, saying that doing so would cause havoc to the region. The Greeks in turn claimed that the coffin was empty. The monks were forced to take the coffin to the Franks' church and open it. Immediately a violent sound like thunder shook the place. A dark cloud covered the sky and began to pour down hailstones. The people shouted, "Lord, have mercy! Help, Saint Barsoum!" The Franks, laymen and clergy alike, fell on their faces before the coffin, weeping. The Greeks fled and went into hiding. When the hailstorm subsided, the people conducted prayers for three days. The miracle wrought by the hand of Mar Barsoum astonished even the Muslims. When the Muslims of Harran learned of it, they asked the monks to visit them, but the monks preferred to return to the monastery. Crowds of people of all faiths went out to [662] receive them with prayers and supplications. The locusts did not harm the crops but moved to unplanted grounds, where they devoured grass. Those who saw the miracle glorified God, each in his own tongue (7).

The Franks' presence in southern Asia Minor, where there was a large Syrian and Armenian population, clearly irritated the Byzantines, who had lost dominion over their former subjects and for better or worse had to deal with the Franks. The Byzantines, frustrated at losing power and prestige, tried to use doctrinal controversies to drive a wedge between the Franks and the area's Christians. After the Franks established their own religious hierarchies in Jerusalem and many cities of Asia Minor, a conflict among the Latin dioceses required the intervention of the pope. According to Michael Rabo, the pope sent a legate to Jerusalem to investigate the situation, establish peace and order in the churches and monasteries, and conciliate the clergy. But no sooner did he begin the investigation than he died—by poisoning, some say (8). After the death of the first legate, the pope sent another, identified as Alberic, bishop of Ostie, to pursue the investigation (9). The new legate removed the Latin Patriarch Radulf from office in November 1139 and put in place another patriarch, who succeeded in reconciling the clergy and controlling the situation. While the legate carried out his duties, the Byzantines stirred him up against the Syrians and the Armenians, telling him they were "heretics," i.e., anti-Chalcedonians. The legate went to Duluk (Doliche) and met with the Armenian Catholicos Krikor (Gregory III, 1113-1166), whom he took by force to Jerusalem (10).

On Whit-Monday in April 1140, Alberic convened a church meeting attended by the Frankish patriarch and clergy and the Armenian Catholicos and clergy. Also present were Ignatius, the Syrian bishop of Jerusalem, Armenian princes, and Joscelin and other Frankish leaders. The council told [663] the Byzantines, "You have accused the Syrians and the Armenians of heresy. Explain this heresy to us." They answered, "We will never attend a council unless our [emperor] attends it too." Thus their hypocrisy was exposed, and all those attending the council realized that they were far from the truth. Meanwhile, the Syrians and the Armenians presented tracts containing their doctrines, in their own languages. These were read and translated into Italian, and the council acknowledged the orthodoxy of their doctrines. The Franks asked the Syrians and the Armenians to swear not to change their doctrine, which contradicted that formulated by the Council of Chalcedon. The Syrians agreed, but the Armenians refused to do so and were accused of being Phantasiasts and Simonites (11).

What Joscelin II said at the council or how he reacted is not known. But shortly afterwards, he again interfered in the affairs of the Syrian Church, this time in connection with the ordination of a new Syrian patriarch. Yeshu

Bar Qatra, a pious deacon chosen by a synod of twelve bishops, was ordained in 1139 and took the name Athanasius. Some unnamed people, apparendy including the bishop of Jihan, slandered the new patriarch to Joscelin II, claiming his ordination was uncanonical. Joscelin then summoned Timothy, bishop of Gargar, to Samosata to inquire whether the patriarch's ordination was legal, but Timothy did not support the bishops' claim. Joscelin, already angry at the patriarch for not having visited him (presumably to pay homage), ordered that his name should not be proclaimed in the region under his influence.

Patriarch Bar Qatra, unable to challenge Joscelin's authority, left Melitene for the Monastery of Mar Barsoum. There he learned that Joscelin II had arbitrarily transferred Bishop Basilius Bar Shumanna from Kesum and proclaimed him as bishop of Edessa. Faced with the unpleasant prospect of losing the congregation in Edessa on account of this appointment, the [664] patriarch chose the lesser evil by confirming Basilius bar Shumanna as the new bishop of Edessa. In his place he ordained Iliyya, a learned man, as bishop of Kesum, giving him the name of Iwannis (John) at his ordination. Not until early 1144, when Joscelin II returned from the coronation of Baldwin III at Jerusalem on December 23, 1143, did Patriarch Athanasius visit Joscelin II at Tall Bashir and reconcile with him and with the bishops who opposed him in the case of Bishop Basilius Bar Shumanna (12).

After Imad al-Din Zangi captured Edessa in late December 1144, Bishop Basilius Bar Shumanna fled to Samosata for safety. Some people from Edessa betrayed him to Joscelin II on the grounds that he was plotting with the Turks. They told Joscelin, "If he (the bishop) slipped from your hand, he will return to the Turks. Therefore, he should die, lest he entice those who fled and bring them back to the Turks." Joscelin arrested the bishop and imprisoned him alongside Muslim captives in the fortress of Romaita, where he remained for three years. After his release he went about collecting charity to ransom some of his own people who had been taken captive by the Turks. He went to Antioch and then to Jerusalem, where King Baldwin III and the Latin patriarch welcomed him. Next he traveled to Mosul, where he met Zangi's deputy Zayn al-Din, who showed him compassion and appropriated a stipend for his living expenses. He then went to Amid to see Patriarch Athanasius Bar Qatra, who assigned him the diocese of Sebaberk, then under the authority of the bishop of Edessa. Bishop Basilius died in 1169 (13).

Joscelin II, short of funds, had set his eye on the Monastery of Mar Barsoum, planning to steal its sacred objects and furnishings. In this regard he resembles King Henry VIII of England, who centuries later looted the wealth of the monasteries of his country. Michael Rabo offers two reasons for Joscelin's plundering of the monastery: first, his action was the wages of the sins of its inmates, who chose the broad path that leads to perdition; second, just as King Solomon of Israel forsook the God of his forefathers and succumbed to pagan worship and abominable lusts, Joscelin likewise hardened his heart and gave himself over to vile action, making light of the great power dwelling in the remains of Saint Barsoum. He did not reveal his evil intent to any of his men, lest they inform the monks that Joscelin was about to loot their monastery. To carry out his devilish scheme, Joscelin [665] gathered his forces and pretended he was marching to pillage the Muslim territory. Three days after reaching Harran in northern Mesopotamia, he climbed the Hura (White) Mountain and camped at the Iza fountain, in northwestern Claudia. When the Muslims learned of his invasion, they fled. Joscelin told his men that since his plan to invade the Muslims' region had failed, they should offer prayers at the nearest monastery before returning home.

On the fateful morning of Saturday, June 18, 1148, Joscelin II sent a messenger to the Monastery of Mar Barsoum to inform the monks that he wished to visit. The monks were joyful that the Prince of the Christians planned to visit their monastery and offer prayer. They went to the south gate to welcome him, raising the Cross and the Gospels. Joscelin dismounted and prostrated himself before the Cross with seeming humility. He and his men approached, accompanied by some Franks who had just arrived in the East. The monks did not try to prevent them from entering the monastery, even though they were armed. While the monks were hopeful that they had come to donate gold and money to the monastery, however, the miscreant Joscelin actually intended to rob it. The monks decked out the church, brought out the relics of Mar Barsoum, and set them on a stool before the Franks. Joscelin offered prayers before the relics, placed a piece of paper on the altar, and left to sit on the porch outside the church.

He gathered the monks and said, pointing to a Frank standing nearby, "This is my cousin who has just come from Rome, and he wishes to see the tower in the upper part of the monastery." The abbot ordered that his wish

be granted. When the Frank, who was actually a military commander, entered the tower with his soldiers, Joscelin ordered the infantrymen to shut the gate and position themselves at the tower. He sent five of his men to search the tower for valuables, but they found only an old monk and two attendants. Disappointed, Joscelin gathered the monks and locked them up in the church. He then summoned some of their elders and accused them of informing the Turks of his arrival in the nearby city of Melitene and thus allowing them to escape. The monks assured Joscelin of their innocence. If what they said was true, he said, then they should give him the possessions of the region of Melitene which the Muslims had deposited with them, for he was told that the Muslims had left enormous wealth in their custody: "You have the obligation to give these possessions to the Christians (Franks), to make them more powerful and take revenge on the Muslims who have pillaged the monasteries of the region of Zabar. I am now in need of these possessions." The monks said that if they did so, they would no longer be able to live safely with the Muslims in the Melitene region. At this [666] point, Joscelin grew angry and asked the elder monks to leave the church. He locked them up in the house of Saba, called Kano. He sent Frankish priests to the church to take all the silver patens, chalices, incense bowls, censors, crosses, candles, fans (rounded, with bells and portraits of Cherubim and Seraphim), Gospels, and books. His men also searched the monks' cells and took whatever they found, including gold, silver, brass, iron objects, vestments, and church furniture. When some of the Friars (Knights of the Temple) saw what had happened, they told Joscelin, "We joined you to fight the Muslims and help the Christians, not to plunder churches and monasteries." They left without eating or drinking (14).

Joscelin and his men spent all Saturday plundering. They searched the monks' cells and the attendants' rooms again, seeking more valuables. Joscelin found a golden cross and smashed it into pieces, distributing them to his men. He loaded the booty on twelve mules belonging to the monastery and left, taking fifty monks with him. On the evening of Sunday, June 19, 1148, he came to a place called "The Elephant's Vineyard," where he left a garrison of 155 Frank and Armenian thugs. On Monday he released the monks, who arrived at Hisn Mansur the next day. Before doing so, however, he told them not to leave the monastery empty, lest the Muslims return to occupy it, and demanded that they pay him 10,000 dinars to leave the monastery alone. The frightened monks by then had nothing to pay Joscelin with, for he had stolen all they had. In their desperation, they brought him their most precious possession, the coffin containing the hand of Saint Barsoum, along with the vessels of four monasteries (Mar Abhai, Sarjisiyya, Madiq and Harsafta) which had been deposited with them for safekeeping. Joscelin's henchmen stole quantities of wheat, wine, honey, clothing, and other goods, and carried them with the coffin containing Mar Barsoum's hand to Tall Bashir, Joscelin's stronghold.

The Syrians and Armenians of Tall Bashir implored Joscelin to send the monks back to the monastery. He agreed after taking 10,000 dinars as bond from some Edessans who were then at Tall Bashir, keeping five monks and three elders in his custody along with the relics of Mar Barsoum. He let the rest of the monks return to the Monastery of Mar Barsoum in August 1148, accompanied by Iwannis, bishop of Kesum, and the abbot Lazarus. Joscelin's egregious action against the monks of the monastery must have affected the conscience of some of his men. In a dream, [667] three of his men saw the monastery glimmering with light and the figure of Mar Barsoum standing majestically at its highest point, asking them to go and tell Joscelin to bring the monks back to the monastery. After they related their dream, Joscelin, whom Michael Rabo calls "the second Pharaoh," promised to free the monks but then stalled. His heart was softened only when members of his family told him that they had seen the coffin of Mar Barsoum's hand shining like the sun and a sword of fire issuing from it, and heard a voice saying, "O Joscelin, if you do not let me alone and repatriate the monks to the monastery, I will annihilate this region with the sword." Upon hearing this, he allowed the two monks, David and Jacob, to return to the monastery on September 5, 1149. But he kept the coffin containing the saint's hand until the monks of the monastery paid him an additional 5,000 dinars (15). On returning, the monks and their Bishop Iwwanis immediately expelled the Armenians from the monastery. When they saw that the altar of the church lay in ruins, they wept bitterly all day long. They proceeded to rebuild the altar and the rest of the monastery. The troops Joscelin had left behind asked the monks to swear that they would not bar Joscelin or his son, should either wish to enter the monastery. The monks reluctandy complied. The troops remained at the monastery for seventy days, during which no Divine Eucharist (Holy Communion) or any other service was conducted. Following the patriarch's orders, Bishop Iwannis rededicated the altar of the church, confirmed Lazarus as abbot, and appointed a sexton and a supervisor for the monastery. The monks and attendants donated whatever they could to save the

monastery from Joscelin's grip. They collected 5,000 dinars from the faithful who visited the monastery and brought the money to Joscelin in December 1150. He gave them back the hand of Mar Barsoum, but admonished them to pay the balance. They presented to him a certain person who offered a surety for the payment of the other 5,000 dinars. Thus, the monks brought back the holy hand of Mar Barsoum (16). Sadly, Michael Rabo says the Byzantines rejoiced at Joscelin's plundering of the monastery (17).

Ironically Joscelin, a Christian Frankish prince, was rebuked by a Turkish Muslim ruler, Dawla, for violating Christian principles by plundering the Monastery of Mar Barsoum, on which his own father Ghazi, the Turkish [668] governor of Melitene, had imposed heavy taxes. When Dawla heard that Joscelin had invaded the monastery, he thought that the monks had deliberately surrendered it to escape paying the taxes. He told the people of Melitene, "I will take revenge on you because you delivered the fortress (monastery) to the Franks." Thus the monks, who had akeady seen their monastery plundered, now had to face Dawla's vengeance. They were so distressed that they suspended prayer and the pealing of the church's bell for three days. Relief came when Dawla discovered that the monks had not simply handed the monastery over. His wrath against the Christians of Melitene abated, and he assembled an army to fight the small garrison Joscelin had stationed in the monastery, captured it, and evicted the Franks.

Through providence, twelve monks and fifty attendants managed to take some of the oxen and other property belonging to the monastery and went to Melitene to await their destiny. An old monk named Ibrahim, nicknamed "Sorodim," went to see Dawla. He told him, "Coming to the region of Melitene will cause you great loss because you cannot occupy the region militarily. Also, the method of robbery will not succeed. Wait a little, and we will draw up a plan for the occupation of the region." Dawla, appreciating this counsel, lavished gifts on the Monastery of Mar Barsoum and exempted the monks from paying taxes for that year. He asked them to swear to abide by this covenant, and they did. Joscelin asked for peace and sent Dawla this message: "You have plundered the monasteries of the region of Zabar under my authority. But I have taken the Monastery of Mar Barsoum, which is more important than any other. It is like an eagle among the fowls of the air. See, I have returned the monastery to you." Dawla answered, "We, like you, seek peace. But tell me, how can you affirm your quest for peace while you have proven that you have no faith? The Muslims swear by their Book, and the Christians swear by the Cross and the Gospel. But you yourself have violated the sanctity of the Gospel and have broken the Cross into pieces. You have nothing to do with the Christian faith. Reveal your true faith, whether you are a Jew or a pagan, that we may establish peace with you on the basis of your faith." Thus, says Michael Rabo, "The barbarous Muslim Turk censured the Christian liar." Finally Joscelin II was defeated and captured by the Muslims, the monks returned to the Monastery of Mar Barsoum, and through God's providence things were straightened out between the Muslims and the monks (18).

[669] Joscelin's iniquities and barbarous treatment of the Syrians were not unpunished. He was struck with disaster en route to Antioch with 200 horsemen. It is not clear whether he was trying to have a showdown with the Muslims or to escape. Although Michael Rabo says Joscelin thought he could face a thousand Muslims with that small force, Bar Hebraeus says he left Tall Bashir hoping to meet with a ship in the harbor of Antioch, which indicates that he and his men intended to escape by sea (19). When they reached Azaz (Hazart) at night, they were frightened by a noisy band of Turkomans and fled. As Joscelin ran, he thought he saw a tree in his way and stumbled to the ground. (In fact, the men with him said there was no tree.) A Turkoman saw him lying on the ground, hurt by the fall. He did not recognize him but, knowing that he was probably a Frank, thought he could sell him to the Christians. He carried him to a nearby village and met a Jew who saw him and told the villagers that it was Joscelin. Realizing that he had a fortune in his hands, the Turkoman carried Joscelin to Aleppo, whose governor, Nur al-Din Zangi, bought him for a thousand dinars. Nur al-Din had Joscelin II chained and thrown into prison (20). While Joscelin was in prison, the Muslims showered him with gifts and coaxed him to recant Christianity and embrace Islam, but he adamantly resisted. Then he was threatened with torture, but he courageously withstood the threats and persisted in his Christian faith, confessing that what had happened to him was because of his sins. Joscelin II sent a message to the monks of the Monastery of Mar Barsoum and to the Christians in that region, asking them to pray God to accept his penance. He spent nine years in prison, from 1150 to 1159. As his end drew near, he asked to be taken from his cell to Ignatius, the Syrian bishop of Aleppo, who received his confession and administered the Holy Communion. After his death the

Muslims handed his body over to the Christians, who buried him in the church. A great number of Christians and Muslims attended his funeral, bewildered by all that had taken place (21).

[670] The Anonymous Edessan offers a slightly different account of Joscelin's capture and his treatment by Nur al-Din Zangi. He says that when Joscelin heard that the lord of Mar'ash had been killed, he left Azaz and marched with a band of troops to capture Antioch. When he came to Cyrrhus, between Horns and Hama, as he prepared to cross to the village of Shaykh al-Dayr, a group of Turkomans jumped out of the bushes and seized him. Joscelin asked them to take him to Azaz and offered to give them whatever they asked. They took him to Shaykh al-Dayr, not knowing who he was. The Christians of the village, recognizing him, tried to buy him from the Turkomans for sixty dinars. But when a Jew passing through the village, a dyer by trade, told the Turkomans that the man was Joscelin, they took him to Aleppo. Nur al-Din Zangi had his eyes gouged out and cast him into prison, where he remained in heavy chains for nine years until his death (22). William of Tyre, showing no sympathy for Joscelin, says that while he was in prison, bound with heavy chains, wasted by mental and physical suffering, "He reaped the result of his dissolute ways and came to a wretched end" (23).

Among Muslim writers, Ibn al-Athir gives the most detailed account of Joscelin's end. In 1151, he says, Nur al-Din marched to the country of Joscelin the Frank north of Aleppo, including Tall Bashir, Ayntab, and Azaz, with the intention of besieging and capturing them. Although he praises Joscelin for his courage and prudence and mostly for being "the undisputed Frankish knight," he says that upon learning Nur al-Din Zangi had assembled an army to fight him, Joscelin went to challenge him. He defeated the Muslims and captured Nur al-Din's armor-bearer and took him to Mas'ud, sultan of the Seljuks of Rum, telling him, "This is the armor-bearer of your son-in-law; you will face what is much worse." Nur al-Din, greatly distressed, decided to take revenge. He summoned a group of Turkoman chiefs and promised them a generous bounty if they captured and delivered Joscelin to, him, dead or alive. They sent spies to locate him. When Joscelin went out hunting one day, a band of Turkomans captured him. He offered them money to set him free, and they agreed to do so if he delivered the money immediately, whereupon he sent someone to bring it. [671] Meanwhile, a Turkoman went to Abu Bakr Majd al-Din ibn al-Daya, Nur al-Din's deputy in Aleppo, and told him Joscelin had been taken. Ibn al-Daya sent troops who captured the Turkomans and Joscelin, bringing him to Nur al-Din. Ibn al-Athir gloats over Joscelin's capture, calling it the greatest victory because he was "a tyrant devil, cruel and too hard on the Muslims; all of Christendom was afflicted by his capture." Nur al-Din later occupied many of Joscelin's towns, including Tall Bashir, Ayntab, Duluk (Doliche), Azaz, Cyrrhus, Rawandan (Ravendan), and the fortresses of al-Bara, Tall Khalid, Kafrlatha and many others (24).

Ibn Wasil gives still another version, as related by the amir Mu'ayyid al-Dawla ibn Munqidh, who says that when Joscelin left Tall Bashir at night and felt the need to sleep, he told some of his men to continue their march; he would follow later with others, whom he ordered to stay with him. As he slept, a band of Turkomans happened to pass by. Seeing them, Joscelin's companions fled, and the Turkomans captured Joscelin, not knowing who he was. As they marched the next morning, an Armenian who was passing by recognized him. He approached him and kissed his hand. When the Turkomans asked who the man was, the Armenian said he was Joscelin, lord of Tall Bashir. When the news of Joscelin's capture reached Majd al-Din ibn al-Daya, he summoned the Turkomans and offered them a bounty, raising it until they were satisfied. When Nur al-Din came to Aleppo, he blinded Joscelin and killed him (25).

Joscelin II was not the only Frankish prince to loot the Christian churches and monasteries. Bohemond III, son of Raymond of Poitiers and prince of Antioch (1163-1201), did so too around 1181, but not on the same scale. He first married the princess Theodora, niece of the Byzantine Emperor Manuel I Comnenus, but then divorced her to marry Sybil, "who had a reputation of practicing evil art" (26). The Latin patriarch of Antioch then excommunicated not only Bohemond and the priest who married him to Sybil, but the whole Christian population of Antioch. He ordered an end to the church bells' pealing, the celebration of Holy Communion, and even [672] burial of the dead. Ignoring the patriarch's condemnation, Bohemond compounded his sin by plundering the churches and monasteries. The Frankish princes and judges and the Latin patriarch of Jerusalem interceded on behalf of Bohemond, and he returned his ill-gotten gain to the churches and monasteries. He also expelled from his domain several noblemen who had taken refuge with Roupen (Reuben) III (1175-1185), Armenian ruler of Cilicia, who received them with honor and gave them splendid gifts (27).

But the actions of Joscelin II and Bohemond III appear to be exceptions rather than the rule. There were many occasions when the Franks showed justice toward their fellow Christians, the Syrian Orthodox (Jacobites). In 1138 a Syrian monk, Michael of Mar'ash (Germanicia), an inmate of the Kasliyud Monastery in the Black Mountain who had gone to Jerusalem to enter the Monastery of Mary Magdalene, wrote a ten-page tract in Syriac about the restoration of the villages of Beth Arif and Adasiyya, which had been usurped by a prominent Frankish prince (28). Michael says that in 1137 a prince whom he calls Gonfrey (Godfrey), one of the Franks who stormed Jerusalem in 1099 and killed countless Muslims, usurped the two villages, which belonged to the Syrian community. Although he does not identify the prince further, he seems to be Godfrey of Ascha, a companion of Godfrey of Bouillon, the first king of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem (29). Godfrey of Ascha apparently took advantage of the vulnerability of the Syrian church in Jerusalem to claim the villages, but soon he was captured by Muslims and taken to Egypt in chains. Many years later, an Armenian [673] bishop (whom Michael does not identify) visited Egypt and prevailed on the Fatimid Caliph al-Hafiz li Din Allah (1131-1149) to release Godfrey, by then an old man (30). The Syrian Bishop Athanasius Kaddana, who had built two churches and a monastery and done other renovations in these villages, was unhappy about Godfrey's release.

When Godfrey returned from captivity, he claimed the two villages as his own. King Fulk of Anjou (1131-1143), then in Beit Jibrin, ordered his deputy in Jerusalem to restore the villages to him. The Malkites, who adhered to the formula of the Council of Chalcedon, rejoiced when the anti-Chalcedonian Syrians lost the two villages. But the Syrians managed to reverse the king's order through the intervention of his wife Queen Melisend (daughter of Baldwin II) (31). Michael the monk says mat Melisend was charitable toward the Syrian church and people, having great compassion for them not only because of their loss of the two villages but because of the hardships, anxieties, and persecution Bishop Ignatius had suffered. She sent a messenger to tell her husband of the Syrians' suffering and the expenses they had undergone to build churches in the two villages, and explained that Beth Arif and Adasiyya had belonged to the Syrian community since Arab times, i.e., since the Arabs occupied Jerusalem in the seventh century. She beseeched him to assist the Syrians by restoring the villages to them, and she commanded the king's princes and ministers to aid Bishop Ignatius, assuring them that she would consider their help a great favor. Accordingly, Bishop Ignatius and Godfrey of Ascha appeared before the king in Beit Jibrin. After a few days of deliberation, the king ordered that the two villages be restored to the bishop. Godfrey took an oath before the king and those present that he would not harass the Syrians any more, and the bishop promised to pay Godfrey 200 dinars to compensate for his loss (32).

Ignatius Sahdo, a monk from the Monastery of Mary Magdalene (and later the Syrian metropolitan of Jerusalem), tells a similar story, and his eyewitness account should be considered reliable. He says that in 1148, Jerusalem was filled with many poor refugees who had escaped the destruction of Edessa by the Zangids four year earlier. Because the Syrian convents could [674] not afford to provide food for them, many died from hunger. Ignatius Romanus, then the metropolitan of Jerusalem, took compassion on the refugees and tried to help them, but he was in financial difficulty because he had had to purchase the village of Dayr Da Krieh (The Village of the Sick), which belonged to the monastery but had been captured by the Muslims and recaptured by the Franks. He appealed to King Baldwin III and his mother, Queen Melisend, for help in regaining the village. Having great respect for Romanus, they ordered the owner of the village (not identified) to return it to the Monastery of Mary Magdalene. The king asked the metropolitan to compensate the owner, buy the village, and secure a deed, legally witnessed and sealed. Metropolitan Romanus agreed to pay 1,000 gold dinars to receive the deed-a large amount for a man who tried to help the poor and needy. But God, who works in mysterious ways, provided an unexpected donor who paid the amount, and the metropolitan was able to use the 1,000 dinars to buy food for the poor and needy (33). After relating this incident, Hans Eberhard Mayer asks whether it could have any connection with the two villages of Beth Arif and Adasiyya (34). But this is unlikely, for if the incidents were related, Ignatius Sahdo would surely have had some knowledge of the two villages and would have referred to them.

In some instances even the Franks invoked the divine healing power of the Syrian Saint Mar Barsoum. Michael Rabo relates one such incident. After Joscelin II was taken captive and thrown into prison, the only son of a Frankish leader fell from a tree at his home in Antioch and broke his heel. His parents spent an enormous amount of money on his treatment, but to no avail, and grew very distressed. The boy's mother, Isabel, having heard of the saint's miraculous healing power, prayed tearfully, asking him to intercede and heal her son.

Knowing that a monk of the Monastery of Mar Barsoum, named Saliba, regularly carried a portrait of the saint and visited the homes in Antioch to impart his blessings, the boy's parents invited the monk to their home. The next day, Saint Barsoum appeared to the boy's mother dressed as a king. She asked who this king was, and the crowd said that he was Saint Barsoum. The saint asked her to build a church on a space in her house; then he appeared to the monk carrying his portrait and told [675] him to go to the house of Henry the Frank and build a church in its garden, showing him three altars to be contained in it. When his vision recurred, the monk Saliba became alarmed and related it to Bishop Basilius bar Shu-manna of Edessa, who was then in Antioch.

The monk and the bishop were skeptical about this vision, but shortly afterwards the boy's parents came to report the saint's appearance to the mother. Bishop Basilius and the monk Saliba carried the portrait of Mar Barsoum to the Franks' house and began to pray for the healing of their son, and the boy's parents joined them in prayer. The boy, who appeared deep in sleep, instantly cried out in a loud voice and jumped to his feet, to the consternation of his parents and other family members. They saw him look up and stretch out his hand, as if someone were trying to hold him. Meanwhile, the boy's parents prepared candles and incense. By now a great crowd had gathered at the site. Turning to his parents and the crowd, the boy said, "Mar Barsoum, accompanied by a host of monks, appeared to me carrying a golden cross which shone with bright light that filled the whole house. He held my hand and told me not to be afraid. He said he had come because of the prayers and the faith of my mother." The boy asked Mar Barsoum how he could stand up while his heel was broken; then Mar Barsoum touched his heel and he was made whole (35).

The boy's parents, ecstatic, proceeded immediately to the Great Church, followed by a throng of people. From there they went to see the queen (presumably Melisend of Jerusalem). A huge crowd of Franks, Armenians, and Syrians accompanied the queen to the house where the miracle had taken place. Bowing to the ground, the queen wept as the people took earth from that spot for blessing. The boy's parents began to build a church under the supervision of Saliba. Michael Rabo, then the abbot of the Monastery of Mar Barsoum, says that he himself, together with the monastery's elders, attended the dedication ceremony of the new church on Sunday, December 9, 1157, in the time of Reginald of Chatillon, count of Antioch, Baldwin III, king of Jerusalem, Aimery, Latin patriarch of Antioch, and the Syrian Patriarch Athanasius Bar Qatra. Also at the service were the Armenian Thoros II, lord of Cilicia; Queen Melisend; Henry and his wife Elizabeth (Isabel); and all the Frankish, Armenian, and Syrian leaders, together with a host of Syrian priests and deacons and Frankish and [676] Armenian monks. The Byzantines, who did not participate in the dedication of the church, "died from anger" (36).

This incident speaks volumes. It shows that even the Franks, who like the Greeks espoused the Council of Chalcedon, were ready to accept the intercession of a Syrian saint and honor him by building a church. They demonstrated tolerance towards the native Syrian Christians—unlike the Greeks, who had been unable to rid themselves of their long-standing doctrinal prejudice, which had weakened Syria and made it a cold prey to the Arabs. From the seventh century on, the Syrians and the Greeks fell victim to the new masters, who held them both in contempt, treating them as *dhimmi*s (protected people) as long as they paid the *jizya* (poll-tax). Yet for many years, says Michael Rabo, Muslim Turks and Kurds visited the Monastery of Mar Barsoum to commemorate the saint and seek healing. When Michael Rabo undertook a project to bring water through a duct to the monastery, he was encouraged by both Christians and Muslims. Both groups shared a belief in the divine power of Saint Barsoum to heal the sick, a phenomenon which transcended the religious boundaries between them (37).

Although some of the Frankish princes committed outrages against the Syrians, Patriarch Michael Rabo enjoyed extremely amicable relations with the leaders of the Latin Church. Shortly after his ordination as patriarch on September 1, 1167, he visited Mardin and then Edessa, where Bishop Basilius Bar Shumanna received him with great honor. Next he went to Jerusalem; the Latin patriarch there welcomed him with great pomp, perhaps, as Bar Hebraeus says, "to spite the Greek Patriarch of Antioch, whom he disliked" (38). According to the Anonymous Edessan, he then went to Antioch, entering the city with great pageant and honor. The Franks brought him to the Church of St. Peter and seated him on the throne of St. Peter in the Cassianus wing, in the southern part of the church (39). He spent the winter and celebrated Easter in Antioch and ordained many bishops before leaving at the beginning of June (40).

[677] Over a decade later, Patriarch Michael Rabo was invited to travel to Rome to help resolve the issue of a heresy that had arisen in Syria. A group of Franks, mostly in the province of Antioch, rejected the doctrine of the Consubstantiation, i.e., that upon the consecration of the Bread and the Wine during the Eucharist, these elements turn into the Real Body and Blood of Christ, a basic belief of the universal church until it was challenged during the Reformation. Moreover, these Franks allowed the abominable practice of the communal use of women. These dissident Franks asserted that true belief is not to uphold such a doctrine, but to excel in charitable work by helping the poor and loving one another. As their numbers increased to several thousands, they established their own bishops, and many governors followed them. Naturally, the leaders of the traditional church considered their rejection of the doctrine of Consubstantiation a heresy. In Rome, their leader convened a universal council in 1178 to restrain them. Michael Rabo, who was then on a visit to Antioch, says that the Pope of Rome, whom Chabot identifies as Pope Alexander III (d. 1181), who called the Third Lateran Council in March 1179, sent a delegation to the Latin patriarch of Antioch and Jerusalem on account of the heresy of the Franks. The patriarch in turn sent the bishop of Tarsus and two priests to ask Michael Rabo to travel to Rome with him to help combat this heresy. Michael Rabo could not go to Rome, but wrote a treatise explaining "when and how Satan created this heresy and how our own church Fathers condemned it" (41). Inviting a Syrian patriarch to a council convened by a Frankish church leader was an unusual act of tolerance, for the Roman Catholic Church considered the Syrian church "heretical."

Almost six decades later, another Syrian patriarch received honored treatment from the Franks. Patriarch Ignatius III (1222-1252), accompanied by several bishops, visited Jerusalem and was received with great honor and pomp by the Frankish Frères (Knights Templar). When they saw that he could hardly walk because of his gout, they carried him by hand [678] through Bab al-Amud (the Pillar Gate), designated for the entrance of kings and patriarchs into the city. They took him and his entourage to the Monastery of Mary Magdalene, which belonged to the patriarch's community and at the time housed seventy Syrian monks. While the patriarch was there, a problem concerning the application of canon laws arose between him and the Frères. An Ethiopian monk of noble origin named Thomas entreated the patriarch to ordain him a metropolitan for Ethiopia. According to established canon laws, the Syrian patriarch had no authority to ordain a bishop of another church without the approval of the Coptic Pope of Alexandria, who had sole jurisdiction over Ethiopia. But it happened that the Alexandrian Patriarch Cyril Laqlaq (Luqluq) had recently ordained an Egyptian Coptic bishop for Jerusalem without the approval of the Syrian patriarch, who had ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the city. Apparently, the number of Copts in Jerusalem and Syria had increased so much that they appealed to their patriarch to ordain a bishop for them. They also complained that they had to attend religious services conducted in the Syriac language, which they did not understand. In retaliation against the Alexandrian patriarch's action, Patriarch Ignatius III himself violated canon law by ordaining Thomas as metropolitan for Ethiopia, after sending Bishop Dionysius Saliba of Claudia to ask the Frankish Frères their opinion about his plan to do so.

When the Frères learned that the Syrian patriarch had ordained Thomas, they became outraged, but since he was a guest, they tried to avoid any trouble within the Christian communities in Jerusalem. The prior of the Knights of the Temple told the patriarch that he had not purchased Jerusalem or captured it by his sword and pointed out that they had received him with great respect and honor, out of respect for the laws of Christ. He added that when the patriarch sought their opinion, they told him that the ordination of Thomas was against church laws and that he should not do it. "Why then," the prior asked, "did you hasten to do such a thing, and what was the reason for doing it? Why did you reject our advice?" The stunned patriarch's face turned pale, and he could not answer. But Bishop Dionysius Saliba came to his rescue. Speaking in Syriac (which the Franks could not understand), he asked the patriarch to tell the Frankish Knights of the Temple that he (the bishop) was to blame for the patriarch's ordination of Thomas. The patriarch then said that Bishop Dionysius had returned with word that the Frankish prior had approved of Thomas's ordination. He added that he did not intend to reject their advice or the honor they had bestowed on him. When they asked whether the patriarch was telling the truth, Bishop Dionysius said he was. The Knights of the Temple then were [679] convinced that the prior had misunderstood the patriarch's message because of the language difference, and they accepted the bishop's explanation. The grateful patriarch thanked Bishop Dionysius for saving him from an awful predicament and praised his shrewdness and acumen (42). The action of the Knights of the Temple was more an evidence of respect for canon law than of interference in the affairs of the Syrian Church.

We should not overlook the fact that although the Franks lost Jerusalem in 1187 to Saladin, they managed to regain control of the city according to the ten-year treaty of Jaffa, concluded on February 18, 1229 between the Emperor Frederick II of Sicily and Sultan al-Kamil Muhammad (1218-1238), son of al-Malik al-Adil, brother of Saladin (43). When Patriarch Ignatius Dawud visited Jerusalem, the city was under Frankish control. The comment by the Roman Catholic priest Ishaq Armala that in 1240 Patriarch Ignatius III sent Pope Innocent TV a letter proclaiming his conversion to the Roman Catholic faith, and that he renewed his conversion in 1247 with the Maphrian Yuhanna bar Ma'dani (later patriarch, d. 1263), is historically groundless (44).

Michael Rabo seems also to have had good relations with King Baldwin IV ("the Leper," reigned 1174-1185) of Jerusalem, and his father King Amalric before him. In September 1179, Michael Rabo left Antioch and met in Acre (Akka) with young King Baldwin, who received him warmly. The patriarch told the king of his father's charter regarding the treatment of the Syrians and obtained a similar charter from Baldwin. Unfortunately, Michael Rabo does not disclose the contents of these charters, which must have been for the benefit of the Syrians and their patriarch, since otherwise he would have not bothered to mention them (45).

Footnotes

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1 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, Translated by Gregorius Saliba Shamoun as *Tarikh Mar Mikha'il al-Suryani al-Kabir* (Damascus: Sidawi Printing House, 1996), 592-594; edited by J.B. Chabot as *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, Patriarche Jacobite d'Antioche, 1166-1199* (Paris: *n.p.*, 1899-1910), 196-198.

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2 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 598-600 (French, 207-210). The Anonymous Edessan, 299-300 (Arabic, 235-238), gives a different account of the dispute between Patriarch Athanasius and Bishop Abu Ghalib, and does not describe the patriarch's appearance before the Latin patriarch in Antioch or his beating in the church. He says only that the patriarch was summoned to Antioch, where Baldwin, count of Edessa, Joscelin I of Courtenay (later count of Edessa), and King Baldwin I of Jerusalem interceded on his behalf, to no avail, after which the patriarch left Antioch and returned to the Monastery of Dowayr (al-Dawa'ir).

3 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 602 (French, 212-213).

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4 The Anonymous Edessan, 302 (Arabic, 340-341).

5 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 612 (French, 231); Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical History*, biography of Yuhanna Modyana; the Anonymous Edessan, 303-304 (Arabic, 341-342).

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6 For a detailed account of the Monastery of Mar Barsoum and its treasures, including his embalmed right hand, see Rev. Bulus Behnam (later Bishop Gregorius), "Dayr Mar Barsoum Qurb Malatiya" (The Monastery of Mar Barsoum Near Melitene), in *Lisan al-Mashriq*, Nos. 4-6 (Mosul, Iraq, 1951): 153-208; Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical History*, biography of Patriarch Mikha'il (Michael) Rabo.

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7 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 616-617 (French, 238-239); Gregorius Bar Hebraeus, *The Chronography of Bar Hebraeus*, E. W. Budge, trans. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1932), 90 (English, 257-258).

8 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 626 (French, 254), does not name the papal delegate; Chabot, ed., 255, n. 3 of the French translation, identifies him as Pierre, the archbishop of Lyons, but says he died on May 28, 1139, contradicting Michael Rabo's assertion that the papal delegation came in 1143.

9 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 626; Chabot, ed., 255 of the French translation, n. 4.

10 Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia and the Crusades, Tenth to Twelfth Centuries: The Chronicle of Matthew of Odessa*, trans. A. E. Dostourian (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1993), 196 and 338, n. 1 by the translator.

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11 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 626 (French, 56). Phantasiasm was the doctrine of Julian, bishop of Halicarnassus in southwest Asia Minor, who asserted the incorruptibility of the Body of Christ and was accused of believing that the Body of Christ was not real but a fantasy. Julian was still living in 536, but nothing is known about him. after that date. The controversy over the incorruptibility of the Body of Christ is too detailed to be related here. See T. W. Davids, "Julianus," in *A Dictionary of Christian Biography*, William Smith and Henry Wace, eds., 3 (London: John Murray, 1882), 475-476. Simony, the practice of selling church offices for money, is named for Simon Magus, the magician at Samaria who offered money to the Apostles Peter and John if they would grant him the power of the Holy Spirit, which they possessed. See Acts 8: 14-25.

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12 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 626, 629 (French, 256, 259); Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical History*, biography of Athanasius Yeshu Bar Qatra.

13 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 638 (French, 277-278).

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14 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 242-243 (French, 285-287); the Anonymous Edessan, 151-153 (Arabic, 177-180; English, 300, n. 2).

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15 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 647 (French, 291-292).

16 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 642-643 (French, 283-285); the Anonymous Edessan, 152-153 (Arabic, 178-179).

17 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 651 (French, 289).

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18 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 643-644 (French, 286-288).

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19 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 649 (French, 295); Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 98 (English, 276-277).

20 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 648-649 (French, 295); Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 98 (English, 276-277); Gregory the Priest, Continuation of *Matthew of Edessa*, A. E. Dostourian, trans. (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1993), 258, says simply that Joscelin was taken prisoner by "the hideous and ferocious detester of Christ and brought to the city of Aleppo."

21 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 648-649 (French, 295); Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 98 (English, 276-277).

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22 The Anonymous Edessan, 154-155 (English, 301; Arabic, 180-181).

23 William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, trans. Emily Atwater Babcock and A.C. Krey, 2 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943), 201; Gregory the Priest, Continuation in *Matthew of Edessa*, 258, likewise asserts that Joscelin was punished because he acted against the will of God.

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24 Izz al-Din Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh*, Recueil des historiens des Croisades 1 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1872), 480-481, and *al-Tarikh al-Bahir*, Abd al-Qadir Ahmad Tulaymat, ed. (Cairo: Dar al-Kutub al-Haditha, 1963), 101-103; Kamal al-Din Ibn al-Adim, *Zubdat al-Halab min Tarikh Halab*, Sami al-Dahhan, ed. (Beirut: al-Matba'a al-Catholikiyya, 1954), 2: 301-302.

25 Jamal al-Din Muhammad ibn Salim ibn Wasil, *Mufarrij al-Kurub fi Akhbar Bani Ayyub*, Jamal al-Din al-Shayyal, ed. (Cairo: Matba'at Fu'ad al'Awwal, 1953), 1: 124.

26 William of Tyre, *History*, 2: 453.

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27 William of Tyre, *History*, 2: 454-457; Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1965), 2: 429-430; M. W. Baldwin, "The Decline and Fall of Jerusalem, 1174-1189," in *A History of the Crusades*, M. W. Baldwin, ed. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), 1: 597, n. 7. Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 725-726 (French, 388-389), says the marriage of Bohemond III to the woman of ill repute was finally legitimized and peace prevailed.

28 This eyewitness account, which was appended to a church prayer book, was published with commentary by M. L'Abbé Martin as "Les Premieres Princes des Croisades et Les Syriens Jacobites de Jerusalem," *Journal Asiatique* 12 (November-December 1888): 471-491 and 13 (January 1889): 33-79, containing the Syriac text and French translation. See Patriarch Aphram Barsoum, *al-Lulu al-Manthur fi Tarikh al-Ulum wa al-Adab al-Suryaniyya*, 4th ed. (Holland: Bar Hebraeus Verlag, 1987), 375, trans. Matti Moosa as *The History of Syriac Literature and Sciences* (Pueblo: Passeggiata Press, 2000), 140.

29 Gérard Dédéyan, "Les colophons de manuscrits armeniens comme sources pour 1'histoire des Croisades," in *The Crusades and Their Sources: Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton*, John France and William G. Zajac, eds. (Ashgate, 1998), 96-97.

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30 L'Abbé Martin, "Les Premieres Princes," 13: 42-45 of the Syriac text.

31 See Hans Eberhard Mayer, "Studies in the History of Queen Melisend of Jerusalem," in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 26 (1972): 95-182.

32 L'Abbé Martin, "Les Premieres Princes," 13: 46-49 of the Syriac text. Joshua Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: European Colonialism in the Middle East* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1972), 222, mentions Melisend's favor toward the Syrians in this case.

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33 W. R. Taylor, "A New Syriac Fragment Dealing with Incidents in the Second Crusades," *The Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 11 (1929-1930): 124. For elucidation of this tract, see Barsoum, *al-Lulu al-Manthur*, trans. Moosa, 34-35; Bar Hebraeus, 142 (English, 398-399).

34 Mayer, "Studies in the History," 139, n. 72.

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35 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 651-653 (French, 300-304).

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36 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 651-653 (French, 300-304).

37 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 678 (French, 321); Behnam, "Dayr Mar Barsoum," 162-163.

38 Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical History*, biography of Mar Mikha'il (Michael) Rabo.

39 Seating Michael Rabo on the throne suggests that the Franks regarded him as the legitimate Patriarch of Antioch, and provides proof that St. Peter founded the Church of Antioch and its patriarchate before he left for Rome. Indeed, even today the Church of Rome on January 18 commemorates St. Peter as the founder of the

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Church of Antioch and its first patriarch. See *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 9th. ed., 13: 696.

40 The Anonymous Edessan, 307 (Arabic, 346), is somewhat vague about the dates of the patriarch's ordination and his journeys to various cities. If the patriarch was actually ordained in September 1167, he must have spent Easter of the next year in Antioch. Surprisingly, Michael Rabo does not mention these events, possibly because of his characteristic humility.

41 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 700-701, 718 (French, 347-348, 377, esp. 377, n. 1).

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42 Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical History*, biography of Ignatius Dawud; Rev. Ishaq Armala, *al-Hurub al-Salibiyya fi al-Athar al-Suryaniyya* (Beirut: al-Matba'a al-Suryaniyya, 1929), 219-220.

43 Badr al-Din al-Ayni, *Iqd al-Juman*, *R H C. Or.*, 2 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale), 187-190, says handing Jerusalem over to the Christians was one of the greatest calamities ever to befall Islam; Thomas C. Van Cleve, "The Crusade of Frederick II," in *A History of the Crusades*, M. W. Baldwin, ed. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), 2: 454-455; Runciman, *A History of The Crusades*, 3: 187.

44 Armala, *al-Hurub*, 220.

45 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 720 (French, 379). See Röhricht, 385.

Matti Moosa's

The Christians under Turkish Rule

This material, which is presented solely for non-commercial educational/research purposes, appears as Chapter 19 in Dr. Moosa's *Crusades: Conflict Between Christendom and Islam* (Piscataway, NJ., 2008) pp. 681-711.

Footnotes

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More than any other Muslim writer, Ibn al-Athir has discussed the character and achievements of Nur al-Din Zangi, who he says died from *al-khawaniq* (angina) in 1173-74 (1). Ibn al-Athir says he read the history of the rulers before and after Islam and found no sovereign except al-Khulafa al-Rashidun (the Rightly Guided Caliphs) and the Umayyad Caliph Umar ibn Abd al-Aziz (reigned 717-720) to be more praiseworthy for his conduct, justice, and fairness than al-Malik al-Adil Nur al-Din. He lauds Nur al-Din for his indifference to worldly things and for his strict adherence to Islamic law, devotion and piety, adding that he spent long hours in prayer, even at midnight and early morning. He was a very strict Muslim who practiced the rules of the Muslim faith seriously. A part of his faith was *jihad* (holy war), for which he was called to make Islam triumph. He was a Sunnite of the Hanafite school, but without prejudice against Muslims of other schools. [682] He was abstemious in his food, simple in his dress, and chaste in sexual matters. He glorified the Islamic *Shari'a* (law), which impacted his work and conduct. Ibn al-Athir goes on to enumerate Nur al-Din's achievements, like the establishment of Dar al-Adl (The House of Justice) in Damascus, the building of schools in Aleppo, Hama, and Damascus not only for the Sunnites but also for the Shafiites, and the founding of a great hospital in Damascus where rich and poor Muslim people were treated alike. He also built inns and lodges for the Sufis and homes for the orphans, staffed by men who taught the Quran. The most famous of the many mosques he built is the one that bore his name, al-Jami al-Nuri (The Nuri Mosque) in Mosul, with the tallest minaret in the whole Muslim world, known today as al-Jami al-Kabir (the Great Mosque) (2). In brief, if one follows Ibn al-Athir, he will conclude that Nur al-Din Zangi was "the most ideal Muslim" in every respect. His domain extended far and wide, from Mosul to all of Syria, Egypt, and Yemen (3).

But Ibn al-Athir shows a dark side of Nur al-Din Zangi's character in discussing his treatment of the Christians. He says "Nur al-Din (May God have mercy on his soul)" used a great deal of trickery, duplicity, and deception in dealing with the Franks, and thus was able to control most of the regions they had formerly held. An example of his stratagem is what he did to the Armenian Malih (Mleh), son of Leo I, Roupenid ruler of Cilicia (1173-1175). He kept deceiving, coaxing him and offering him estates until he won him over and used him to fight against the Franks, the Byzantines, and even his own people. Supported by Nur al-Din, Malih captured the major cities of Adana, Mamistra (al-Mississa) and Tarsus in Cilicia in 1173 and defeated the Byzantine forces, killing many. He sent thirty of their leaders as prisoners and plenty of booty to Nur al-Din, who in turn sent some of them along with the booty to the Abbasid Caliph al-Mustadi bi Amr Allah (1170-1180) with a letter informing him of the victory, because some of the caliph's troops had participated in it. Asked why he dealt with Malih as [683] he did, Nur al-Din said that he used him to fight against his own people and to stop him from challenging his (Nur al-Din's) troops (4). The Armenian writer K. L. Astarjian says that Malih had a bad upbringing which affected his life and behavior. He vacillated between several religions and at one time joined the Templars, but then turned against them. Malih embraced Islam before he became involved with Nur al-Din Zangi, who influenced him to invade Cilicia and conspire against his own brother Thoros (5).

To William of Tyre, Malih was a most wicked man. When his brother Thoros II died in 1168, the nobles chose Thomas, a nephew of Thoros and Malih on his sister's side, as administrator of Thoros's principality. Thomas was well-born but totally unqualified for this position, and Malih, taking advantage of his weakness, quickly seized control of the principality. To buttress his power, he betrayed his own people and defected to Nur al-Din

Zangi and offered him allegiance. Nur al-Din welcomed this renegade and, on well-defined terms favorable to himself, provided Malih with a sizable cavalry force. Malih was the first of his [Armenian] people to violate the customs of his ancestors. He not only invaded and occupied the major cities of Cilicia, but also dispossessed the Knights Templar of their holdings there, although at one time he had belonged to their order. He formed an alliance with Nur al-Din and the Turks, on terms appropriate for brothers. By his actions, says William, he rejected the law of God and did immense injury to the Christians. Realizing that Malih and Nur al-Din repesented a great danger to their domains, King Amalric I of Jerusalem (1163-1174) and the governor of Antioch joined forces to fight Malih. Amalric sent several envoys to Malih asking to meet and discuss the situation with him, but without success. War became inevitable. No sooner did he march against Malih in Cilicia than reports reached him that Nur al-Din had attacked Petra in Arabia Secunda. As Amalric and the Franks continued to drive toward Cilicia, however, another messenger brought word that Nur al-Din, who apparently was not yet in a position to challenge the Franks, had abandoned the siege (6).

The Syriac sources partly agree with this account. They say that before Thoros II, governor of Cilicia, died in 1168, he gave instructions that his [684] youngest son (apparently under age) was to succeed him, and Thomas, the son of his aunt, should serve as his administrator. Deprived of the chance to succeed his brother, Malih became furious and contacted Nur al-Din, who supplied him with an army of Turks. He attacked and ravaged Cilicia, capturing 16,000 youths and maidens, men and women, and monks and bishops, and carried them to Aleppo; there he sold them to merchants and gave the proceeds to the Turks who had supported him. Hoping to appease him, the Armenians of Cilicia met with him and offered him half the country. Malih accepted the offer and assured them under oath that the other half would go to Thoros's young son, but soon he broke his oath and took possession of all Cilicia, with its towns and fortresses. He then took his vengeance on his opponents. He gouged the eyes of many bishops and governors and cut off their hands and feet. He flayed others alive and cast their bodies to wild animals (7). When Amalric learned of Malih's ill treatment of the Christians, he came to fight against him. Malih sought the Turks' help, but the king routed them and Malih sought refuge in his fortress. When the king besieged the fortress, he began to feel pain. Finally, he repented and apologized for his bad deeds, swore an oath of fealty to the king, and promised never to join the Turks (8). Malih's end came in 1175, when his army commanders revolted against him because of his abominable deeds. He left his camp at night and fled to one of his fortresses. The guards, who were in collusion with the army leaders, captured Malih, cut him into pieces, and threw him to the dogs. They brought his cousin Roupen, son of Stephen, who had been hiding in Tarsus out of fear of Malih, and installed him as their king. As soon as he took power, however, Roupen retaliated by killing those who had murdered Malih, on the pretext that they had treated him cruelly (9).

[685] The Anonymous Edessan's view of Nur al-Din is similar to that of Ibn al-Athir. He says that Nur al-Din was a schemer, cunning, and very strict in observing Islamic laws. It is said that he neither drank wine nor allowed others to do so. He banned the singing, merriment and dancing enjoyed by other Muslim sovereigns. It is even said that no one heard him laugh. He ate alone, and only once a day. He was not lecherous, nor did he marry many women, as was the reprehensible custom of the Muslim sovereigns. He wore simple dress, fasted constantly, and read the Quran. He acted with justice and offered alms to poor Muslims and even to pious Christians. He persisted in strengthening Islamic laws and customs in the countries he had conquered, and abolished all taxes and excises in the countries under his control. And if he learned that an injustice had been done, he was quick to compensate the victim. He never punished anyone without a trial and reliable testimony. His camp was free from rowdiness, frivolous play, and clamor (10).

But the Anonymous Edessan, Michael Rabo, and William of Tyre show this Turkish ruler in an unfavorable light when they describe his treatment of the native Christians. William of Tyre says that Nur al-Din was a just prince, valiant and wise, and a religious man according to the traditions of his people, but also a persecutor of the Christian name and faith (11). Michael Rabo and the Anonymous Edessan show that the Christians suffered greatly from Nur al-Din's oppression and persecution. When his brother Qutb al-Din Mawdud, lord of Mosul died in 1170, he went to take control of the city and instigated the Muslim jurists against the Christians, whom his brother had treated kindly. He was extremely strict about observing the times of prayer and not drinking wine, and was so devoted to observing the tenets of Islam that the Muslims nicknamed him "al-Nabi" (The Prophet), because he believed that he was like Muhammad, the Prophet of Islam. He even expected Allah to talk to him face to face, as he did to Moses. Some of the Muslims who mocked him for his belief and called him a

"prophet" sarcastically told him that he, being a divine personage, had appeared to them in the *masjid*, and he believed them (12).

[686] To endear himself more to the Muslims, Nur al-Din hardened his heart against the Christians and ordered that new Christian churches and monasteries be demolished. When he reached the city of Nisibin, the Muslims clamored that the Christians were restoring their churches, and he ordered them destroyed. The Muslims pulled down the wall of the Great Church of St. Jacob of Nisibin, which had been held by the Nestorians since the fifth century (when Iraq was part of the Persian empire), and stole religious articles and about a thousand books. They did the same thing to churches elsewhere. Because Nur al-Din hated the Christians, says Michael Rabo, he appointed one of his relatives, Ibn Asrun, as judge and sent him throughout Syria to demolish every new addition to the churches built in the time of his father and his brother. Everywhere he went, Ibn Asrun asked the Christians for a bribe. If he received it, he would swear that the buildings added to the church were old, thus saving it from destruction; otherwise, he ordered it demolished. When Nur al-Din learned what Ibn Asrun had done, he fired him. Meanwhile, encouraged by his oppression of the Christians, the Muslims of Mardin usurped the Church of the Forty Martyrs (13).

From Nisibin, Nur al-Din marched to capture Sinjar, north of Mosul, and then laid siege to Mosul itself (14). When he reached the city, the Kurds who lived in the neighborhood of the Monastery of Mar Matta (today called the Monastery of Shaykh Matti, 25 kilometers northeast of Mosul), having heard that Nur al-Din was oppressing the Christians, seized the opportunity to destroy the monastery. They attacked it at night, but the monks, who were ready to repel them, destroyed their ladders and even killed some of the marauders. The Kurds then attacked the monastery in daylight, but the Syrians in the neighboring villages came to its aid and drove them away. The Kurds finally resorted to trickery and made a false peace with the monks, who paid them thirty dinars as a sign of their peaceful intention. The monks fell into the trap and told the villagers to go home. As they were leaving, the Kurds immediately gathered on top of the mountain and rolled down a huge rock that hit the monastery wall, creating an opening close to [687] the aqueduct leading to the monastery's cistern (15). The monks immediately filled the opening with stones and lime, but the Kurds attacked them with arrows; as they retreated, the Kurds unsheathed their swords and chased them inside, killing fifteen of them (16). The monks, few in number, were no match for the 1,500 Kurds; only those who had taken refuge in the monastery's upper citadel escaped death. The Kurds pillaged the monastery, carried off whatever they could load onto their beasts, and left. After they had gone, the monks in the citadel removed the rest of the books and religious objects and went to Mosul. The Monastery of Mar Matta was desolate, and the monks would not dare to live in it. The Syrians of Mosul hired men and paid them thirty dinars to guard and prevent the Kurds from doing more damage. On learning what the Kurds had done to the monastery, the governor of Mosul sent troops out and killed a great number of them. In retaliation, the Kurds destroyed nine villages in the Nestorian district, looted and burned the houses, and killed their inhabitants (17). The Anonymous Edessan adds that the Kurds also attacked the Monastery of Mar Sergius (also called al-Mu'allaq Monastery) in the Barren Mountain (18).

When Nur al-Din Zangi occupied Mosul, it was ruled by Sayf al-Din Ghazi II, the son of his brother Qutb al-Din Mawdud who had originally chosen his son Imad al-Din to succeed him as atabeg of Mosul, but then changed his mind and designated his younger son, named for his uncle, Sayf al-Din Ghazi I (d. 1149). This change was made through the machinations [688] of the eunuch Fakhr al-Din Abd al-Masih, the tutor of Qutb al-Din's children. Although he was a Christian from the province of Antioch, he pretended to be a Muslim. He plotted with Khatun, the daughter of Husam al-Din Timurtash and mother of Sayf al-Din, to have her son replace Imad al-Din as lord of Mosul. On learning of the conspiracy, Imad al-Din asked his uncle Nur al-Din for help in reclaiming the governorship. According to Ibn al-Athir, Nur al-Din not only disparaged Fakhr al-Din Abd al-Masih for his injustice, but detested him both for his part in the conspiracy and for his Christian faith. Abd al-Masih offended the Muslims of Mosul because he loved the Christians and helped them. Others say Nur al-Din tried to subjugate Mosul because of his jealousy of Abd al-Masih, who administered the city so wisely and capably that Sayf al-Din was governor only in name (19).

Realizing that the people of Mosul would not resist Nur al-Din's attack because they were inclined toward him, Abd al-Masih sent emissaries to sue for peace. According to Ibn al-Athir (and Bar Hebraeus, who appears to follow him), Abd al-Masih demanded a pledge of safety for his own life and a promise that Nur al-Din would

not usurp power from his nephew. Nur al-Din replied that he had come not to snatch the city or the kingdom from his brother's sons, but to save the people from the authority of Abd al-Masih; he pledged to spare Abd al-Masih but said he would expel him from Mosul. Peace then prevailed, and Nur al-Din entered Mosul. He took quarters in the citadel and appointed another eunuch, Sa'd al-Din Gumushtigin, to administer the city's affairs. But he left the government of the city and the whole province of Mosul to his nephew Sayf al-Din Ghazi II, and after seventeen days he departed for Syria. He took Fakhr al-Din Abd al-Masih with him, but changed his name from Abd al-Masih (Servant of Christ) to Abd Allah (Servant of Allah) and offered him a generous living allowance (20).

[689] When Nur al-Din Zangi was in Mosul, says Michael Rabo, he "was intoxicated with vainglory because the Muslims considered him a prophet" (21). He oppressed the Christians by introducing new measures against them. He burdened them with taxes and the *jizya*. He ordered them to wear sashes around their waists and not to grow their hair long, so that they could be distinguished from the Muslims (making them the object of mockery). He ordered that the Byzantine Christians wear a red patch on their shoulders, to distinguish them from other people (22). He also ordered that no Christian should ride a saddled horse or mule. He expelled all Christian secretaries from government departments and from the governor's court except Deacon Abdun, a wealthy old man known for his wisdom and knowledge. Soon after Nur al-Din left Mosul, however, the Christians were relieved from his iniquitous measures through the magnanimity of his nephew, the good governor Sayf al-Din Ghazi II (atabeg of Mosul, 1170-1176) (23).

To enhance his standing among the Muslims, Nur al-Din used every conceivable method to humiliate the Christians. He became more arrogant, especially after capturing Syria, Egypt and Athur (northern Iraq). Michael Rabo says Nur al-Din acted as if he had conquered the whole earth and tried through various measures to denigrate the Christians so that the Muslims would regard him as their Imam (religious leader). As if instigated by Satan, Nur al-Din wrote to the caliph (the Abbasid Caliph al-Mustanjid, 1160-1170), "The words of the Prophet Muhammad in the Quran, indicating that the Muslims should do no harm to the Christians for five hundred years, have become invalid because of the passage of those years. Therefore, it is imperative to annihilate the Christians in the regions under the influence of the Muslims. Any Christian who refuses to embrace Islam should be killed" (24). He also expressed his desire to have an audience with the caliph to explain further the letter's contents. The letter scared the caliph, who thought Nur al-Din's intention was to deceive him, capture Baghdad, and become caliph in his place. The caliph, all the more [690] suspicious because he knew that Nur al-Din fancied himself a prophet, did not respond to his initiatives.

When al-Mustanjid died, he was succeeded by his son al-Mustadi (1170-1180), who had his Vizir killed because he hated the Christians. Much to the relief of the Christians, the new caliph was favorably disposed toward them, as if to spite the Vizir. As a sign of his tolerance, the caliph released the Syrian dignitaries of the Tuma family, who had been detained by his father, and restored their homes and churches to them. The released Syrians told the caliph how his father had discovered the deception of Nur al-Din and rejected his emissaries. The new caliph wrote to Nur al-Din, "You have no right to pretend to be a prophet and enact laws like Allah. You have misunderstood the true words of Muhammad regarding the years. Allah did not order us to kill people without cause" (25). After receiving this message, Nur al-Din Zangi felt ashamed and sent other messengers asking the caliph to let him visit his father's tomb. The caliph, knowing his real intention was to occupy Baghdad, rejected this request and even threatened to challenge him if he did so. His action certainly favored the Christians, whom Nur al-Din hated. To Michael Rabo, it was a divine action showing that God had not forgotten His people. Doleful but thankful, he wrote, "Although God had caused the Muslim Arabs and Turks to rule over us because of our sins, He did not for one day deny us His mercy, but always protected us from our haters and showed mercy to His church" (26).

Nur al-Din Zangi's persecution of the Christians appears to have encouraged other Muslim rulers to usurp Christian churches. In 1170 the eunuch Mu'ayyid al-Din, governor of Mardin, appropriated the nave of the Syrian Church of the Forty Martyrs and gave it to the Muslims, who annexed it to their mosque. The next day he fell off his mount and felt guilty, believing that his fall was a divine punishment for what he had done to the church. He wanted to restore the nave to the church, but did not for fear of offending the Muslims (27). This incident was followed the same year by [691] another, no less grievous to the Christians, involving a monk,

Hasan bar Kulaib (or Kumaib) of the Abkar Monastery in the Mountain of Mardin (28). A conflict apparently arose involving him, his two brothers (also monks), and other inmate monks of the monastery over his bad conduct, for which Hasan bar Kulaib was stripped of his position as a monk. In a fit of anger, he embraced Islam and fled to Jerusalem, where he felt guilty and returned to Christianity. The governor of Mardin arrested his two brothers and the other monks, who were tortured to death. The Muslims of Mardin used his conversion to Islam as a pretext to capture the Abkar Monastery and convert it to a *masjid* for the use of Muslim Kurds (29). In 1172, the Muslims of Mardin also seized the Syrian Church of St. Thomas after a Syrian man named Barsoum committed adultery with a Muslim woman. He was arrested and tortured almost to death, and his possessions were confiscated. Because Barsoum had renovated the Church of St. Thomas at his own expense in the time of the governor Husam al-Din, the Muslims, arguing that the church was his personal property, claimed it and converted it into a mosque. The Christians of Mardin, grieved to the extent that they blasphemed against divine justice, tried to reclaim the church, but their action angered the Muslims more against them. They lodged a complaint and asked the governor to restore their church to them, but his heart was hardened and he rejected their complaint, thus creating more aggravation and pressure for the Christians (30).

Not surprisingly, Nur al-Din's death in May 1174 brought feelings of relief not only to the Christians, but to Muslim rulers who were discontented with his strict observance of the Islamic law, particularly because he forbade them to drink wine or engage in any kind of merriment (31). The chief reaction to Nur al-Din's death came from his nephew Sayf al-Din Ghazi II, who occupied Nisibin and abrogated the laws enacted by his uncle. [692] Al-Isfahani says he destroyed the place in the mosque where Nur al-Din had inscribed the restrictive laws and allowed the public drinking of wine (32). It is more plausible that, as the Anonymous Edessan says, Sayf al-Din destroyed the stone tablet over the door of the *masjid* of Nisibin, on which Nur al-Din had inscribed his instructions including the anathemas on those who violated them. Also, although he allowed public consumption of wine, he restored the poll and land taxes that his uncle had abolished. Shortly after Nur al-Din Zangi died, the Muslims demolished the Great Church of Hagia Sophia in Edessa. They used some of the stones to rebuild the city's wall and fortress, but carried most of them away to build a *masjid* in Harran. The Muslims also tore down the northern part of the Great Church of the Apostles (the part left intact later fell down) and carried the stone to the fortress. At the same time, they tore down the chancel of the Church of St. Stephen and the chancel of the Church of Forty Martyrs, which was adjacent to their *masjid* (33).

Although Sayf al-Din Ghazi seems to have been more tolerant than Nur al-Din, the Christians were still harassed by the Turks, whose rulers were clearly partial to the Muslims and frequently interfered in the religious or ecclesiastical affairs of the church, as Michael Rabo relates firsthand. As patriarch, Michael Rabo was often opposed by rebellious and recalcitrant bishops and clergy who could not abide his strict observance of the church's canon laws. When he was called to serve as patriarch, he says, he felt it his duty to respect and defend holy laws against accepting a bribe to ordain a clergyman or usurping a diocese or congregation because of the influence of a political ruler, laws which had been violated or ignored. For this reason he was opposed by several bishops, including Iwannis Denha of al-Raqqa (Callinicus), whose congregation had lost confidence in him because of alleged misconduct and wanted him replaced. The patriarch convened a council at the Monastery of Mar Hananya (now the Za'faran Monastery near Mardin in Turkey) to consider the case. After the testimony, the council was convinced of the bishop's irreligious actions and decided to confine him to a monastery for three years until he improved his conduct. [693] Denha at first accepted the council's verdict, but then went to Mardin to complain to Nestorian leaders against Patriarch Michael Rabo. When the Nestorians learned the truth about his case, they expelled him.

Bishop Denha then turned to Najm al-Din, the Muslim governor of Mardin, and offered him a bribe to have Michael Rabo killed. The governor sent some men who arrested the patriarch and made him appear before the governor as a criminal, accompanied only by Abu Kir, archdeacon of the church of Mardin. The governor addressed the patriarch harshly but, after hearing the case, expelled Bishop Denha and dismissed his complaint. The bishop, still determined to spite the patriarch, went to Mosul and slandered Patriarch Michael Rabo to Sayf al-Din, the lord of Mosul, promising to pay him a thousand dinars. Soldiers arrested Michael Rabo and brought him to Sayf al-Din, who was then in Nisibin. The soldiers ushered the patriarch, together with two bishops and a number of monks, into the presence of Sayf al-Din's deputy, who said, "Since Allah has placed you [the Christians] under our control, you should not resist the royal decree. You should fulfill the royal order of the

victorious king (Sayf al-Din), or else you will be humiliated and tortured. Our king has ordered that this bishop should have jurisdiction over the dioceses of al-Raqqa, Harran, Saruj, and Habura (al-Khabur). Accordingly, you should return peacefully to your place or something harmful will take place."

Michael Rabo courageously answered that divine laws are instituted by three Books: the Torah (Old Testament) of the Hebrews, the Gospel of the Christians, and the Quran of the Muslims. He asked the deputy to search these three books and see for himself if God had ordered the rulers to administer the countries by their worldly authority. Faith, he contended, should be administered by choice and not by compulsion. He declared that the just Muslim rulers who came after Muhammad had to the present day observed the interdicts of God and never violated them. According to the command of God, these rulers imposed on the Christians the *jizya* (poll tax) and obedience, but they did not interfere in matters of faith. "If you try to alter the course followed by former Muslim rulers," he added, "then know that what you do is not against me but against Moses, Jesus, and Muhammad. You would violate their Books, or in other words you would be violating the commands of God." Worse still, he said, the deputy believed Bishop Denha's complaints against him. If he would do more investigation, he would easily find they were lies. In fact, the dioceses which the deputy said were in the bishop's jurisdiction were still under the control of Sayf al-Din Ghazi II. Said Michael Rabo, "If he (the bishop) was appointed by your order, why then he is rejected by their congregations? He has committed a [694] crime against our laws and resorted to your royal authority to force me to violate the laws of God. I would rather have my head cut off than step on these laws." At this point he extended his neck and told the deputy to cut off his head. The deputy entered Sayf al-Din's tent, then came out and led the patriarch into his presence, forbidding anyone to accompany him. When Michael Rabo stood before Sayf al-Din, he invoked God's blessing on him. The deputy said, "O patriarch, ask God's blessing because Sayf al-Din Ghazi has ordered that your laws should be executed, and no one will disobey you." Michael Rabo repeated his blessing and thanks, then left with tears in his eyes. The bishops and monks were jubilant, while the slanderer (Bishop Iwannis Denha) was disappointed. Persisting in his evildoing, the bishop tried another tactic to have Michael Rabo condemned. He shouted in the midst of the Muslim throng, "Know all of you that this old man is a deceiver. He is laboring in the lands of the Muslims to convert them to Christianity, and here is the evidence." The bishop began to read a letter Michael Rabo had written about the monk Hasan bar Kulaib, who had converted to Islam. The Muslims, greatly agitated by it, tried to stone the patriarch. The monks with him fled, and he stood alone before the Muslims carrying stones in their hands to kill him. By chance some Muslims from Mardin, the city of Hasan bar Kulaib, were present and testified that he was a Christian monk, not a Muslim. The angry crowd apparently believed them and let the patriarch go in peace. Sayf al-Din Ghazi II provided him with a letter of authority and the patriarch returned to his place safe. But this was not the end of the wickedness of Bishop Iwannis Denha. He went to Baghdad and lodged a complaint with the Abbasid caliph, but Patriarch Michael Rabo wrote to the Syrian believers in Baghdad about the case, and the caliph expelled Bishop Denha. The bishop returned to Antioch, where he met with Patriarch Michael Rabo and asked his forgiveness. In a true gesture of Christian love, the patriarch accepted the bishop's apology and sent him to the Edessan Mountain to await appointment to an available diocese (34).

Michael Rabo relates another episode involving clergymen who from sheer avarice turned to earthly (i.e., Muslim) rulers to oppress their own Syrian people and achieve their goals. The antagonist in this case was Ignatius, the avaricious bishop of Tur Abdin, who obtained money through [695] various means. Michael Rabo admonished him to abandon his unworthy behavior and adhere to the laws of the church, but he did not obey. One Sunday morning he left the worship service and went to the governor, as was his custom, asking him to throw into prison monks, priests, and laymen on a variety of charges. That night, a group of Kurds captured him and beat him badly, but his companions managed to flee. Not satisfied with merely beating him, the Kurds drove a stake into his buttocks and left him near death. Some passersby found him, and as they pulled the stake from his bottom he died. It is said that he was responsible for the deaths of a number of Syrian believers, but it is not known whether they were killed by Ignatius himself or by those whom he had instigated (35). His case clearly shows that there were renegade and outright immoral clergymen within the church who oppressed their own people, as did their worldly rulers. It also shows the sad state of the patriarchs of the Syrian Church, who had to struggle to save their church and authority not only from the Muslim Turks and their rulers, but from bishops and other clergy whose immoral and evil actions aggravated their situation and weakened the church's spiritual authority.

The men who created particular difficulty for Patriarch Michael Rabo by seeking the aid of Muslim rulers against him were Theodore bar Wahbun and Karim bar Masih. Theodore was a native of Melitene, the son of the priest Sohda bar Wahbun. His godfather, the patriarch, brought him to the Monastery of Mar Barsoum, made him his personal secretary, and treated him with kindness and love. At the monastery, Theodore proved to be an avid reader, acquiring profound secular and spiritual knowledge, but he lacked spiritual wisdom and particularly the fear of God. He was rebellious and arrogant, with an inflated ego because of his knowledge (36). Blinded by false pride and ambition, Theodore turned against his benefactor, seeking to usurp the office of the patriarchate. To achieve this goal he resorted to treachery, manipulation, and bribery of Muslim governors. In 1180 he plotted to split the church with the aid of some bishops who were displeased with the patriarch for his strict implementation of canon laws, which they had violated. Theodore bar Wahbun tried to stir trouble in Melitene, but the congregation had him expelled from the city. He fled to Edessa and then to Jerusalem, inciting the congregations against the patriarch. He failed at this, [696] but succeeded in convincing four bishops to help him become a patriarch. They contacted the governor of Amid, Abu al-Qasim Hasan (Abu al-Qasim Nisan, according to Bar Hebraeus), and offered him money if he would help them to install Theodore as patriarch. The governor was ready not only to violate the canons of the Christian church, which he did not respect or understand, but to violate the laws of Islam for money. Shortly afterwards, he invited Bar Wahbun to become patriarch. Bishop Ibrahim of Amid, who had been removed from his diocese for violating church laws, was to deliver the invitation, disguised as a Turkish officer, but his mission failed due to the sudden death of the governor, who was succeeded by his son (37). The rebellious bishops called on the new governor and showed him the invitation his father had sent, offering him more money if he would help make Bar Wahbun patriarch. The bishops' action enraged the Syrian congregation of Amid, who told the new governor, "We will never permit our faith to be destroyed." He replied, "If your patriarch visits us, we will expel Bar Wahbun." After the congregation invited the patriarch, he agreed to go to Amid and meet with the governor, but the subsequent evil action of his opponents disturbed him and the church. As the patriarch left the Monastery of Mar Barsoum to travel to Amid, the rebellious bishops entered the church in Mardin, locked the doors, and ordained Theodore bar Wahbun as patriarch in a night service. In the morning they disguised themselves in different clothing and left for Mosul to meet with the Maphrian Mar Yuhanna (38).

Karim Bar Masih had a hand in the ordination of Bar Wahbun. Bar Masih came to Mardin, the seat of the patriarch's diocese, and usurped it by offering gold to the governor. He invited Theodore to Mardin and proclaimed him patriarch, even though he had been condemned not only by the patriarch and his clergy, but by the maphrian and the clergy of the East. Upon hearing of Bar Masih's action, the Syrians of Mardin, together with the monks of the neighboring monasteries, notably the Monastery of Mar Hananya (Za'faran Monastery), appealed to Patriarch Michael Rabo to appoint a bishop for them. The patriarch chose a learned and articulate monk named Modyana (Confessor), from the Edessan mountain, and ordained [697] him as bishop of Mardin. But the new bishop, unable to become an officer of the church without the governor's approval, was forced to offer the governor the same amount of gold Bar Wahbun had offered him to obtain his investiture as a bishop (39).

In Mosul, Theodore Bar Wahbun and his collaborators asked the Maphrian Mar Yuhanna (d. 1189) to approve Bar Wahbun as patriarch, but he refused. Disappointed, the conspirators traveled aimlessly from place to place. At the town of Dara, between Nisibin and Mardin, the leading Syrian dignitaries urged them to forsake their machinations and obey the patriarch (Michael Rabo). After learning that the conspirators were in Dara, the Maphrian Yuhanna and some bishops went there, captured them, and brought them to the patriarch in chains. At a council convened by the patriarch, they admitted their guilt in writing and asked his forgiveness. Soon, however, Theodore Bar Wahbun, violating his promise to forsake his evil ways, resorted again to deception. Some of his allies hired ruffian Kurds to hide him at night until the patriarch had left the Monastery of Mar Barsoum, where the council met. The patriarch convened another council which also condemned Bar Wahbun, but he refused to leave the monastery, asking instead for forgiveness. The meek, compassionate patriarch accepted Theodore's false apology, allotted him a cell at the monastery for his residence, and promised to ask the council to reconsider his condemnation. But no sooner did the patriarch leave to go to the Monastery of Mar Hananya than some other rebellious monks helped Bar Wahbun escape by lowering him in a basket from the monastery's wall. He fled to Damascus, where he approached Salah al-Din al-Ayyubi (Saladin) and offered him

money to proclaim him as patriarch in the regions under his authority. He even wrote a letter slandering the patriarch, hoping that Saladin would destroy him. When the letter was read to him, Saladin inquired about Theodore and, after learning from some Christian believers in his service about his odious conduct, had him expelled.

Frustrated, Theodore Bar Wahbun went to Jerusalem and began stirring trouble between the Franks and the Syrian minority, especially against Metropolitan Athanasius, who had been chosen to head the diocese of Jerusalem in 1184. Athanasius already had strained relations with the Franks because of a dispute over the Monastery of Mary Magdalene, which [698] belonged to the Syrians but had been usurped by the Franks (40). He had offered the Latin patriarch of Jerusalem a thousand dinars to return the monastery to the Syrians. The Syrian Church endured deplorable hardships because of the ownership dispute, which was further prolonged because of the Muslims' occupation of Jerusalem. Bar Wahbun then went to Mardin and Mosul, where he offered bribes to the Turkish governor and his associates, hoping they would proclaim him a patriarch. His action encouraged Muslim governors everywhere to demand money for their help. Next, he turned to the Armenian Catholicos (Gregory IV, 1173-1193), then residing in the Qal'at Romaitha, asking his assistance as he had done with the Latin patriarch in Jerusalem. The catholicos, believing Theodore's false promises, expelled the Syrian bishop from his diocese and placed the Syrians of Cilicia under his authority, and Theodore Bar Wahbun dared to call himself patriarch. He continued his actions against Patriarch Michael Rabo and lavished enormous amounts of money and gifts on the Turkish governors in Syria and Beth Nahrin, hoping they too would declare him patriarch. Bar Wahbun's efforts were frustrated when his principal supporter, Catholicos Gregory, died in 1193, and his machinations ended when he died forty days later (41).

The death of the miscreant Theodore Bar Wahbun brought some relief to Patriarch Michael Rabo and his church, but he had still to deal with Karim Bar Masih, a monk from the Monastery of Mar Matta. Karim bar Masih belonged to the family of Jabir, which was originally from Takrit but, like many Syrian Takritians, had settled in Mosul. Rebellious and ambitious, he was as much a troublemaker as Bar Wahbun, whose ordination as patriarch he had supported in 1192. Mosul had a Muslim judge named Muhyi al-Din whom the governor greatly respected, and whose advice he always heeded (the governor's lieutenants hated him, but did not dare harm him). Judge Muhyi al-Din was in charge of collecting the tribute imposed on all the monasteries and their properties, including the Monastery of Mar Matta. After Maphrian Yuhanna died in 1189, Bar Masih, hoping to succeed him, sought the aid of this judge to achieve this goal. He took a boat down the [699] Tigris to Takrit, the maphrian's seat, to usurp the See of the Maphrianate (42). The archimandrite and some monks of the Monastery of Mar Matta, some Syrian Takritian leaders from Mosul, and four bishops (Ignatius Gabriel Yuhanna bar Hindi, bishop of Urmia in Azerbaijan, Yuhanna Ruwad Marqia, bishop of Ba'arbaya, Saliba, bishop of the Monastery of Mar Matta, and Basilius Matta bar Shuwayk, bishop of Baghdad) wrote in support of Bar Masih and brought him to the patriarch to be ordained a maphrian. But other clerics, including the priest Abu Mansur Bar Tibun and the monks Yaqub and Shamtah of the Monastery of Mar Matta, wrote to the patriarch that Bar Masih was an insolent person who had surrounded himself with a band of wicked men (43). Michael Rabo says that the Syrian congregations of Mosul and Takrit had informed him that they would never accept him as their maphrian because of his immoral conduct. The patriarch, who had also heard about Bar Masih's conduct from the late Maphrian Yuhanna, felt he had to find a suitable person for this high office. To foil the plan of Bar Masih and his collaborators, the clergymen prevailed on the patriarch to choose his nephew Yaqub, a learned and venerable man who was ordained a maphrian at the Monastery of Saint Dumit in the province of Mardin in 1189, taking the name Gregorius (44). When the other bishops, whom Michael Rabo calls "the gang of Bar Masih," learned that their plan had failed, they bribed the governor, who issued an order naming Karim Bar Masih as maphrian (45). At the Monastery of Mar Matta, they ordained Bar Masih a maphrian and named him Dionysius (46).

But things did not turn out as Bar Masih had wished, for judge Muhyi al-Din died soon afterwards. The Christians of Mosul asked the eunuch Mujahid al-Din, who hated Muhyi al-Din, to help restore their lawful Maphrian Gregorius, who for two years had been barred from entering Mosul because Muhyi al-Din had subjected them to Bar Masih's authority, in violation of church laws. Mujahid al-Din agreed to help and provided them with letters of passage and a messenger, and they sent a delegation to fetch the maphrian, then at the Monastery of Mar Hananya, and brought him to [700] Mosul with great joy and pomp. When Bar Masih reached Takrit, the Syrian congregation rejected him and he returned to Mosul, frustrated. As soon as he arrived, the

officers of the Syrian Church had him placed in their custody. The maphrian and the bishops met to discuss his case and demanded that he return all the gold he had extorted from the Syrian churches. When he did not comply, they met with the clergy and congregation in the Church of the Takritians in Mosul and defrocked him, then sent him back to prison. A year later, his brother paid four hundred dinars, and Bar Masih was freed.

Curiously, Michael Rabo says that in 1190, under pressure from his bishops, he delegated Bishop Gabriel, abbot of the Monastery of Mar Barsoum, and Bishop Abu al-Faraj, then in charge of the patriarchal office, to Sultan Salah al-Din (Saladin) to explain Bar Masih's machinations to him. Before they reached Damascus, while Saladin was besieging Akka (Acre), the two bishops were arrested as spies and thrown into prison, losing everything in their possession. But they were rescued through the effort of Muzaffar al-Din, son of Zayn al-Din, lord of Edessa, and finally obtained letters of support from Saladin (47).

After three years of humiliation and condemnation, Bar Masih returned to his old ways. After paying the governor of Mosul 1,000 dinars, he was allowed to proclaim himself bishop of Mosul and its environs. Encouraged by the Muslim governor's support, he donned the garb of a bishop and traveled around the province of Mosul hoping to gather followers, but failed. Meanwhile, he was hounded by his creditors, who demanded that he settle his debts. Since he had no money, he was thrown into prison and remained there for eighteen months. Out of goodness and perhaps pity, Maphrian Gregorius had him released from prison. A year after his release he was finally forced to pay his debts. At the very end of his Chronicle, Michael Rabo states that toward the end of 1194, Maphrian Gregorius and four bishops came to see him at the Monastery of Mar Barsoum and offer allegiance to him. But as soon as they returned to their dioceses, Bar Masih slandered the maphrian to the governor, stating that he had left his diocese and would never return. But when the maphrian and the bishops returned in early 1195, Bar Masih was put to shame, and the maphrian was received warmly by his flock and the governor (48).

[701] After Patriarch Michael Rabo died in 1199, Bar Masih caused more trouble for the church. He was imprisoned again and then released through the intercession of Maphrian Gregorius. Because he could not pay the huge debts he had incurred, he fled from Mosul to Mardin, then to Amid, and from there to Miyafarqin, where with the governor's help he was able to become a bishop of the Syrian flock. But he was condemned by a church council and later absolved by the new Patriarch, Athanasius Saliba the Bald. On December 24, 1204, he died in Miyafarqin; he was buried by the Nestorians, who felt sorry for him after the Syrian Church refused to bury him because of his evil actions and the contention and discord he had caused within the church (49).

Around 1175, a sharp conflict arose between the Armenians and the Turks over the Samson (Sasun) Mountain, above Miyafarqin, which the Armenians had controlled since the time of the Assyrians (some Kurds also lived in the mountain and claimed it was theirs). With the help of the governor of Miyafarqin, the Turks occupied its fortresses and expelled the Armenians, and for five years they fought the Armenians living in Miyafarqin and Mardin. The governor oppressed and starved the Armenians, forcing them to surrender the fortresses to the great Armenian lord of Khilat (Akhlat) on Lake Van, Sukman II, Nasir al-Din Muhammad (1128-1183), known as the Shah Armen [King of the Armenians] (50). A miscreant Armenian lord named Bakhyan lost his share of the mountain to the Turks and sought to control one of the fortresses. The Armenians gave him several villages, but this gift was not sufficient to satisfy his ambition. He converted to Islam, thinking the Muslim Turks would offer him a fortress. Much to his disappointment, he was repulsed, and his conversion to Islam benefited him nothing (51).

About 1201, before the death of Bar Masih, trouble arose between the Syrians of the village of Bartulli, east of Mosul, and the village's Muslim [702] *khatib* (preacher). The Anonymous Edessan says that the Syrian Christians complained against him to the village head, who had him whipped. The preacher went one Friday to the Great Mosque in Mosul (built by Nur al-Din Zangi) and provoked a disturbance against the Christians. A large mob of Muslims joined him and left the mosque to go to Bartulli and destroy it. But when they reached the city gate (Bab al-Jisr, the gate of the bridge over the River Tigris), they found it locked. Disappointed, they returned and vented their anger on the Great Church of the Syrian Takritians. They smashed its doors and sanctuary and pillaged everything inside—beautiful church vessels, splendid curtains, crosses, Gospels, golden patens and chalices, and other magnificent brass items. They broke into the office of the maphrian, who was

absent, and stole his belongings. They destroyed the closets and doors, and even dug into the floor and took great quantities of provisions, including seeds and grains stored in parts of the church (52).

The persecution of the Christian communities, particularly the Syrians of the diocese of the Monastery of Mar Matta, worsened beginning in the first quarter of the thirteenth century. The whole northern region of Iraq was a theater of conflict between the lords of Mosul, descendants of Imad al-Din Zangi, and the lords of Arbil. On his deathbed, al-Malik al-Qahir Izz al-Din Mas'ud II (reigned 1210-1218) made his freed slave Badr al-Din Lulu (1180-1259) the administrator for his ten-year-old son Nur al-Din Arslan Shah II (1218-1219), who succeeded him as atabeg of Mosul; he gave the citadels of 'Aqra and Shush to his younger son, Imad al-Din, who later made Aqra the seat of his government (53). Because of Nur al-Din's tender age, his uncle Imad al-Din tried to gain control of his state. The able administrator, Badr al-Din Lulu, obtained from the Abbasid Caliph al-Nasir li Din Allah (1180-1225) a patent of investiture for Nur al-Din, but he still had to face the ambitious Imad al-Din, who was supported by Muzaffar al-Din Kukburi, lord of Arbil (54). Nur al-Din died in 1219 and was succeeded by his brother Nasir al-Din Mahmud, then only three years old.

After the death of Nasir al-Din in 1233, Muzaffar al-Din and Imad al-Din attacked the fortress of Imadiyya in northern Iraq, and Badr al-Din [703] Lulu had his hands full trying to repel their forces and protect his state. This conflict seriously impacted the lives and safety of the Christians in the region. In the battle against Muzaffar al-Din Kukburi, Badr al-Din fled to Mosul and then to Balad, hoping to gather sufficient troops. Muzaffar al-Din chased after him and camped behind the hill of the fortress of Nineveh, but when he saw that Badr al-Din was about to crush him, he departed for Arbil (55). While he was on his way there, some Kurds of Shahrzur in his company kidnaped a Syrian Christian bride from the village of Beth Sakhraya (today called Basakhra). The villagers pursued the Kurds, killed some of them, and freed the kidnaped bride. When Muzaffar al-Din heard of this he became furious, especially when he learned that the villagers had disgraced themselves and honored his enemy by shouting, "Long live the staff of gold, Badr al-Din!" In his anger, he sent troops who attacked the village of Beth Sakhraya and killed 300 villagers who had taken refuge in its church. Then the troops marched to the village of Bartulli and cut off the hands of young men with their swords (56 In 1220 some chiefs of the Yezidis (known today as the Devil Worshipers) in the villages north of Mosul rebelled against Badr al-Din Lulu and plundered the village of Jabbara in the region of Nineveh, whose inhabitants were Syrian Christians, and killed its men, women and children (57).

After the death of Nasir al-Din Mahmud, Badr al-Din Lulu became the atabeg of Mosul (58). At his death in 1259, he was succeeded by his son al-Malik al-Salih Isma'il (reigned 1259-1261). In 1261, the Christians of Mosul and the province of Nineveh suffered tragedy when al-Malik al-Salih Isma'il, accompanied by Kurds, decided to force the Christians of the province of Nineveh to plunder and kill other Christians. His plan was foiled by Shams al-Din ibn Yunus of Bashiqa, who alerted the people of the province to the forthcoming danger and urged them to leave with him for Arbil. Many Christians believed him and departed to Arbil on the Thursday evening of Pentecost. On learning of the their departure, al-Malik al-Salih Isma'il changed his mind and abandoned the idea of slaughtering them, but in the confusion, the Kurds in Mosul attacked the Christians, plundering their possessions and killing everyone who refused to embrace Islam. A great [704] majority of priests, deacons, and dignitaries converted to Islam to save their lives as the Kurds ravaged the country outside Nineveh, killing and robbing Christians. They attacked a convent in the village of Beth Khudayda (modern Qaraqosh) and killed the Christians hiding there (59). They assembled thousands of horsemen and footsoldiers, attacked the Monastery of Mar Matta, and made war on the monks for four months. They set up ladders, planning to scale the wall, but the monks prevailed and burned the ladders. The Kurds hewed a mass of stone from the mountain above the monastery and rolled it toward the wall. The stone split in two; each part made a breach in the wall, but one remained stuck in it. The Kurds rushed toward the monastery, but the monks and the Syrian villagers inside fought back fiercely with stones and arrows and prevented them from entering. In the foray the archimandrite Abu Nasr of Bartulli was knocked out, and a few men were wounded slightly by arrows (60). Weary of fighting, the monks sued for peace and pledged to give the Kurds all the hangings, curtains, and equipment of the church, and to collect gold, silver and jewelry for them. The Kurds were also anxious for peace because they had heard that the Mongols were coming to invade the region. Before they departed, they took a very large amount of property from the monastery, valued at 1,000 gold dinars (61).

At that time the Syrian inhabitants of Beth Sakhraya and other natives of Nineveh took refuge in the Monastery of Mar Daniyal (St. Daniel), also known as Dayr al-Khanafis, or the Monastery of Beetles, near the village of Bartulli. But when they left it and crossed the river Zab to go to Arbil, the amir Kutulbeg accused them of coming from the side of the enemy and killed them all, men and women alike. When Sayf al-Din, lord of Jazirat ibn Umar, heard that his brother al-Malik al-Salih Isma'il had fled to Syria, he also prepared to flee. But before he fled, he rounded up the Christians and threw them into prison until they paid him 2,000 gold dinars. On Ascension Day 1261, as the Christians remained in prison in a state of despair, Sayf al-Din distributed the gold among his troops, but finally 70,000 Kurds surrounded him and carried him off to Syria, and Jazirat ibn Umar was left without a lord. Two scouts, Izaz Bash and Muhammad, a captain of the [705] guards, made themselves rulers of the region. They released the imprisoned Christians after exacting 7,000 dinars from them, killing only two of them who had had communication with the Mongols (62). Abu Nasr of Bartulli (d. 1290), who was archimandrite of the Monastery of Mar Matta, lamented these events in a 36-page ode which has fortunately survived (63). He says that the wicked Kurds forced the priests to deny their Apostolic faith and plunged the deacons into the abyss of apostasy. They ruined the monks' chastity and kept the believers from confessing the Holy Trinity. Those who refused to recant their faith were crowned with martyrdom. Out of envy, the evil marauders destroyed the churches and monasteries and had no mercy on the altars, the Table of Life, and the holy books. They even violated the Holy Scriptures. No church in all Athur, Nineveh, Rahubuth, Banuhadra (modern Duhuk), and Jazirat ibn Umar was left undefiled. The celebrations of the Holy Eucharist ceased because of the adversities which befell the believers, and the Monastery of Mar Matta became the fortress of refuge for those who fled the sword and sought peace and tranquility (64).

Thus, it is apparent that the native Christian communities of Syrians and Armenians suffered external oppression by their rulers and, especially in the case of the Syrians, internal dissension. This dissension, stirred by mutinous clergymen like Bar Wahbun and Bar Masih, caused the high officers of the church and their communities to fall prey to greedy Muslim rulers, who relished the hefty bribes the rebellious clergy paid them. This was an unspeakably sad period for the native Christians, because it brought boundless pain to honorable leaders like Patriarch Michael Rabo and tremendously weakened their churches and communities, causing many people to embrace Islam in order to escape external oppression and internal conflict caused not only by avaricious Muslim rulers but by the clergy, who were contending for money or the control of more dioceses. One has only to read what is left of the Chronicle of the Anonymous Edessan to realize how deplorable was the internal state of the Syrian Church shortly after Michael Rabo died in 1199 (65).

[706] The Christian communities also had the misfortune of being the victims of warfare between two Muslim groups, the Turks and the Kurds. Starting in 1185, the Turkomans waged war for eight years against their neighboring countries—Armenia, Athur (northern Iraq), Syria, and Cappadocia. The Turkomans, says Michael Rabo, were nomads and tent dwellers. They spent the winter in the abundantly verdant plains south of Syria, where there was no snow or frozen ground. In the spring they moved to the northern region, where there was plenty of grass for their cattle, moving in herds so large they blocked the highways. The Kurds, who often committed robbery, stole the Turkomans' horses, cows, camels and other animals, and skirmishes between the two sides occasionally brought casualties. To protect their cattle, the Turks began traveling in caravans. After they learned that two hundred Kurds were about to ambush them in the region of Shabakhtan, near Mardin, the hostilities escalated into warfare, with the result that 10,000 men fell on both sides. Angered, the Kurds brought together 30,000 men from the regions of Nisibin and Tur Abdin, while the Turkomans massed near Khabur. The Kurds were beaten and fled, and the bodies of their dead littered the area between the River Khabur and Nisibin. Soon afterwards, two more battles between the Turkomans and the Kurds took place in the district of Mosul. The Kurds were again defeated and fled to the mountain areas bordering Cilicia to protect their families and cattle, but the Turkomans attacked, stole their possessions, and annihilated them—men, women, and children. The Turks sent groups of scouts into the mountains and plains of Syria and Mesopotamia, and whenever they found Kurds, they killed them without mercy and for no reason (66).

The other Eastern sources shed little light on the conflict between the Turkomans and the Kurds. Ibn Shaddad notes briefly that in 1183 a battle was fought between the two sides, and that many men were killed (67). Indeed, there was severe ethnic conflict in Saladin's army between the Turks and the Kurds, who did not trust each other (68). This conflict between the Kurds [707] and the Mamluks apparently was so vehement and disruptive that it

attracted the attention of the Franks. The Muslims' aim was to capture King Richard Lion-Heart and bring him to Saladin (69). The Anonymous Edessan says that the Turkomans became more ferocious when Saladin fell ill for four months in 1183 at Harran, to which he returned after failing to capture Mosul. The Kurds did not dare appear openly on the highways. The Turkomans invaded their villages and drove them from their mountain abodes, forcing them to live in towns under most miserable conditions. Thereafter, the Turkomans became inured to bloodshed, pillage and annihilation (70).

Michael Rabo says the Christians suffered little harm in the first years of the Turkomans' conflict with the Kurds, i.e., before 1185. But as it turned into warfare, the Turks became aware that the Kurds often hid their possessions in Christian villages. Moreover, because the Turkish governors did not stop the Turkomans from looting and killing, the Kurds moved into Greater Armenia. After annihilating the Kurds, the Turkomans attacked Armenia and took 26,000 Armenians captive and sold them as slaves. They set fire to the villages and to the Garabed Monastery, and killed all its monks and pillaged its books and possessions. Their troops occupied Tall al-Arabs fortress in the region of Shabakhtan and sold its occupants into slavery. Next they slaughtered 170 Syrian men in Tall Bisme, near Mardin. When the rulers saw the destruction of their territory and the decimation of their village populations, they fought against the Turkomans, especially in the provinces of Claudia and Melitene. In the village of Amrun in Claudia, the Turkomans killed many people, including 200 Syrian men. Says Michael Rabo, no one can describe the carnage and devastation during eight years (1185-1193) of warfare among the Turkomans, Kurds, and Arab Muslims (71). [708] The Syrians and the Armenians, who had no stake in this warfare, paid the price in lives and possessions. Even small Syrian Christian communities like Bartulli and Mosul were not immune to the antagonism and destructive acts of their Muslim neighbors. Not surprisingly, the numbers of the Christian Syrians and Armenians in greater Syria, Mesopotamia and southern Turkey fell drastically, while the number of Muslims increased.

Michael Rabo relates several events that shed light on the Turkish rulers' treatment of the Monastery of Mar Barsoum and their recognition of the saint's power. In one case Feridun, lord of Melitene, and his profligate brother Muhammad fought over control of the city. Muhammad was soundly beaten and fled Melitene to join the Franks in Antioch. When conditions there did not suit him, he went to Sultan Kilij Arslan II of the Seljuks of Rum, hoping that the sultan would give him Melitene, but instead he received Heraclea (present day Ereghli in Turkey). Soon, however, Heraclea was taken from him. Muhammad went to the Turks in the East (Syria), only to be captured by Nur al-Din Zangi and imprisoned at al-Bira, on the bank of the Euphrates, where he lived off the charity of the people. While he was in prison the monks of the Monastery of Mar Barsoum, who feared Nur al-Din Zangi, bravely extended charity to him because he loved their monastery. When Nur al-Din died in 1174, Muhammad was released from prison; he learned that his brother's wife, who hated her husband, had akeady left Melitene and gone to her family in Hisn Ziyad (modern Kharput in Turkey). He followed her there, and her family encouraged him to seize control of Melitene. He sought the divine intercession of Mar Barsoum and pledged that if he was successful, he would exempt the monastery from taxes. Disguised as a beggar, he went by night to Melitene with two of his followers. They took him to the house of one of his supporters, where he remained in hiding for two days.

On Sunday, February 15, 1175, Muhammad and his companions sneaked into his brother's palace. They found a ladder on the ground, set it against the wall, and climbed down into the garden, where they found Feridun and an aged nanny sleeping. Muhammad struck his brother a fatal blow to the head, cut off his head, and took the keys of the city and the citadel. He boldly went through Melitene carrying his brother's head, and everyone who saw him rushed to offer support. Fifteen men swore allegiance to him that night. The next morning he went with a hundred men to the citadel, to proclaim that the city had a new lord. The Christians of [709] Melitene, scared, hid in their homes. But the Turks mounted their horses and gathered at the entrance of the citadel, with swords in hands. There was a great commotion, and rumors about the fate of their lord swirled. When Muhammad dropped his brother's head from the wall, they faced the reality that their prince had been killed and pledged allegiance to Muhammad. After taking control of Melitene, Muhammad proposed exempting the Monastery of Mar Barsoum from taxes, but the monks felt that such a gesture would outrage the Muslims of Melitene against them and insisted on paying the taxes imposed on them. They proposed to pay him 300 dinars annually and asked to be exempted only from the additional tax of 700 dinars imposed by Feridun. It appears that Muhammad finally

gave in to the monks, but as compensation he gave them the Monastery of Mar Dumit (Demete), near Melitene (72).

But the most remarkable episode Michael Rabo relates is in connection with Kilij Arslan II, Seljuk Sultan of Rum (1155-1192), who came to Melitene in 1181 and inquired about Michael Rabo, then the patriarch. He sent him a friendly letter, together with a patriarchal staff and twenty red (gold) dinars, which caused much astonishment. The next year Kilij Arslan came again; having heard of the trouble Theodore bar Wahbun had caused, he sent a letter inviting the patriarch to Melitene. When he arrived, he was uncertain but felt that something unusual was happening. The sultan sent a messenger to tell him that he had ordered that the patriarch should enter into his presence according to the tradition and practice of the Christians, preceded by crosses and the gospel. The following day, three amirs and a host of horsemen came to accompany him with honor to meet Sultan Kilij Arslan, but the patriarch remained suspicious. On the morning of Thursday, July 8, 1182, he and his companions entered Melitene. To his surprise, the sultan, his troops, and the townsmen came out to welcome him. The Christians, with torches lit and crosses fixed on their spears, raised their voices, chanting. The sultan approached the patriarch and asked him not to dismount or shake his hand, then opened his arms and embraced Michael Rabo. The two men communicated through an interpreter, and when the patriarch felt that the sultan was truly attentive, he began to talk freely, supporting his points with testimonies from the Scriptures and from nature, interspersed with exhortations. As the sultan listened, his eyes filled with tears, and the patriarch thanked God. Overjoyed, the Christians raised a cry [710] of thanks and praise when they saw the Worshiped Cross hoisted over the heads of the sultan and the Muslims. In this manner the throng entered the church, and at the end of his sermon, the patriarch blessed the sultan and the people. The next day the sultan informed the patriarch that he had abolished the taxes imposed on the Monastery of Mar Barsoum and confirmed his order with a royal rescript (73). On Sunday, the sultan sent the patriarch a hand, plated with gold and silver and inlaid with jewels, along with relics of St. Peter. Michael Rabo stayed in Melitene a month, and every 7 day the sultan sent him gifts. The two discussed questions about God, Christ, the prophets, the apostles, and other matters. When the sultan left Melitene, he invited the patriarch to accompany him, and on the way the patriarch engaged in a lengthy conversation with Kamal al-Din, a Persian philosopher traveling with the sultan. As the patriarch offered more testimonies from the Scriptures, the sultan praised the Syrians' wisdom and expressed joy over them. The patriarch attributes the attitude of Sultan Kilij Arslan II not to himself but to the mercy of God, who chose to comfort his small flock and the Syrian Church. Although the sultan's purpose in conferring such great honor on the Syrian patriarch is not known, his magnanimous attitude stands in contrast to that of the Christian prince, Joscelin II, who unashamedly robbed the Monastery of Mar Barsoum (74).

After he departed Melitene, Kilij Arslan invaded the Byzantine territory and captured twelve fortresses. Later, in a letter to Michael Rabo, the sultan attributed his victory over the Byzantines to the power of the patriarch's prayer:

> From Kilij Arslan, the great Sultan of Cappadocia, Syria and Armenia to Patriarch Michael, the friend of our state, who resides in the Monastery of Mar Barsoum and who prays for our success. We declare that God has glorified the affairs of our state at this time by your prayer. From ancient Philadelphia (Alashehr, Turkey), the son of the king of the Rum [apparently Emperor Andronicus Comnenus (1183-1185), grandson of Alexius I] came with his sons to offer submission to our throne. We dispatched with him an army of forty thousand men. The enemies gathered in large numbers in the Great City (Constantinople) and prepared [711] for war. But God gave victory to our army and chased and defeated the enemies of our state so badly that they will never be able to rise against us for a long time to come. Our army occupied the great fortress of Diyadin and controlled the region extending beyond the fortress and the seashore, which has become subject to us. Now we administer that region, which has not been subject to the Turks before, according to the laws of our state. It should be said that verily God has given us all this [victory] because of the power of your prayer. Therefore, we beseech you not to cease praying for our state. Farewell (75).

Never had a Byzantine emperor or a Frankish prince asked a Syrian patriarch to pray for his triumph over his Muslim enemies. The letter clearly shows the sultan's genuine belief in the power of prayer. Why else would Kilij Arslan have written this letter, knowing that the patriarch had no political or military power? Did he hope

to coax the Syrian Christians to support him? This is doubtful, for in his *Chronicle* Michael Rabo never even suggests that his people were military aggressors or voluntarily took part in the warfare involving the Byzantines, Franks, and Turks.

Footnotes

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1 Izz al-Din Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh*, Recueil des historiens des Croisades 1 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1872), 1: 602, and *al-Tarikh al-Bahir fi al-Dawla al-Atabegiyya*, Abd al-Qadir Ahmad Tulaymat, ed. (Cairo: Dar al-Kutub al-Haditha, 1963), 161; Al-Qadi Baha al-Din Ibn Shaddad, *al-Nawadir al-Sultaniyya wa al-Mahasin al-Yusufyya*, in *R.H.C. Or*., 3 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1884), 55; Abu Shama, *Kitab al-Rawdatayn fi Akhbar al-Dawlatayn* (Cairo: Matba'at Wadi al-Nil, 1870), 1: 228, follows Ibn Shaddad; Kamal al-Din Ibn al-Adim, *Zubdat al-Halab min Tarikh Halab*, Sami al-Dahhan, ed. (Beirut: al-Matba'a al-Catholikiyya, 1954), 2: 340; Jamal al-Din Muhammad ibn Salim ibn Wasil, *Mufarrij al-Kurub fi Akhbar Bani Ayyub*, Jamal al-Din al-Shayyal, ed. (Cairo: Matba'at Fu'ad aTAwwal, 1953), 1: 262-263; Gregorius Bar Hebraeus, *The Chronography of Bar Hebraeus*, E. W. Budge, trans. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1932), 107 of the Syriac text, and trans. Budge, 302, where *khawaniq* is rendered as strangury, a disease marked by the painful and slow discharge of urine; Reinhold Röhricht, *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem 1100-1291* (Innsbrug, 1898), 358; William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, trans. Emily Atwater Babcock and A.C. Krey, 1 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943), 2: 394, n. 62.

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2 Athir, *al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh*, 1: 576-577.

3 Athir, *al-Tarikh al-Bahir*, 162-175, *al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh*, 1: 602-606; Sulayman Sai'gh, Tarikh al-Mawsil, 1 (Cako; al-Matba'a al-Salafiyya, 1923), 179-181, 219; Sa'id al-Daywachi, *Tarikh al-Mawsil*, 1 (Baghdad: The Iraqi Academy, 1982): 335; Husayn Mu'nis, *Nur al-Din Mahmud: Sirat Muhahid Sadiq* (Cairo: al-Sharika al-'Arabiyya li al-Tiba'a wa al-Nahr, 1959), 180-182; N. Elisséeff, *Nur al-Din: un grand prince musulman de Syrie au temps des Croisades* (Damascus: Institut Francais de Damas, 1967), 64-65; Carole Hillenbrand, *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives* (New York: Routledge, 1999-2000), 132-141.

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4 Athir, *al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh*, 1: 588-589, and *al-Tarikh al-Bahir*, 169; Wasil, *Mufarrij*, 1: 235; Nicolas Iorga, *L'Armenie Cilicienne* (Paris: J. Gamber, 1930), 98.

5 K. L. Astarjian, *Tarikh al-Umma al-Armaniyya* (Mosul: Matba'at al-Ittihad al-Jadida, 1951), 214-215.

6 William of Tyre, *History*, 2: 386-387.

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7 Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 103 of the Syriac text, 292 of the English translation.

8 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, Translated by Gregorius Saliba Shamoun as *Tarikh Mar Mikha'il al-Suryani al-Kabir* (Damascus: Sidawi Printing House, 1996), 695-696; edited by J.B. Chabot as *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, Patriarche Jacobite d'Antioche, 1166-1199* (Paris: *n.p.*, 1899-1910), 337; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 103 of the Syriac text, 295 of the English translation.

9 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 710-711 of the Syriac text, 361 of the French translation; the Anonymous Edessan, 176-177 of the Syriac text, 205 of the Arabic translation; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 108 of the Syriac text, 305 of the English translation; Frederic Macler, "Armenia," *Cambridge Medieval History*, 4 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 1170-1171.

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10 The Anonymous Edessan, 169 of the Syriac text, 197-198 of the Arabic translation.

11 William of Tyre, *History*, 2: 394.

12 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 705-706 of the Syriac text, 353 of the French translation.

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13 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 705 of the Syriac text, 352 of the French translation; the Anonymous Edessan, 168 of the Syriac text, 196 of the Arabic translation.

14 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 697-698 of the Syriac text, 339-340 of the French translation; the Anonymous Edessan, 168 of the Syriac text, 195-196 of the Arabic translation.

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15 The rock is still lodged in the wall of the monastery, as this author has personally observed during several visits there.

16 The Anonymous Edessan, 169 of the Syriac text, 197 of the Arabic translation.

17 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 678-679 of the Syriac text, 340-341 of the French translation; Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical History*, 3: 263-265; Patriarch Ignatius Yaqub, *Dafaqat al-Tib fi Tarikh Dayr al-Qiddis Mar Matta al-Ajib* (Zahla, Lebanon: Matba'at al-Rasi, 1961), 88.

18 The Anonymous Edessan, 169 of the Syriac text, 197 of the Arabic translation. In the spring of 1951 this author, with the students of St. Ephraim the Syrian Seminary in Mosul and its principal Rev. Bulus Behnam (ordained a bishop the next year), visited this monastery, which stands partly in ruins. Moses Bar Kipha (d. 903), a prominent Syrian writer, philosopher, and theologian, was educated at the Barren Monastery, between Sinjar and Balad in northern Iraq. For his biography, see Patriarch Aphram Barsoum, *al-Lulu al-Manthur fi Tarikh al-Ulum wa al-Adab al-Syrianiyya*, 2nd ed. (Aleppo, Syria, 1956), 434-441, and trans. Matti Moosa with the title *The History of Syriac Literature and Sciences* (Pueblo, CO: Passeggiata Press, 2000, 131-133, rpt. Gorgias Press, 2003), 398-404.

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19 Athir, *al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh*, 1: 573-576, and *al-Tarikh al-Bahir*, 146; Abu Shama, *Kitab*, 1: 186, who follows Ibn al-Athir; Adim, *Zubdat al-Halab*, 2; 331; Wasil, *Mufarrij*, 1: 191-193; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 295, and *Tarikh Mukhtasar al-Duwal*, 213-214; Sa'igh, *Tarikh*, 1: 178-179; Imad al-Din al-Isfahani, *Sana al-Barq al-Shami*, abridged by Qiwam al-Din al-Fath ibn Ali al-Bundari, ed. Ramadan Sheshen (Beirut: Dar al-Kitab al-Jadid, 1971), 93-94. Another edition of this work is by Fathiyya al-Nabrawi (Cako: Maktabat al-Khanji bi Misr, 1979).

20 Athir, *al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh*, 1: 574-577, and *al-Tarikh al-Bahir*, 153; Adim, *Zubdat*, 2: 332-333; Wasil, *Mufarrij*, 1: 192-193; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 105-106 of the Syriac text and trans. Budge, 295-297, and

Tarikh Mukhtasar al-Duwal, ed. Anton Salihani (Beirut, 1958), 213-214.

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21 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 697 of the Syriac text, 340 of the French translation.

22 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 698 of the Syriac text, 342 of the French translation.

23 The Anonymous Edessan, 168 of the Syriac text, 196 of the Arabic translation; Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 710 of the Syriac text, 360-361 of the French translation; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 302 of the English translation.

24 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 698-700 of the Syriac text, 344-345 of the French translation.

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25 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 699-700 of the Syriac text, 344-345 of the French translation.

26 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 698-700 of the Syriac text, 344-345 of the French translation.

27 Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical History*, biography of Michael Rabo; Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 695 of the Syriac text, 337-338 of the French translation (because of a lacuna in the Syriac manuscript, the name of the eunuch is missing; Chabot, 337, apparently relying on Bar Hebraeus, writes the name as Amin al-Din, though Bar Hebraeus gives it as Mu'ayyid al-Din); the Anonymous Edessan, 168 of

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the Syriac text, 196 of the Arabic translation.

28 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 709 of the Syriac text, 360 of the French translation, gives the name as Bar Kumaib. Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical History*, biography of Michael Rabo, writes it as Bar Kulaib.

29 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 698 of the Syriac text, 340 of the French translation; Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical History*.

30 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 700-701 of the Syriac text, 347-349 of the French translation.

31 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 705-706 of the Syriac text, 352 of the French translation; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 107 of the Syriac text, 302 of the English translation.

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32 Isfahani, *Sana al-Barq al-Shami*, 161-162; Wasil, *Mufarrij*, 2: 9, appears to follow al-Isfahani. Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 709-710 of the Syriac text, 360-361 of the French translation, says Sayf al-Din Ghazi did the same thing after occupying Saruj and al-Raqqa.

33 The Anonymous Edessan, 171 of the Syriac text, 199 of the Arabic translation.

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34 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 707-709 of the Syriac text, 357-360 of the French translation; Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical History*, the biography of Michael Rabo.

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35 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 710-711 of the Syriac text, 362-363 of the French translation.

36 The Anonymous Edessan, 312 of the Syriac text, 350 of the Arabic translation.

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37 J. B. Chabot, ed., Michael Rabo, 384, n. 4 of the French translation, says Abu al-Qasim's son was Baha al-Din Mas'ud, later deposed by Salah al-Din (Saladin), but does not cite any source for this assertion.

38 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 721-723 of the Syriac text, 382-384 of the French translation.

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39 The Anonymous Edessan, 316-318 of the Syriac text, 355-357 of the Arabic translation.

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40 On the Syrian Monastery of Mary Magdalene, see Rev. Yuhanna Dolabani, "Al-Suryan fi Filistin aw Dayr Maryam al-Majdaliyya," *al-Hikma* 9 (June, 1928): 434-443.

41 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 722-724 of the Syriac text, 386-388 of the French translation; Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical History*, the biography of Michael Rabo.

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42 The Anonymous Edessan, 323 of the Syriac text, 362 of the Arabic translation.

43 See Yaqub, *Dafaqat al-Tib*, 85.

44 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 732 of the Syriac text, 402-403 of the French translation.

45 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 734 of the Syriac text, 406 of the French translation, says they paid him 2,000 gold pieces and 500 red pieces.

46 Yaqub, *Dafaqat al-Tib*, 85.

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47 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 734 of the Sytiac text, 406 of the French translation. Unfortunately, Rabo does not explain why he sought Saladin's intervention in the case of Bar Masih and what role Saladin played in this matter.

48 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 738 of the Syriac text, 412 of the French

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translation.

49 The Anonymous Edessan, 328-330, 340-341 of the Syriac text, 367-368, 379-380 of the Arabic translation.

50 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 710 of the Syriac text, 361 of the French translation; the Anonymous Edessan, 147 of the Syriac text, 202 of the Arabic translation, faults the governor of Mardin, rather than Miyafarqin. Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 107 of the Syriac text, 303 of the English translation, apparently places this event in the year 1174.

51 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 730 of the Syriac text, 369 of the French translation; the Anonymous Edessan, 147 of the Syriac text, 202 of the Arabic translation.

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52 The Anonymous Edessan, 210 of the Syriac text, 239 of the Arabic translation.

53 Athir, *al-Kamil*, 2: 126-127; Abu Shama, *Kitab*, 2: 227; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 132 of the Syriac text, 371 of the English translation, and *Tarikh Mukhtasar al-Duwal*, 229, 232; Daywachi, *Tarikh al-Mawsil*, 1: 309-310.

54 Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 132 of the Syriac text, 371 of the English translation, and *Tarikh Mukhtasar al-Duwal*, 229, 232.

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55 For details see Athir, *al-Kamil*, 2: 128-137.

56 Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 133 of the Syriac text, 374-375 of the English translation; Yaqub, *Dafaqat*, 94.

57 Yaqub, *Dafaqat*, 94

58 Sa'igh, *Tarikh al-Mawsil*, 1: 166; Daywachi, *Tarikh*, 1: 321-323.

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59 Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 159 of the Syriac text, 439-441, and *Tarikh Mukhtasar al-Duwal*, 282-284.

60 On Abu Nasr of Bartulli, see Barsoum, *al-Lulu*, 539-540, and trans. Moosa *History of Syriac*, 484-485.

61 Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 441 of the English translation.

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62 Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 160 of the Syriac text, 441 of the English translation.

63 Barsoum, *al-Lulu al-Manthur*, 540, trans. Moosa, Passagiata, 160 and Gorgias, 484 says he found a copy of this ode in Diyarbakr, copied in the handwriting of the Maphrian Barsoum II al-Ma'dani.

64 Yaqub, *Dafaqat al-Tib*, 96, gives a translation of this ode.

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65 The Anonymous Edessan, 335-345, 348-350 of the Syriac text, 374, 379, 380-384, 386-388 of the Arabic translation. Unfortunately, there are many gaps in the cited pages, and we lack information which would have shed more light on the dissension within the Syrian Church.

66 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 732 of the Syriac text, 400-402 of the French translation; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 114 of the Syriac text, 321-322 of the English translation.

67 Shaddad, *al-Nawadir al-Sultaniyya*, 87.

68 Shaddad, *al-Nawadir al-Sultaniyya*, 313; Abu Shama, *Kitab al-Rawdatayn fi Akhbar al-Dawlatayn*, 2: 199.

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69 Ambroise, *L'Estoire de la guerre Sainte*, ed. Gaston Paris, in *Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France* (Paris, 1897), 453-454, and trans. Merton Jerome Hubert in verse as *The Crusade of Richard Lion-Heart*, with notes by J. L. La Monte (New York: Octagon Books, 1976), 414-415, and trans. Edward Noble Stone as *The History of the Holy War* (Seattle: The University of Washington, 1939), 148-149; *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, trans, and ed. Helen J. Nicholson as *Chronicle of the Third Crusade* (Ashgate, 1997), 359.

70 The Anonymous Edessan, 195 of the Syriac text, 225 of the Arabic translation.

71 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 732 of the Syriac text, 400-402 of the French translation; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 114 of the Syriac text, 321-322 of

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the English translation.

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72 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 710-712 of the Syriac text, 362-364 of the French translation.

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73 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 725 of the Syriac text, 391 of the French translation; the Anonymous Edessan, ed. Albert Abouna, 187 of the Syriac text, 216 of the Arabic translation, esp. n. 4. Abouna erroneously says that Kilij Arslan imposed a tax on the Monastery of Mar Barsoum.

74 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 725-727 of the Syriac text, 390-393 of the French translation.

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75 Michael Rabo, *Makthabanuth Zabne*, 728 of the Syriac text, 394-395 of the French translation.

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Matti Moosa's

Al-Kindi's Role in the Transmission of Greek Knowledge to the Arabs

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Footnotes

[Page 1]

The information compiled by ancient and modern writers on the life and works of Abu Yusuf Ya'qub ibn Ishaq al-Kindi, the only Muslim philosopher of Arab descent, is abundant, but not always consistent. The reader who is interested in the life and works of this eminent learned man is baffled by the evident discrepancies in the dates of his birth and death, particularly those given by modern writers (1). Despite these contradictory dates, [2] it is certain that al-Kindi flourished in the first half of the ninth century and was a contemporary of three Abbasid Caliphs, namely al-Ma'mun (813-33), al-Mu'tasim (833-42) and al-Mutawakkil (847-61).

The era in which al-Kindi lived was unique in the history of Islamic thought. This era, particulary under al-Ma'mun, was at the beginning marked by a distinct liberality of thinking in matters concerning religion and philosophy. Under the patronage of this Caliph, the rationalists, *al-Mu'tazilah*, expressed freely their tenets, among which was the opinion that the Qur'an was not eternal before the worlds, but was created in time. By the end of his caliphate, however, al-Ma'mun was suppressing any doctrine except that of *al-Mu'tazilah*. In this era, also, the practice of translating Greek books of philosophy and sciences into Syriac and Arabic was at its peak.

Al-Kindi, who was educated at al-Basrah and Baghdad, must have known about these translations and made use of the translated works in his writings. He must also have devoted his time to the study of philosophy in an atmosphere fraught with theological, polemic and doctrinal disputes. Among the disputants were *al-Mu'tazilah*, whose influence on the philosophy of al-Kindi is most conspicuous.

Al-Kindi was the first purely Arab philosopher who devoted himself intensively to Greek philosophy and science. An able and prolific writer, he is said to have written no less than three hundred treatises covering the whole spectrum of knowledge in his time. His writings dealt with Peripatetic, Neo-platonic, snd Neo-pythagorean philosophies. They also covered other disciplines, such as logic, mathematics, medicine, alchemy, optics, political economy, physics, metaphysics, and theories of music. He was so erudite and prolific that ibn al-Nadim considered him "the only excellent man in his time who covered the entire ancient sciences" (1).

[3] It would be interesting to know whether, in exploring different fields of learning, al-Kindi relied on original Greek and Syriac sources, or whether he used Arabic translations from both these languages. If the answer to the first question is affirmative, then it becomes obvious that al-Kindi must have known Greek and Syriac and the problem becomes simple. If, on the other hand, his studies were mainly based on translations from these two languages, the question arises as to how much Greek and Syriac he knew, and to what extent he relied upon the works of professional translators.

Nowhere in his voluminous writings does al-Kindi mention that he knew Greek or Syriac. It might be argued that if he had known these languages, he would at least have referred to the original Greek text or the Syriac

translation. However, this argument is not decisive, since in some cases, Arab and Muslim writers copied each other without referring to the source from which they had drawn their information. What makes the question more complicated is that some modern western and oriental writers either mentioned al-Kindi as a translator without specifying anything he allegedly translated, or they credited him with the translation of Greek works into Arabic. Max Mayerhof states that

> Arab biographers mention Abu Yusuf Ya'qub ibn Ishaq al-Kindi among the great translators. Of his translations, very little is known except that of Ptolemy's *Geography*. No translations which he himself completed have come down to us; even his role as a translator is completely unknown (1).

Thus, while Meyerhof is not certain about al-Kindi's role as a translator, he does not hesitate to credit him with the translation of Ptolemy's *Geography*. T. J. De Boer writes "[He] al-Kindi is mentioned as a translator of Greek works into Arabic " (2). In his [4] article on al-Kindi in the *Encyclopedia of Islam*, De Boer makes it clear that al-Kindi "served in various capacities under Ma'mun and Mu'tasim as a translator or editor of Greek philosophical works" (1). Philip Hitti also clearly states that "Ptolemy's *Geography* was translated into Arabic either directly or through Syriac several times, notably by Ya'qub ibn Ishaq al-Kindi before 874, and by Thabit ibn Qurrah, who died in 901" (2). Jurji Zaydan not only considers al-Kindi a skillful translator, but also gives the reason why al-Kindi was not mentioned among the translators in his time. "He [al-Kindi] made many translations for himself. He was regarded as one of the skillful translators, but was not mentioned among these translators because he did not make translation his profession" (3). Unfortunately, these writers refer us to no source in making these statments, and we must turn elsewhere for more information on the subject.

According to 'Abd al-Rahman Badawi, Dawud ibn Sulayman ibn Hassan, the Muslim Andalusian writer known as ibn Juljul, was the first writer ever to mention al-Kindi as a translator. Badawi refers to ibn Juljul's book, *Tabaqat al-'Atibba' wa al-Hukama'* (Categories of Physicians and Sages), and particularly to the part containing the biography of al-Kindi, in which ibn Juljul states that al-Kindi "translated many philosophical books, explained their intricacies and adapted and expounded the incomprehensible and difficult parts of them" (4). Ibn Juljul does not mention by name any book translated by al-Kindi, nor does he mention from what language he made these philosophical translations. Moreover, ibn Juljul has erroneously made al-Kindi [5] the author of *Kitab al-Jughrafiyah fi Ma'rifat al-'Aqalim al-Ma'mura* (The Book Concerning the Knowledge of the Inhabited Regions), which is none other than Ptolemy's *Geography* (1). To pursue this point more thoroughly, Badawi should have investigated the sources from which ibn Juljul drew his information about al-Kindi's role as a translator. This, however, is not an easy task because the sources on this particular question are either unavailable or confused.

Ibn Juljul, a native of Cordova, who probably died after the year 394 A. H. /A. D. 992, was the first Spanish Muslim to write the biographies of physicians and sages, including Abu Yusuf Ya'qub ibn Ishaq al-Kindi (2). From the life of ibn Juljul, we know that he was a man of wide knowledge, particularly in the medical sciences. Although he lived under the 'Umayyad caliphs, 'Abd al-Rahman al-Nasir and al-Hakam II al-Mustansir in Spain, yet he achieved fame only under the Caliph Hisham II al-Mu'ayyad (976-1009) and became his private physician. In the time of al-Mu'ayyad, ibn Juljul wrote most of his works, including *Tabaqat al-'Atibba' wa al-Hukama'*, which he completed in A.D. 987, the same year in which the celebrated Ishaq ibn al-Nadim (d. 995) wrote his famous *al-Fihrist* in Baghdad. Like ibn Juljul's work, *al-Fihrist* contained, among other things, the biographies of physicians and sages. There is no doubt that these two men compiled their books separately, neither knowing the endeavour of the other. However, since ibn al-Nadim lived and wrote in Baghdad and was in direct contact with the intellectual activities (including translations) in that city, he was in a much better position to obtain information from original sources about learned men, including al-Kindi, than was ibn Juljul, who lived in Spain and had no contact with the translation activities in Baghdad. But a study of *al-Fihrist* shows that the author, who devoted several pages to the life and works of al-Kindi, mentions nothing about al-Kindi as a translator, nor [6] does he list any book translated by al-Kindi (1). It is curious that ibn Juljul, who was far away from Baghdad, where al-Kindi lived and worked, says that he had translated many philosophical books, while ibn al-Nadim, who lived and worked in Baghdad, is completely silent on this point.

Where did ibn Juljul obtain such information? The study of ibn Juljul's book shows that he relied on both oral and written traditions. In some of the biographies, he reports stories and information related to him by some of

his learned contemporaries, who had travelled to the Eastern Islamic countries (Egypt and other lands of the Abbasid empire) and lived and studied in those countries for many years. Among these men were Ahmad ibn Yunus al-Harrani and his brother 'Umar, who journeyed to the East in 941 and visited al-Basrah and Baghdad, where they remained ten years, studying medicine under Thabit ibn Sinan ibn Thabit ibn Qurrah. They returned to Spain in 962 (2). Another learned man, Abu Zakariyya Yahya ibn Malik ibn Kaysan, known as al-'Ayidi (d. 985), also journeyed to the East in 958 and visited Egypt, Baghdad, al-Basrah and al-Ahwaz. He remained in the East about twenty years, during which he compiled a great deal of information about it. Upon his return to Spain in 979, people from all walks of life came to listen to his stories and accounts about the East at a mosque in Cordova. Ibn Juljul apparently met him, because he relates that al-'Ayidi recited to him some poetry personally (3). Another learned man was [7] Muhammad ibn 'Abdun al-Jabali al-'Adadi, who travelled to the East in 958 and visited al-Basrah and al-Fustat, where he was put in charge of the hospital. He returned to Spain in 970 (1). Al-Adadi was ibn Juljul's associate in the service of the Caliph al-Mustansir and his son Hisham II al-Mu'ayyad. Undoubtedly, ibn Juljul must have listened personally to these men relating their experiences and observations about the East. Ahmad ibn Yunus al-Harrani, who visited al-Basrah, told ibn Juljul about the shops and market place in that city (2). Whether these men related to ibn Juljul any specific information concerning the lives and works of physicians and learned men in the East like al-Kindi, is a matter of speculation.

As for the written tradition, ibn Juljul refers to the sources which were available to him in compiling his book. Before mentioning these sources, however, it would be interesting for our purpose to know whether ibn Juljul had read any of al-Kindi's writings. In his biography of Euclid, ibn Juljul relates the same account which al-Kindi had given in one of his treatises about how Euclid came to write his book, which ibn Juljul calls simply "The book ascribed to Euclid" (3). Although ibn Juljul gives no title for this book and does not mention a specific treatise in which al-Kindi relates how Euclid wrote it, yet we know from ibn al-Nadim's biography of Euclid that this book must be the *Elements* (4). We also know from the same biography that ibn al-Nadim, in relating the same account given by ibn Juljul of how Euclid came to write his *Elements*, has actually quoted al-Kindi's treatise *On the Purposes of the Book of Euclid*, which he lists among the writing of al-Kindi (5). Furthermore, Ibn Juljul states in the introduction to his book [8] on the categories of physicians and sages that he has acquired the information which he incorporated in his work through the study of ancient books such as *Kitab al-'Uluf fi Buyut al-Ibadat* (The Book of Thousands or Millennaries dealing with the Places of Worship) by the astrologer Abu Ma'shar (d. 885). Further, he relied on *Kitab Horoshioush* (Orosius) the relater of stories and *Kitab al-Qarwaniqa* (Chronica) by Yarunum al-Tarjuman (Jerome, the Translator) who is none other than St. Jerome. He also states that he utilized chronicles of Greek sages, from which he was able to determine the position of each one of them, and under which state and monarch each lived (1). Of these sources, the one written by Abu Ma'shar is important to our thesis.

This Abu Ma'shar quoted by Ibn Juljul must be Ja'far Ibn Muhammad Ibn 'Umar al-Balkhi (d. 885) known in the West as Albumasar. He was not only an eminent astrologer, but also the most informed person about Persian biographies and the chronicles of other ancient nations (2). He began his career by studying *Hadith* but turned his attention to astrology when he was past forty-seven. According to many Muslim biographies and historians, Abu Ma'shar wrote numerous astronomical books. He also wrote *Kitab al-Uluf* which contains "the chronicles of ancient western nations" (3). What is meant here by "western nations" is probably the Greeks and the Romans, who inhabited the lands lying west of the Muslim countries. Most of this book, which contained historical and astronomical and astrological information, has unfortunately been lost. Only thirty pages containing astronomical information, survive in the British Museum MS. Or. 3557; another copy at the Bibliotheque National in Paris, MS. 2581, is probably a copy of the British Museum MS (4).

[9] That ibn Juljul used *Kitab al-Uluf* is evident from his introduction to *Tabaqat al-'Atibba 'wa al-Hukama'* But there is no way of knowing whether in his account of al-Kindi he has quoted Abu Ma'shar, since this particular book by Abu Ma'shar is lost. However, Qadi Sa'id in his *Tabaqat al-'Umam* mentions that "Abu Ma'shar is reported to have said in *Kitab al-Mudhakarat* (Discussions) by Shadhan ibn Bahr that the skillful translators in Islam are four: Hunayn ibn Ishaq, Ya'qub ibn Ishaq al-Kindi, Thabit ibn Qurrah al-Harrani and 'Umar ibn Farrukhan al-Tabari (1). In *'Uyun al-'Anba'* ibn 'Usaybi'ah repeats this same statement by Qadi Sa'id and adds that al-Kindi had translated many books (2). Like ibn Juljul, ibn Abi 'Usaybi'ah does not mention any specific work translated by al-Kindi. This statement by Abu Ma'shar, in which al-Kindi is presented as a translator, has

been mentioned neither by ibn al-Nadim in his *al-Fihrist*, nor by al-Qifti in *Tarikh al-Hukama'*. However, al-Qifti mentions 'Umar ibn al-Farrukhan al-Tabari as one of the chief translators. He also states that Abu Ma'shar mentioned in *Kitab al-Mudhakarat* that al-Fadl ibn Sahl, the minister of al-Ma'mun called 'Omar ibn al-Farrukhan from his home town and introduced him to the Caliph, for whom he translated many books. Al-Qifi goes on to say that Umar wrote many books on astronomy and philosophy, including a commentary on *The Four Treatises of Ptolemy*, and that this treatise was translated by Yahya ibn al-Batriq (3). Going back to ibn al-Nadim, [10] we find he says nothing about 'Umar ibn al-Farrukhan as a translator. But he does say that 'Umar is the commentator on *The Four Treatises of Ptolemy*, and that this treatise was translated for him by Yahya ibn al-Batriq (1). This makes it clear that either ibn al-Nadim knew nothing about the role of 'Umar ibn al-Farrukhan as a translator, or the copy of *Kitab al-Mudhakarat* by Shadhan ibn Bahr was not available to him. Further study shows that in his biography of Rabban al-Tabari, al-Qifti once more quotes Abu Ma'shar about translators. He states that

> "When Abu Ma'shar was asked about *Matarih al-Shu'a'* (The Places Where the Rays Fall) he mentioned them and added that the translators of the copies (of *al-Mijisti*) from the Greek mentioned neither these *Matarih al-Shu'a'* nor where they fall; they were mentioned only in the copy of *al-Mijisti* translated by the physician Rabban al-Tabari." Abu Ma'shar continues to write that "*Matrah al-Shu'a'* of Ptolemy was not mentioned in the old copies (of al-Mijisti) nor was it known by the translator" (2).

Al-Qifti stops at this point without mentioning who these translators were. However, ibn Abi 'Usaybi'ah, who also wrote that *Matrah al-Shu'a'* of Ptolemy was not mentioned by old copies of *al-Majisti*, adds the following : "and it [*Matrah al-Shu'a'*] was not known by Thabit (ibn Qurrah), Hunayn al-Qalusi (sic), al-Kindi, nor by any one of these great translators" (3). This indicates that Abu Ma'shar, not ibn Juljul, as Badawi has thought, was first to mention al-Kindi as a translator. But neither Abu Ma'shar, if we may judge from the previous statements, nor ibn Juljul mention any specific work translated by al-Kindi. It is these statements by Abu Ma'shar, quoted by al-Qifti and ibn 'Abi 'Usaybi'ah, which have led contemporary writers to believe that al-Kindi must have been a translator.

As to the validity of Abu Ma'shar's evidence, we learn from ibn al-Nadim that he was a distinguished astrologer and a writer of [11] many books. He was also a contemporary of al-Kindi and at a time even antagonized him, aroused the public against him, and calumniated him for engaging in philosopical pursuits. Later, however, he was reconciled with him and even studied under him (1). Although ibn al-Nadim does not mention *Kitab al-'Uluf* by Abu Ma'shar, yet it is clear that ibn Juljul used a copy of this book, in which the author probably related some information about the lives and works of physicians and learned men, including al-Kindi. This question, however, will not be settled until a copy of this book becomes available.

This is not the whole story, for al-Qifti confronts us with a statement which unequivocally makes al-Kindi a translator of Ptolemy's *Geography*. In listing the books of Ptolemy which have been translated into Arabic, al-Qifti states that "the book of *Geography Concerning the Inhabited Regions of the Earth* has been rendered in a good translation into Arabic by al-Kindi; it also exists in Syriac" (2). This statement must have caused Gustav Flugel and others to believe that al-Kindi had translated Ptolemy's *Geography* into Arabic (3). But it would be appropriate to ask in this regard, what was al-Qifti's source? Surely it was not ibn Juljul, who was quoted not only by al-Qifti, but by other biographers of physicians and sages; for ibn Juljul does not mention a specific book translated by al-Kindi. On the other hand, no source, not even ibn al-Nadim, lists a book bearing this title as written by al-Kindi. What makes the clarification of ibn Juljul's statement even more difficult is that only one version of *Tabaqat al-'Atibba 'wa al-Hukama'* exists.

In returning to *al-Fihrist*, we find ibn al-Nadim has this to say regarding the translation of Ptolemy's *Geography*: "He [Ptolemy] has a *Book of Geography Concerning the Inhabited Regions and the* [12] *Description of the Earth* in eight treatises, which had been badly translated for al-Kindi, but was later excellently translated into Arabic by Thabit" (1). This statement clearly shows that al-Kindi did not translate Ptolemy's *Geography* but it was translated for him by someone, and that this translation was bad. Ibn al-Nadim also adds that a copy of this book exists in Syriac. This Syriac copy is perhaps the same one which Thabit translated into Arabic. What is important in this context is that al-Qifti not only copied ibn al-Nadim's work, but also distorted it by making al-

Kindi the translator of Ptolemy's *Geography*. That al-Qifti has copied ibn al-Nadim is evident from the fact that no known source but *al-Fihrist* ever mentioned al-Kindi in this particular regard. It is possible, however, that al-Qifti had originally copied the former statement by ibn al-Nadim verbatim, but later the words "had been badly translated [for al-Kindi]" were dropped either by al-Qifti himself or by copyists. However, a careful comparison of the texts of ibn al-Nadim and al-Qifti reveals that al-Qifti has undoubtedly misquoted ibn al-Nadim (2). Steinschneider has rightfully observed in this regard that if the translation of Ptolemy's *Geography* had been a good translation, ibn al-Nadim would not have described it as a bad translation (3). On the other hand, Flugel's observation that some writers were critical of al-Kindi's translation of Ptolemy's *Geography* while other writers praised it seems to be groundless, since ibn al-Nadim never mentioned al-Kindi as a translator (4).

[13] So far we have seen that some ancient sources presented al-Kindi as a translator, but without specifying his translated works. Al-Qifti, however, who credits him with the translation of Ptolemy's *Geography*, has most likely misquoted the original sources from which he drew his information about al-Kindi's alleged translation of Ptolemy's *Geography*.

A study of the basic sources from which al-Kindi worked shows that this distinguished Arab philosopher relied on Arabic translations from the Greek and Syriac languages. From the long list of Aristotle's works, provided by Ibn al-Nadim, we discover that al-Kindi has either commented on or revised the Arabic translations of some of Aristotle's writings (1). For example, he made a compendium of Aristotle's *Categories*, which had been translated into Arabic by Hunayn Ibn Ishaq. He also made compendiums of Aristotle's *De Interpretatione*, which had been translated from Greek into Syriac by Hunayn, and from Syriac into Arabic by Ishaq Ibn Hunayn, as well as of Aristotle's *Apodeictica* and *Poetica*. And he wrote a commentary on the *Analytica Priora*, which had been translated into Arabic by Theodore and revised by Hunayn, and on the *Analytica Posteriora*, part of which was translated from Greek into Syriac by Hunayn; later the whole Greek text was translated into Syriac by Ishaq Ibn Hunayn. Ibn al-Nadim, in listing the works of Aristotle, also mentions that Autolycus has a book on *De Sphaera quae movet* revised by al-Kindi (2). This is confirmed by al-Qifti (3), and by Barhebraeus, who writes that he has read in an old anonymous Syriac book that what survived of Autolycus' works is *Kitab al-Kurah al-Mutaharrikah* as revised by al-Kindi (4). We also learn from Ibn al-Nadim that the Pseudo-Aristotelian *'Uthulujiyya* (Theology) was translated from Greek into Arabic by 'Abd al-Masih Ibn Na'imah al-Himsi, and was [14] revised by Abu Yusuf Ya'qub Ibn Ishaq al-Kindi for Ahmad Ibn al-Mu'tasim bi Allah (1). We also learn from Ibn al-Nadim that parts of Aristotle's *Metaphysics* were translated from Greek into Arabic for al-Kindi by 'Ustath (2). These quotations give no indication however, that al-Kindi ever undertook the translation of a Greek book of philosophy or science into Arabic; if he could have done this, it is unlikely that he should have had 'Ustath translate for him parts of Aristotle's *Metaphysics*. What al-Kindi did was either to summarize or revise the Arabic of translated works. This is not hard to explain, since most, if not all, of those translators were Christian Syrians whose Arabic was inadequate, especially when it came to finding Arabic words equivalent to the Greek terms.

That al-Kindi must have had some knowledge of the Greek language is evident from the treatise he wrote on the *Quantity of the Books of Aristotle and What is Required for the Acquisition of Philosophy* (3). In this treatise, al-Kindi not only gives a definition of Greek terms which, to be sure, were new to the Arabic language, but he also finds the Arabic equivalents of Greek terms. Furthermore, he gives an explanation of the origins and derivation of these terms. For example, he explains that *analutika* (*analytica*) means *al-'Aks min al-Ra's* because it derives from *ana*, which means "upwards" or "from bottom to top" (i.e. *ra's*), and the verb *luo*, which means to "break" or "resolve"; therefore, *al-'Aks* in this context means "breaking" or "resolving". In other words, *analutika (al-'Aks min al-Ra's*) means "to break things down to their component parts"; that is, "to analyze" (4). He also gives *al-Idah* as the equivalent of the Greek term *apodeiktike*, and explains that this term is taken from the verb *apodeikumai*, which means [15] "to demonstrate" (1). He also goes on to give the Arabic equivalent of other Greek terms such as *hayula, falsafah, 'ustuqus*, etc.

But how do we account for the phraseology of al-Kindi, which in some parts of his writings seems to be twisted, contorted, and so strange that one is inclined to doubt its Arabic origin? Abu Ridah, who edited several treatises by al-Kindi, seems sure that al-Kindi's phraseology is Arabic; in fixing such terms, he argues, al-Kindi sets about to revive ancient Arabic words which have been dropped from use, such as *'ays*. which in general indicates the

bringing into existence (2). Then al-Kindi goes on to make from *'ays* a plural form *'aysat*, and even derives a verb *'ayyasa*, and a verbal noun *ta'yis*; a past participle *mu'ayyis*; and an active participle *mu'ayyas*, all of which pertain to the act of creation or being created. Consequently, the definition of the true creative act, to al-Kindi, becomes "*ta'yis al-'Aysat 'an lays*" (3), that is, "the creation of beings from nothing". Abu Ridah also maintains that al-Kindi has freely used the Arabic language by deriving the verb *hawwa, yuhawwi*, that is, "to create" and *tahawwa, yatahawwa*, that is, "to be created" from the independent personal pronoun *huwa*, that is, "he". He also derives from the same independent pronoun the term *haww* and *hawiyya*, which again indicates the act of creation or existence. Abu Ridah continues to say that "despite what seems to be abnormal language, al-Kindi is well-versed in philology; his derivations may strike the modern reader as strange, but if he repairs to the dictionaries, he will find that they are philologically correct" (4). Abu Ridah concludes that "no translator or philosopher succeeding al-Kindi has been known to have laid down or used these terms in such unique astonishing manner" (5).

[16] It is difficult to accept the notion that these terms are either Arabic or of Arabic origin. Likewise, it is doubtful whether al-Kindi intended to restore archaic terms through their derivative forms. Surely, al-Kindi could have used purely Arabic terms to explain the act of creating or being created, rather than use such abnormal language. It is likely that these terms, as Patriarch Ignatius Jacob III maintains, are of Aramaic-Syriac origin.

In his article "Al-Kindi wa al-Suryaniyyah" Jacob cites several terms such as *'ays, lays, hawwa, haww*, along with other terms, to show that in using them, al-Kindi has, in fact, relied on Syriac translations of Greek works (1). Moreover, al-Kindi knew very little or no Syriac, not enough to be able to read Syriac texts. As the translators of Greek works in the ninth century were Syrians whose Arabic was inadequate, it was natural that many Arabized Syriac terms crept into their translations. In establishing the Syriac origin of these terms, Jacob refers us to Syriac dictionaries, particularly the dictionary of al-Hasan Ibn Bahlul in the tenth century, as well as to the treatise *On the Soul* by Moses bar Kipha, who was a contemporary of al-Kindi, and to church rituals in which these terms are used (2).

Among these terms cited by Jacob is *'ays*, believed to have come from the Syriac *ith* or *ithio*, meaning "being, existing," but especially "self-existing" (3). It was frequently used by Syrian theological writers. In his treatise *On the Creation of Angels*, Moses bar Kipha writes: "*'Aloho man ithaw wo ithaw wnehwe ithaw mallun dayn ithaw aminoith dlo shuroyo wlo shulomo*", that is, "From the beginning God existed, is existing and will still exist; He will eternally exist without beginning and without end" (4). This [17] to be sure, is very similar to al-Kindi's statement "God, may He be praised, exists and is still existing (*'ays*), and that He is the creator (*mu'ayyis*) of all beings (*'aysat*) from nothing (*lays*) (1). The reason why "*'ays*" crept into Arabic with an "s" instead of a "th" at the end is that many Syrians from old times tended to pronounce many words ending with "th" by substituting the letter "s". Such pronunciation exists to this day in the Syrian villages of Tur 'Abdin and nothern Mesopotamia.

Another term is *lays*, which al-Kindi uses to indicate "nothingness" or "nonexistence". It is true that *lays* is an Arabic incomplete verb, always used in the negative sense, but certainly it does not indicate "non-existence" or "nothingness," nowhere do Arabic dictionaries cite *lays* in this sense. Abu Ridah, who credits al-Kindi with seeking to restore archaic terms, attempts to establish the origin of this verb by breaking it down into two components: *la*, which means "not", and *'ays*, which means "exist"; therefore, *lays* means "does not exist" (2). Yet the origin of *lays* is perhaps more likely to be found in the Syriac *layth* (the letter t in *layth* is always hard, which is a composite of *la* meaning "not" and *ith* meaning "exist", that is, "does not exist". The derivatives of *layth* are *laytoyutho* "non-existence", or "nothingness", *ithlayti* "to be reduced to nothingness", etc. (3).

Al-Kindi also uses the verb *hawwa* meaning "to create", and calls God *al-Muhawwi*, "the Creator", and *tahawwi*, "creation" or "coming into existence" (4). This verb *hawwa* comes from the Syriac [18] *hwo* meaning "to be" or "to exist". Its derivations are *hwoyo*, "existence", *hwoye*, "coming into existence", *methhawyono*, "the things which come into existence," and *methhawyonutho*, "the act of coming into existence" (1). It is likely that al-Kindi used these terms according to the Eastern Syriac method of pronunciation with the *ptah*, rather than with the Western Syriac pronunciation with the *zqaf*; consequently, he wrote *hawwa* and *hwayya* instead of *hwo* and *hwoye* (2). Al-Kindi also uses the word *kuthmat*, which by the way has been recorded by Abu Ridah as *akmat*, to

indicate "spot," or "speckle" or "stain" of the body (3). This is again a Syriac word, *kuthmotho* in the Western Syriac pronunciation or *kuthmatha* according to Eastern Syriac pronunciation, meaning "spot" or "speckle", and is particularly used in a metaphoric sense which indicates sin (4).

Al-Kindi apparently found these Arabized Syriac words in his translated sources, and used them for their technical significations in the form in which they occurred.

In summary, the historical and linguistic evidence seems to support the hypothesis that al-Kindi, while capable of explaining certain philosophical terms which had been absorbed into Arabic, must have relied on the translations of others in his study of Greek philosophy.

Footnotes

[Page 1]

1 In the *History of Philosophy in Islam*, trans. Edward R. Jones (London, 1961), p. 99, T. G. De Boer does not seem to be sure about the dates of al-Kindi's birth and death, but in his article on al-Kindi in the *Encyclopedia of Islam*, (Leyden, 1927), II, 1019, he states that "al-Kindi was probably born in the middle of the ninth century and that he served in various capacities at the 'Abbasid court under Ma'mun and Mu'tasim, as a translator or editor of Greek and philosophical works." Philip Hitti in his *History of the Arabs*, 7th ed. (New York, 1960), p. 370 states that al-Kindi was born about the middle of the ninth century; Alfred Cuillaume in the *Legacy of Islam*, (Oxford, 1931), p. 251 fixes the year 850 as the probable date of al-Kindi's birth. If we suppose that al-Kindi was born about the middle of the ninth century, as these writers have speculated, it would be unlikely for our philosopher to have flourished and even served in various capacities under al-Ma'mun (d. 833) and under al-Mu'tasim (d. 842). It would also be unlikely that he flourished under al-Mutawakkil (d. 861). Other writers like Max Meyerhof in *Von Alexandrien nach Bagdad*, trans, into Arabic by 'Abd al-Rahman Badawi in *Al-Turath al-Yunani fi al-Hadarah al-Islamiyyah* (Cairo, 1940) p. 59 states that al-Kindi died after 870; Hanna al-Fakhuri and Khalil al-Jurr in *Tarikh al-Falsafah al-Arabiyya* (Beirut, 1958), 11, p. 64 think that he was born in 801 and died in 866; Ferdinand Totel in the Arabic dictionary *al-Munjid* (Beirut, 1960), p. 445 fixes the year of his death at 873.

[Page 2]

1 Ibn al-Nadim, *Kitab al-Fihrist*, ed. Gustav Flugel, (Leipzig, 1871), p. 255.

[Page 3]

1 Max Meyerhof, *Von Alexandrien nach Baghdad*, trans, into Arabic by 'Abd al-Rahman Badawi in *al-Turath al-Yunani fi al-Hadarah al-lslamiyyah* (Cairo, 1940), pp. 58-60.

2 T. J. De Boer, *The History of Philosophy in Islam*, trans. Edward R. Jones, (London, 1961), p. 98.

[Page 4]

1 T. J. De Boer, "Al-Kindi", *Encyclopedia of Islam*, (Leyden, 1927), II, p. 1019.

2 Philip Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, 7th edition, (New York, 1960), p. 384.

3 Jurji Zaydan, *Tarikh al-Tamaddun al-Islami*, ed. Husayn Mu'nis (Cairo, 1958), III. pp. 196-7.

4 Ibn Juljul, *Tabaqat al-'Atibba' wa al-Hukama*, ed. Fu'ad Sayyid (Cairo, 1955), p. 73.

[Page 5]

1 Ibn Juljul, *Tabaqat*, p. 74.

2 This information about ibn Juljul is derived from the introduction by Fu'ad Sayyid to his edition of ibn Juljul's *Tabaqat al 'Atibba' wa al-Hukama*.

[Page 6]

1 Ibn al-Nadim, *Kitab al-Fihrist*, ed. Gustav Flugel, pp. 225-61. In compiling his book, ibn al-Nadim undoubtedly utilized the works of Hunayn ibn Ishaq (d. 873) *Nawadir al-Falasifah* (The Brainticklers of Philosophers) and that of his son Ishaq ibn Hunayn (d. 910) *Tarikh al-'Atibba' wa al-Hukama'* (History of Physicians and Sages). See Fu'ad Sayyid's introduction to ibn Juljul's *Tabaqat*.

2 Ibn Juljul. pp. 112-3.

3 Al-'Ayidi is Abu Zakariyya Yahya ibn Malik ibn 'Ayid ibn Kaysan ibn Ma'n ibn 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Salih known as al-'Ayidi, a native of Tartusha. He was born in 912 and died in 979. See ibn Juljul, p. 105 and Fu'ad Sayyid's note 16 on the biography of al-'Ayidi.

[Page 7]

1 Called al-'Adadi because he used to work with arithmetic or the science of numbers (*'Adad*) hence the generic name 'Adadi. See his biography in ibn Juljul, p. 115 and the notes of Fu'ad Sayyid. Ibn Abi 'Usaybi'ah erroneously calls him al-'Udhri, see *'Uyun al-'Anaba' fi Tabaqat al-'Atibba'* (Beirut, Dar al-Fikr, 1955), III. , p. 74.

2 Ibn Juljul, p. 113.

3 Ibn Juljul, ed. Fu'ad Sayyid. p. 39.

4 *Al-Fihrist*, ed. Flugel. p. 266.

5 *Al-Fihrist*, ed. Flugel, p. 257.

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1 Ibn Juljul, pp. 1-3.

2 For the life and works of Abu Ma'shar al-Balkhi see *al-Fihrist*, ed. Flugel, p. 277 and al-Qifti, *Tarikh al-Hukama'* ed. J. Lippert (Leipzig, 1903), pp. 152-4.

3 See *Muntakhab Siwan al-Hikma* by Abu Sulayman al-Sijzi, quoted by Fu'ad Sayyid in his introduction to ibn Juljul's *Tabaqat*.

4 See Fu'ad Sayyid's introduction to ibn Juljul's *Tabaqat*.

[Page 9]

1 Qadi Sa'id, *Tabaqat al-'Umam*, ed. P. Louis Cheikho, (Beirut. 1912), 37. See also D. M. Dunlop, "Arabic Sciences in the West", *Pakistan Historical Society*, (Karachi, 1958) [*Pakistan Historical Society Publication No. 35.*], pp. 8-9. As to Shadhan ibn Bahr, he is Abu Sa'd (Aposateis) the interlocutor of Abu Ma'shar in *Kitab al-Mudhakarat fi 'ilm al-Nujum* (Brockelman, sup.-Bd. I, p. 395). There is an article by Prof Lynn Thorndike in

Isis, (xvi (1954), 22-3, entitled "Albumasar ibn Sadan", which gives a resume of the Latin translation of *Mudhakarat*, which was actually called by the peculiar title *Albumasar ibn Sadan*. The *Mudhakarat* is also referred to in *Rasa'il Ikhwan al-Safa'* (Cairo, 1347/1928), IV, 325.

2 Ibn Abi 'Usaybi'ah, *'Uyun al-'Anba'* (Beirut, 1965), II, p. 179. See also D. M. Dunlop "Arabic Sciences in the West," *op. cit.*, pp. 8-9.

3 Al-Qifti, *Tarikh al-Hukama*, ed. Lippert, pp. 241-2.

[Page 10]

1 *Al-Fihrist*, ed. Flugel, p. 237.

2 Al-Qifti, ed. Lippert, p. 187.

3 Ibn Abi 'Usaybi'ah, *'Uyun aI-'Anba'*, III. p. 342.

[Page 11]

1 *Al-Fihrist*, ed. Flugel, p. 261.

2 Al-Qifti, ed. Lippert, p. 98.

3 See Gustav Flugel, *Al-Kindi genannt der Philosoph der Araber*, in the *Abhandlungen fur die Kunde des Morgenlandes* (Leipzig, 1957), p. 7.

[Page 12]

1 *Al-Fihrist*, ed. Flugel, p. 268. See also D. M. Dunlop, "The British Isles according to Medieval Arabic Authors," *Islamic Quarterly*, IV (1957), 15 & 21.

2 'Abd al-Rahman Badawi is of the opinion that al-Qifti himself has distorted ibn al-Nadim's statement. See his *Dawr al-'Arab fi Tarikh al-Fikr al-Oroppi*, (Beirut, 1965), p. 132.

3 Moritz Steinschneider, *Die arabischen Ubersetzungen aus dem griechischen*, (Leipzig, 1897), p. 213.

4 Flugel, *Al-Kindi genannt der Philosoph der Araber* in the *Abhandlugen fur die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, p. 7.

[Page 13]

1 *Al-Fihrist*, ed. Flugel, p. 248.

2 *AI-Fihrist*, ed. Flugel, p. 268.

3 *Al-Qifti*, ed. Lippert, p. 73.

4 Barhebraeus, *Tarikh Mukhtasar al-Duwal* (Compendious History of Dynasties), ed. Salhani, (Beirut, 1890), p. 76.

[Page 14]

1 *Al-Fihrist*, ed. Flugel, p. 252.

2 *Al-Fihrist*, ed. Flugel, p. 253.

3 Muhammad Hadi Abu Ridah, *Rasa'il al-Kindi al-Falsafiyyah* (Cairo, 1950), pp. 363-84.

4 Abu Ridah, *Rasa'il*, p. 367.

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1 Abu Ridah, Rasa'il, p. 367.

2 *Ibid*., pp. 20-1.

3 *Ibid*., pp. 20-1.

4 *Ibid*., pp. 20-1.

5 *Ibid*., p. 21.

[Page 16]

1 Ignatius Jacob III, "Al-Kindi wa al-Suryaniyyah," *Al-Majallah al-Patriarchiyyah*, (Damascus, January 1963), pp. 258-62.

2 Ignatius Jacob, p. 262.

3 Also it means "the eternally existing" and is often used as an epithet of God. See R. Payne Smith, *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary*, ed. J. Payne Smith (Oxford, 1903), p. 15.

4 Ignatius Jacob, p. 269.

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1 Abu Ridah, Rasa'il, pp. 20-1.

2 Abu Ridah, pp. 182-3. Abu Ridah does not indicate the basis of his argument for this derivation, but seems to take the same position as Edward William Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon* (London: William and Northgate, 1863), 2685a. Lane cites *'ays*, but offers no definition; instead, he refers the reader to *lays*, which he asserts is a compound of *la* and *'ays*, signifying "non-existence". But Lane's failure to define *ays* or to mention any of its derivative forms, other then *lays*, suggests the speculative nature of his argument regarding the derivation of this word.

3 Payne Smith, pp 241-2.

4 Abu Ridah, pp. 182-3.

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1 Payne Smith, pp. 101-2.

2 Ignatius Jacob, p. 262.

3 Abu Ridah, p. 279.

4 Payne Smith, p. 212.

Matti Moosa's

Origins of the Christian Minorities in the Middle East

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Footnotes

Map (Page 84)

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The chief Christian minorities in the Middle East are the Copts of Egypt, the Syrians, and the Armenians. Of these only the Armenians have not been completely Arabized, but like the others they reject the definition of faith proclaimed by the Council of Chalcedon in 451 A.D., which asserted the existence of two distinct natures in Christ, united in one person.

The Copts have lived in Egypt since the dawn of history, and may be direct descendants of the ancient Egyptians (l). Their religious views unified them and enabled them to retain their language and national identity against efforts at assimilation by numerous foreign invaders. To this day the Copts have been identified by their religion, whereas the term "Syrians" means not only people of Aramean origin (ancient Aram included modern Syria proper, Lebanon, Jordan, and northern Iraq) but also Arabs affiliated with the Syrian church. The Copts were alienated from the rest of Christendom by the attempt at Chalcedon to impose upon them a Christology they abhorred, combined with efforts to subjugate the Coptic religious establishment to the Church of Constantinople and reduce the influence of the See (Patriarchate) of Alexandria, which governed them (2). The condemnation at Chalcedon of Dioscorus, Patriarch of Alexandria estranged not only the Copts, but much of the Syrian Church based in Antioch. The persecution of the Copts and Syrians by Byzantine Emperor Justin I and his successors weakened the Byzantine State and paved the way for the Arab conquest of the seventh century. After rejecting the dicta of Chalcedon, the Copts withdrew to themselves, centering life on their own church, rituals, saints, and religious literature.

[85] Though they remained a minority after the Arab conquest, the Copts' religious identification helped preserve them as a coherent people. They welcomed the Arabs, thinking that the invaders would be more tolerant than the Byzantines, and this judgment proved generally correct. Although Abd Allah ibn Abd al-Malik ordered in 706 that Arabic should replace Coptic (the pre-Islamic popular tongue of Egypt) as the state language (3), this change merely forced the Copts to worship partly in Arabic and led some to express themselves in the new language publicly while retaining Coptic among their own co-religionists. Treatment under the Arabs varied according to time, place, and the whims of particular rulers. While Copts might be ordered to dress in a specific style, ride donkeys instead of horses, and wear wooden crosses about their necks (4), they were nevertheless considered *dhimmi*s ("people of the Book") to be protected by the Muslim Arabs provided they paid the poll taxes, and to be allowed to practice their religion. Thus, from the beginning of the Arab state in Egypt, Coptic social and cultural institutions remained outside Islam, and from medieval times onward many Copts rose to high government positions, often because of their minority status more so than their merits.

The Syrians, unlike the Copts, were not homogeneous in their origins, language, or faith. These descendants of the ancient Arameans all spoke dialects of Syriac and fell under the jurisdiction of the See of Antioch, even though they gradually evolved into separate churches and communities. The chief groups were four in number:

1) Nestorians, also known as "Assyrians"
2) Syrian Orthodox, sometimes called "Jacobites"
3) Rum (room), or Greek-Byzantine Orthodox, known as Malkites prior to the twelfth century
4) Maronites

Other groups seceded from these communities for various reasons at different times, and assumed new names. The Chaldeans split off from the Nestorians, the Syrian Catholics from the Syrian Orthodox, and the Malkites from the Rum Orthodox.

The Nestorians date back to the fifth century, their name derived from Nestorius, the Patriarch of Constantinople, who refused to call the Virgin Mary *Theotokos* ("God-bearer"), calling her rather the "Mother of Christ." He proclaimed two distinct natures in Christ, and two persons, which to many Church Fathers was, of course, blasphemy. Nestorius was condemned in 431 at the Council of Ephesus, but his teachings spread and by 450 most of the Syrian Church in Persia [86] (including the lands of modern Iraq) accepted them. The "Nestorian" Church was extremely active after the Council of Chalcedon, even extending its missionary work to India and China (5), and about 490 its bishops broke away from the Church of Antioch and began to consecrate their own primates, who became known as *Catholicoi*: a ranking under the Antioch nomenclature for a hierarch above the level of Metropolitan, but below that of Patriarch.

Under the Abbasid Caliphs (who ruled over much of the Middle East between 750-1258 A.D.) the Nestorians were the first to promote Greek sciences and learning, translating Greek texts into Syriac and then Arabic. Thus Nestorian *Catholicoi* and sundry learned men came to be highly favored by various Abbasid Caliphs (6). The Nestorian Church prospered until the thirteenth century when political persecution and the general decline of civilization in the Middle East drained its vitality. The Nestorian *Catholicoi* left Baghdad, their seat for generations, and settled mainly in the vicinity of Mosul and Alqosh. Yet persecutions and misfortunes suffered by the Nestorians under the Arabs were minimal compared to the damage done to them by the Church of Rome in later years.

Since the Nestorians declared themselves independent of the See of Antioch, their *Catholicoi* had been elected by the college of metropolitans and bishops of the various dioceses. This tradition ended in 1450, when the *Catholicos* Shimon Basidi restricted the election of future Catholicoi to men of his own family (7). Since he was celibate, the vacancy created by his death caused a power struggle within the Ab (Patriarchal) family. Yet this restriction, however ill-conceived, continued to be applied for over a century, without abuse or trouble (8).

But when the *Catholicos* Shimon V died in 1551, a group of prominent Nestorians opposing his successor, Shimon Bar Mama, met at Mosul and chose Yuhanna (John) Sulaqa, a monk from the nearby Monastery of Hormizd, to be sent to Rome and ordained a *Catholicos*. Sulaqa was warmly received by Pope Julius III in November, 1552; on April 20, 1553, after professing the faith of the Church of Rome, he was consecrated a bishop, and eight days later the Pope elevated him to the rank of *Catholicos* (9). Thus, the question of succession became the pretext for these Nestorians to secede from their church. The prime movers in this action were members of various Roman Catholic orders who since the fifteenth century had been proselytizing Christian churches in the Middle East (10). Whatever their motives may have been, they succeeded in creating schisms and ill will among the members of [87] the Eastern churches, and thus made them more vulnerable to assaults by their Kurdish and Arab neighbors.

Sulaqa returned to the East in 1553, but could not live in Iraq, the center of the Nestorian Church. He went instead to Diyarbakr, Turkey, where he made only a few converts. Two years later, he was murdered by the Kurdish chief of Amadiyya in northern Iraq, allegedly at the instigation of *Catholicos* Shimon Bar Mama (11). After Sulaqa's death, his few converts, now called Chaldeans, sent a bishop, Abd Yeshue al-Jazri, to Rome to be ordained as *Catholicos* in 1562. Al-Jazri was succeeded by Yab Alaha, who did not go to Rome to be ordained, and when Alaha died in 1580, the Chaldeans were left without a leader.

About this time, the Nestorian bishop Shimon Denha took his congregation into the Church of Rome, and the Chaldeans made him their *Catholicos*. He moved his seat from Diyarbakr to Urmia, in northern Persia, where many Nestorians lived, probably hoping to convert them to Catholicism and establish a large congregation. But

in 1670, one of his successors renounced the Church of Rome and returned to Nestorianism, and was accepted as *Catholicos* by the Nestorian communities of Urmia and Kurdistan. Thus the Nestorians had two Catholicoi, in Urmia and Alqosh, and the Chaldeans were again leaderless (12).

Yet the Church of Rome remained determined to convert the Nestorians by exploiting the weakness of their community, the desire of their religious leaders for power, and the French government's influence with the Ottoman Sultan. The famous treaty of capitulations signed by Sulieman the Magnificent with Francois I in 1535 gave extraterritorial privileges to French subjects in Ottoman territory (13). France was likewise the protector of the Sultan's Roman Catholic subjects, especially the Maronites of Lebanon (14). Whenever an opportunity arose, Rome used France's position to win new converts, regardless of the consequences. Factionalism among Nestorian bishops and the interference of French consuls such as Francois Picquet in Aleppo resulted in another major schism between 1675-1681, and produced *three* claimants to the position of Catholicos—one each in Alqosh, Julamerk, and Diyarbakr.

It was about this time that the new converts to Rome became generally known as "Chaldeans." While much controversy continues to prevail as to the origins of this name, most likely the Nestorian Catholics were labeled in this manner on the unsound premise that they were descendants of the ancient Chaldeans, just as the heads of their church [88] called themselves "Patriarchs of Babylon" on the assumption that Baghdad, once the seat of the Nestorian *Catholicoi*, was the "New Babylon" (15). Thus the name Chaldean is of fairly recent origin and was probably first given by the Roman missionaries to those who seceded from the Nestorian Church.

Not until 1778, however, did Catholic missionaries from the West begin a really systematic proselytization among the Ab (Patriarchal) family in Alqosh and the Nestorian Church in Iraq. In this year Bishop Yeshue Yab became *Catholicos* Mar Eliyya XI, while his cousin, Bishop Yuhanna (John) Hormizd, who had been converted to Catholicism by missionaries in Mosul, contended for the same rank. With a *Catholicos* already in Diyarbakr, Mar Yusuf, who was under the authority of Rome, the missionaries were unwilling to elevate Hormizd also to the office, but permitted him to take the title Metropolitan of Mosul, thus retaining his allegiance and convincing him of their undivided support (16). When Mar Yusuf died in 1779, Rome entrusted the Chaldean Church to his nephew, Augustine Hindi, and as Hindi and Hormizd contended for the Vatican's support, the missionaries quietly worked to subject the lawful *Catholicos*, Mar Eliyya XI, to their authority as well (17). When Hormizd saw there was no hope of support from Rome, he began consecrating bishops in the Nestorian villages north of Mosul and reportedly renounced Catholicism. Enraged, the missionaries excommunicated Hormizd, replaced him as bishop of Mosul, and even had him imprisoned, but three months later he was restored to his position. Hindi, meanwhile, continued to intrigue against Hormizd and assumed the title of Patriarch Yusuf V. To reconcile the factions of the Chaldean community supporting them, the Roman missionaries assigned the towns to Hormizd and the villages to Hindi. In 1830, after Mar Eliyya and Hindi had died, and after most of the Nestorian Church in Iraq had become Roman Catholic, Pope Pius VIII finally confirmed Hormizd as *Catholicos* of the Chaldean community. After 1845, there were two Nestorian communities, one under Mar Shimon in the mountains of Kurdistan, and the other a Uniate community of the Church of Rome in Iraq and Persia (18). The latter, still called Chaldean, is headed by Mar Bulus (Paul) Cheikho, who lives in Baghdad and styles himself "Patriarch of Babel (Babylon)."

The origin of the term "Maronites," which today denotes a large Christian denomination living chiefly in Lebanon, is disputed. One ancient writer says the name came from *Maran*, a Syriac word meaning "Our Lord", or from a monastery by that name (19); another derives it [89] from the Syriac word *Morio* ("Lord"). Later Maronite writers say it came from a monk named Marun, but differ on his identity; some, citing St. John Chrysostom, and Theodoret bishop of Cyprus make him the fifth century monk who lived in the district of Cyprus in north Syria (20) others say he was John Marun, the Maronites' first patriarch, who lived in the seventh century (21). The great Maronite scholar Yusuf al-Sim'ani (Joseph Assemani) derives the name from the monk Marun, who had a monastery on the Orontes near Hama, but also says, "Yuhanna Marun became a monk in the monastery of Mar (St.) Marun, and the Maronites derived their name from him" (22). One might go on at length with manifold conflicting theories. In truth, however, the Maronites took their name from a monastery on the Orontes, that of Marum, under the jurisdiction of the See of Antioch (still there is no convincing evidence that the Marun Monastery was named after the fifth century ascetic Marun). In the seventh century the monks here

adopted monothelitism, the belief in one will in Jesus Christ, a doctrine promoted by the Byzantine Emperor Heraclius. The belief quickly spread through much of Syria, and around 630 a number of its practitioners withdrew from the Patriarchate of Antioch and began installing their own patriarchs. These groups held to monothelitism until 1182, when they returned to the Church of Rome, some 40,000 in number (23). Catholicism did not keep them long, though, and many reverted, until their patriarch Irmia (Jeremiah) al-Amshiti went to Rome in 1215 to reaffirm his faith and Pope Innocent III conferred on him the rank of a prince of the church (24). While this strengthened Maronite ties to Rome, later popes continued to question the sincerity of their devotion and conversion. Delegations sent to investigate Maronite beliefs in the sixteenth century confirmed that they were using the rituals and chants of the Syrian Orthodox Church, which indicates that the Maronites were indeed Syrian Orthodox even though they had abandoned the Patriarchate of Antioch and became a separate entity in the seventh century (25).

In 1649 the Maronite community came under the protection of the government of Louis XIV, and later French kings reaffirmed this pledge. But the French protected their own interests when they opposed those of the Maronite community, notably in the building of the port of Junieh in 1910. The Maronites until recently were a majority in Lebanon, but in the 1940's became outnumbered, due to Muslim immigration from Syria and other Arab countries, and the arrival of Palestinian refugees from the Arab-Israeli war of 1948. Yet they are bold and industrious, and despite their minority status control the politics and economy of [90] Lebanon. They are a Uniate Church of the Church of Rome, and both their church and their community have been to all intents and purposes completely Arabized.

The Christian community living principally in Lebanon and Syria which calls itself Rum (Greek or Byzantine) Orthodox is neither Greek nor Byzantine. Its members are Syrian Arameans, and its common language and rite were Syriac until the twelfth century, when its patriarch Theodore Balsamon adopted the Byzantine rite.

To understand the origins of the Rum Orthodox, we must go back to the Council of Chalcedon, which divided the Syrian Church into two groups; those who accepted its assertion of Two Natures in Christ, called "Diphysites [Diophysites]," and those who retained a belief in One Incarnate Nature, the "Monophysites." Various Byzantine emperors took sides and abetted the conflict between these groups, causing much animosity and bloodshed. The Monophysites labeled their opponents "Chalcedonians" and "Malkites," indicating that they followed the Emperor Marcian in upholding the Council of Chalcedon. The Diphysites called their opponents "Severians" after Severus of Antioch, and then "Jacobites" after Jacob Baradeus, whose untiring efforts saved the Syrian Church from annihilation by the Byzantine state.

The two groups were not formally separated until Severus became Patriarch of Antioch in 512. But when the monophysite Emperor Anastasius died in 518 and was succeeded by Justin I, the whole fate of the Syrian Church changed. Justin, an avowed Chalcedonian, determined to eradicate monophysitism once and for all, on the ground that there should be only one faith in the state. Under threat of death, Severus escaped to Egypt, where he lived and administered his church in Syria until he died in 538. His followers insisted that his expulsion from his see was illegal and that he was the only lawful patriarch of Antioch, and would not accept another head until his death. But the Chalcedonians had installed another patriarch, Paul, after the expulsion of Severus. Thus after 538 the Syrian Church of Antioch was divided into two churches and patriarchates, one "Malkite," and the other "Monophysites" or "Jacobite." In the seventh century, both groups came under Arab rule. Though the monophysites had helped the Arabs to conquer Syria, they, like their opponents, lost many communicants to Islam and were immensely weakened.

After 1185, when Theodore Balsamon became its patriarch, the Syrian Malkite Church underwent a drastic change. Balsamon ordered the clergy to use the Byzantine rite in place of the Syriac rite, and the Greek [91] liturgy of St. John Chrysostom and Basil the Great rather than the Syriac liturgy of St. James, considered the oldest liturgy in Christendom (26). From this time, the Syrian Malkite Church was identified with the Byzantine Church and adopted the name Rum (Roman or Byzantine). Though its liturgy and its rite were changed to Greek, its other prayer books were not. The Rum Orthodox continued to use both Syriac and Greek in their churches until the end of the seventeenth century, and many of them speak Syriac even today (27). Early in the eighteenth century, some Roman missionaries effected a schism in the Rum Orthodox Church. A group who had embraced Catholicism seceded in 1724, choosing Seraphim Tanas as their patriarch, although he was not confirmed by the

Pope until 1744. Henceforth, this church had two factions; ironically, the seceding group took the name Malkite, which had long been out of use (28).

While the Chalcedonians claimed to be orthodox, so did the Monophysites, whose opponents contemptuously called them "Jacobites." Western writers almost unanimously call the group which seceded from the Syrian Orthodox Church in the seventeenth century "Syrian Catholic," and call the church from which they seceded "Jacobite." The mother church is in fact still the Syrian Church of Antioch, though its two major divisions may differ on points of dogma. And since the Malkite church ceased in the twelfth century to call itself "Syrian" and adopted the name Rum, it is only proper to call the other group the Syrian Orthodox Church, as its writers have always done. Western writers err in saying the Monophysites separated themselves from the "Orthodox Church," for this claim is based on the arbitrary premise that the formula of faith of the Council of Chalcedon was the final word in orthodoxy. This is not so, and a dispassionate study of the theological disputes of the fifth century would show that the monophysitism of Severus is no less orthodox than the theology of St. Athanasius and Cyril of Alexandria (29).

After Severus died in 538, and it became clear that reconciliation with their opponents was impossible, his followers in Syria chose a priest, Sergius, as a patriarch of Antioch. The Byzantine rulers began to persecute the members of the Syrian Orthodox community, finally compelling them to collaborate with the Arabs and facilitate their occupation of Syria in the seventh century. Involved in ceaseless dogmatic disputes and torn by schisms, the Eastern church lost both the fundamental principles of Christianity and its own moral energy, and thus could not withstand the Arabs' attacks and the impact of Islam (30). [92] It would not be inaccurate to say that the Byzantine state lost Syria to the Arabs not at the battle of Yarmuk (636), but at the Council of Chalcedon.

Under the Arabs, the Syrians fared much the same as the other Eastern Christians. Protected by some Muslim rulers but persecuted by others, many of them embraced Islam, perhaps out of convenience rather than conviction. Their educational and religious centers were lost, mostly due to constant wars, and they became a small minority. Both Taqrit, once the seat of the Maphrians of the East and a totally Syrian community, and Edessa (now Urfa), once the center of the Syriac language and culture, became completely Islamized.

The decline of this glorious church reached its lowest point in the Ottoman period. Like other Christian minorities in the Middle East, the Orthodox Syrians suffered from the cultural stagnation of Ottoman institutions and turned instead to their church. Since there were no schools in their part of the Ottoman Empire, they provided rudimentary education for their children in church schools, but the state of learning declined, due chiefly to a lack of money and of learned men.

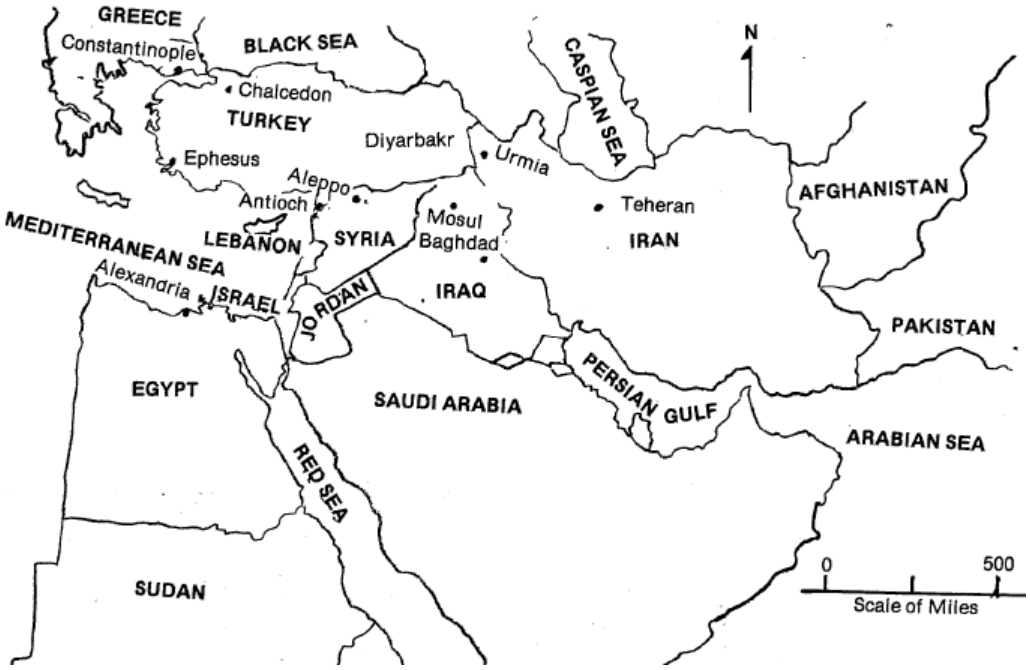
Along with the other Christian minorities in the region, the Syrian Church was likewise the target of concerted campaigns of conversion undertaken by emissaries of the Roman Church.

Toward the middle of the seventeenth century, Capuchins and other monks began dividing the peaceful Syrian community of Aleppo, and the death of the Syrian bishop there afforded them an opportunity to create another schism. They led some Syrians to ask their patriarch, Shimon, to ordain the priest Andrew Akhijan as metropolitan of Aleppo, but Shimon refused on the grounds that Andrew had practiced black magic, which the Syrian Church condemned (31). Francois Picquet, the French consul, tried to persuade Shimon to ordain Andrew, and then sought to dupe him into ceding his authority as patriarch to Andrew. When these measures failed, Picquet urged the Maronite patriarch in Lebanon to make Andrew a bishop, but he also refused, fearing that Andrew might induce some of the Maronites in Aleppo to follow him. Finally, in 1656, another Maronite bishop agreed to make Andrew a bishop, with the aid of Roman missionaries, although the ordination was uncanonical because it had not been performed by a patriarch (32). Andrew returned to Aleppo and, aided by Francois Baron, Picquet's successor, he wrested the cathedral church from the Syrians. When Patriarch Shimon died in 1662, the Roman missionaries falsely declared Andrew "Patriarch of the whole Syrian Church" (33), and with French aid sought (unsuccessfully) a *firman* from the Ottoman Sultan recognizing him as [93] patriarch of the entire Syrian community. From then on, the new seceders began wresting monasteries and churches from the Syrian Church, while the Roman missionaries extended their activity to southern Turkey and northern Iraq. Between 1826 and 1832, four Syrian bishops and their parishes defected to the Church of Rome (34). In Mosul

the seceders, unable to control an entire church, obtained an order from Ottoman officials to divide the church physically between themselves and the original Syrian congregation (35). The Syrians' ranks were so diminished that one missionary, J. B. Fletcher, wrote in 1850, "perhaps the next fifty years may render the names of the Jacobites and Nestorians a matter of history" (36).

While that prediction proved inaccurate, it illustrates the determination of the Roman missionaries to convert the Eastern Christians. The ill-feeling which they generated in the Syrian community continues until this day, even given recent changes in the attitude of the Church of Rome toward the churches of the East. The Second Vatican Council (1963-1965), with its emphasis on ecumenism and its better understanding of the Eastern Churches, resolved that the Eastern rites should be held in high esteem because of their venerable antiquity (37). However, this does not mean that the Church of Rome is ready to reconcile its differences with the Eastern Churches or accept their theology and practices. It only shows that the approach of the Church of Rome has significantly changed and the Eastern Churches are no longer considered "heretics" but only "separated" brethren.

In conclusion, we have attempted to show that all the various Christian Churches in Syria have their common origin in the Orthodox See of Antioch. The divisions in this ancient religious establishment, which exist even today, were brought on by political pressures from the Byzantine Court, the internal policies of the Arab community, the weaknesses of the Ottoman state, and finally by the proselytizing efforts of the Church of Rome. Through the centuries these factors have combined, unfortunately, to destroy the unity of one of the major Churches of Eastern Christendom.



Footnotes

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1. S.H. Leeder, *Modern Sons of the Pharaohs* (London: Holder and Stoughton, 1918), *passim*.

2. Aziz Atiya, *A History of Eastern Christianity* (South Bend: University of Notre Dame, 1968), p. 13.

3. Jacques Tajir, *Aqbat wa muslimun* ["Copts and Muslims"] (Cairo: Kurrasat al-Tarikh al-Misri, 1951), pp. 300-301.

4. A.S. Tritton, *The Caliphs and Their Non-Muslim Subjects* (London: Oxford University Press, 1930), *passim*.

5. On the spread of Nestorianism, see A. Mingana, "Early Spread of Christianity in Central Asia and the Far East," *Bulletin of John Rylands Library*, IX, No. 2 (July, 1925), 2-76.

6. Mari ibn Sulayman, *Akhbar Fatarikat Kursi al-Mashriq min Kitab al-Majdal* [Chronicles of the Patriarchs of the East], ed. Henricus Gismondi, S.J. (Rome, 1899), *passim*.

7. George Percy Badger, *The Nestorians and Their Rituals*, I (London: Joseph Masters and Co., 1852), p. 147. Cf. also Addai Saliba Ibrahina, "Ta'ifat al-Kaldan al-Katholik," *al-Mashriq*, III (Beirut, 1900), 822.

8. Ibrahina (*supra*) typifies the attitude of modern Chaldean writers in calling this precedent "an evil and severe blow to the Nestorian community." Yet we must bear in mind that the Chaldeans seceded from the Nestorian Church, and constantly strove to legitimize their own group by claiming that it had been "Catholic" since the Apostolic age, whereas the supremacy of the Nestorian Church, which the Chaldeans saw as heretical, had disrupted the tradition of Catholicity. Butrus Aziz, "Al-Kursi al-Rasuli wa Ta'ifat al-Kaldan," in *al-Mashriq*, V (1909), 1115-1121, should be read as a companion piece to Ibrahina.

9. Ibrahina, *loc. cit*.

10. Cf. Louis Cheikho, "Lamha Tarikhiyya fi al-Qasada al-Rasuliyya fi Suriyya," *al-Mashriq*, XII (1909), 3-24. On the work of the Roman missionaries and their lay supporters in Iraq, Rev. Horatio Southgate, *Narrative of a Tour Through Armenia, Kurdistan, Persia and Mesopotamia*, II (London: Tilt and Bogue, 1840), pp. 221-224,

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remains a useful account.

11. Ibrahina, op. cit., p. 823, and Butrus Nasri, "Asl al-Nasatira al-Haliyyin wa Ahwaluhum al-Diniyya wa al-Madaniyya," *al-Mashriq*, XVI (1913), 491-504.

12. Badger, II, p. 150, and Southgate, I, pp. 301-302.

13. J. C. Hurewitz, *Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East*, I (Princeton, D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1956), pp. 1-5, 24.

14. Badger, II, p. 180.

15. Butrus Nasri, *Dhakhirat al-Adhhan*, I (Mosul: The Dominican Press, 1903).

16. Badger, II, pp. 150-160, contains an English translation of Hormizd's account of his conversion to Roman Catholicism and his relations with the Roman missionaries, under the subtitle, "Autobiography of Mutran Hanna." I have a nineteenth-century manuscript containing the "Life Story of Hanna Hormizd of the Ab Family of Alqush, Patriarch of the Chaldean Community." It is written in a neat *nashki* Arabic script, with usages peculiar to the Arabic spoken by the Christian communities in and around Mosul. The translator is not identified, but a postscript at the end of the first tract indicates it was compiled by the priest Jerjis Khayyat at Mosul on October 20, 1858, by order of Yusuf Odo, Patriarch of the Chaldeans. Judging from the handwriting style, the language, and the centrality of Hormizd and his history in the manuscript, we can accept Khayyat as the translator.

17. Ibrahina, *al-Mashriq*, III, p. 882, tells of the conflict between Hormizd and Hindi, as do Badger, II, pp. 150-160, and the Khayyat manuscript, *supra*.

18. For a thorough treatment of the Nestorians in modern times, see John Joseph, *The Nestorians and Their Muslim Neighbors* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961).

19. Cf. Vatican Syriac and Garshuni (Arabic written in Syriac script) MS. 146. This MS is at the Syriac collection in the Vatican Library.

20. See the letter of John Chrysostom to a monk named Marun praising his virtues in *Patrologia Graeca*, ed. J.P. Migne, LII (Paris, Migne Printer, 1850 (1859?), 630, 632, but this does not clearly identify him. For the biography of the ascetic Marun see Theodorct of Cyrus, *Religious History* in *Patrologia Graeca*, ed. J.P. Migne, LXXXII (Paris, Migne Printer, 1855), 1418.

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21. Cf. Vatican Syriac MS. 133 at the Syriac Collection in the Vatican Library.

22. Giuseppe Simone Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino Vaticana*, I (Rome, 1719-1753), p. 509.

23. William of Tyre, *Historia rerum in Partibus transmarinis gestarum*, Book XXII, published in Migne, Patrologia Latina, Vol. 201. For an English version of the work of William of Tyre, see Emily Atwater Babcock and A.C. Kray, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Seas* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943).

24. However, not until 1268 did a head of the Maronite Church receive the title "Patriarch of Antioch," given to Shimon al-Hadathi for having rescued Roman missionaries when the Egyptians occupied Antioch. See Clement Yusuf Dawud, "Jami al-Hujaj al-Rahina fi Ibtel Da'awa al-Mawarina," in *Receuil de Documents et de Preuves contra la Pretendue Orthodoxie Perpetuelle des Maronites* (Leipzig: Harrasowitz, 1908), p. 437.

25. *Ibid*., pp. 256-260, 436-441. Anton Rabbath discusses the mission of Giovanni Battista Eliano to the Maronites and other Eastern Christian churches in *Documents inedits pour servir a l'histoire du Christianisme en Orient*, I (Paris: A. Picard, 1905), pp. 140-160. John Pinkerton describes Jerome Dandindi's mission to the Maronites in Lebanon in *A General Collection of the Best and Most Interesting Voyages and Travels*, Vol. IX (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees and Orm, 1811), pp. 272-304.

26. Henri Lammens, "Al-Rum al-Malikiyyun," *al-Mashriq*, XVIII (1920), 271, and Ishaq Armala, "Al-Malikiyyun, Batrakiyyatuhum," *al-Mashriq*, XXXIV (1936), 363-364.

27. Armala, op. cit., pp. 374-375. The confusion in names of these denominations was brought to the United States with immigrants from the Middle East in the twentieth century, and persists today. The Rum (Byzantine) Orthodox used the name "Syrian Orthodox of Antioch," so that when the original Syrians arrived they found their name being used by another denomination. After much controversy, the National Council of Churches in the 1960's decreed that "Syrian Orthodox of Antioch" could be used only by the original Syrians ("Jacobites"), and the Rum Orthodox must use the name Syrian Antiochenes. Further confusion resulted when a group of the "Jacobites" assumed the name Assyrians, on the grounds that their church was the original church of "Assyria." This name is still used by those Syrians living mainly in the area of Paramus, New Jersey, and in the Chicago metropolitan area. Still yet another group uses the name Assyrians—the Nestorians, who are members of the Church of the East and were called by this term during the First World War by the British authorities. From them the British

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formed the so-called "Assyrian Levy Army." These Nestorians live mostly in the Chicago area today.

28. Armala, pp. 377-379.

29. Adrian Fortescue, *The Lesser Eastern Churches* (London: Catholic Truth Society, 1913), p. 352, gives a blatantly prejudiced interpretation of the history of the Eastern churches, which he deems heretical and insignificant. Even though the Church of Constantinople and its Patriarchate in the East have long since lost their earlier importance, most Westerners persist in such erroneous classifications. For a dispassionate study of

"Monophysite" Christology, see Roberta Chestnut, *Three Monophysite Christologies* (Oxford: University Press, 1976).

30. See Richard Bell, *The Origin of Islam in its Christian Environment* (London: Macmillan, 1968), p. 4.

31. Rabbath, *Documents inedits*..., pp. 374-404.

32. Cf. Yusuf Dawud, *Mukhtasar Tawarikh al-Kanisa* (Mosul: The Dominican Press, 1877), p. 617.

33. One can imagine the bending and contortion of historical fact resorted to by various writers in their zeal to prove the validity of their own churches or splinter groups stemming from such events. Gregorius Jerjis Shahin and Dionysius Afram Naqqasha (a Syrian Roman Catholic Bishop) carried on a long series of allegations and refutations, publishing in Beirut during 1910-1911, for example.

34. St. Mark's Monastery (Jerusalem) MS 212, described in *al-Hikma*, IV (1930), 233-240, catalogues churches siezed, monasteries and lands wrested from opponents in Damascus, Rashya, and elsewhere in the early nineteenth century.

35. Horatio Southgate, *Narrative of a Visit to the Syrian (Jacobite) Church of Mesopotamia* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1844), p. 137.

36. J. B. Fletcher, *Notes from Nineveh and Travels in Mesopotamia, Assyria, and Syria* (Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard, 1850), p. 315.

37. See for example Johannes M. Hoeck, "Decrees on Eastern Catholic Churches," (Lalit Adolphous, trans.) *Commentary on the Documents of Vatican II* [New York: Herder & Herder, 1967), pp. 307-327.

Matti Moosa's

*The Druze and Other Shiite Ghulat Sects: A Comparative Perspective**

*Published on the Internet, October, 2011. Dr. Moosa read this paper at the Second International Conference of the Druze Heritage Foundation held in collaboration with the Middle East Centre at Saint Antony's College Oxford, October 1-3, 2004.

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The Druze, like the other Ghulat sects, have their origins in Shiite Islam. Although these sects deviated from the mainstream of Islam, the Druze appear from their own books to have developed, outside the sphere of Shi'ism, their own characteristic faith of *Tawhid* (Unitarianism). While other Ghulat sects deify the Imam Ali ibn Abi Talib (d. 661) and ascribe divine attributes to him and to his successors the Twelve Imams, beginning with Ali and ending with Muhammad al-Mahdi, who they claim disappeared in 874 in a cellar at the city of Samarra, Iraq, the factor which most clearly sets the Druze apart is that they deify only the Isma'ili-Fatimid Caliph al-Hakim bi Amr Allah (996-1021). They also accord Hamza ibn Ali al-Zawzani al-Khurasani, a contemporary of al-Hakim, a prominent position in their religious system.

Vladimir Minorsky challenges the idea that the Ahl-i Haqq, or Ali Ilahis, deify Ali. He asserts that since Ali is not given a dominant role in their sacred books, the name Ali Ilahis (defenders of Ali) is not warranted. But as I have stated in my treatment of the religious system of the Ahl-i Haqq, they considered Ali one of the theophanies of the deity and believed that he was himself divine. He existed before Adam, to whom the angel Gabriel foretold his coming. Moreover, the Ahl-i Haqq believe in the divine preexistence of Ali. Although they assert that God manifested himself in many forms, they also maintain that Ali is the direct incarnation of God, and for this reason they call him Ali Allah (Ali the God). To them Ali is the essence of God and coexists with God. Although some Ali Ilahis say that Ali is not exactly God, they still assert that he is not separate either (1). Another major concept the Druze share with other extremist Shiite sects is *tajjali*, the manifestation of the Deity in human form in different ages and cycles.

[2] Like all extremist Shiites, the Druze are very secretive and resort to *taqiyya* (dissimulation) to protect the tenets of their religion, which no one knows except those who are entrusted with its secrets. For this reason they divide their community into two categories. First is the *Uqqal* or *Ajawid*, the initiates who have achieved the ultimate knowledge of their faith and have become its patrons. The other category is the *Juhhal*, the ignorant or uninitiated (common people and women) who have no knowledge of their religion and depend on the *Uqqal* for religious instruction. It is possible for some of these *Juhhal* to be initiated into the secrets of the religion after long instruction and extremely difficult examination. Also, like other extremist

Shiites, the Druze do not have the mosques and masjids usually associated with Islam. Instead they have *khalawat*, *majalis*, or *maqamat*, religious centers where they worship and meditate, and where scribes copy books of wisdom. The Druze also have Mashyakhat al-Aql, a historical extension of the Shiite Imamate which has in fact replaced it.

The dogmas that distinguish the Druze from other extremist Shiites pertain to reincarnation, eschatology, reward and punishment on the day of judgment, the nature of paradise, the *hudud* or divine ministers, the periodic manifestations of the deity, and the abrogation of all existing religions and religious systems. Druze writings, both ancient and contemporary, show that their religious system is a conglomeration of Isma'ili Shiism, Manicheanism, Zoroastrianism, Sufism, the teachings of the *Ikhwan al-Safa* (Brethren of Purity), and Greek philosophy, especially Neo-Platonism. One gets the impression by reading some contemporary Druze writers like the late Kamal Junblat and Sami Nasib Makarem that the Druze faith is a philosophical rather than religious movement. Greek philosophers such as Pythagoras and Plato, and the god Hermes, the son and messenger of Zeus, occupy a prominent place in their religious system. Makarem says that the god Hermes is so revered for his protection of the mysteries that the Druze profess his sanctity and elevate him to the ranks of the prophets (2). Without doubt, the whole religious system of the Druze is more complex than that of any other esoteric sect. Unlike many extremist Shiites, particularly the Isma'ilis, the Druze have produced a host of highly polished writers such as Hamza ibn Ali, who had a vast knowledge of the religions in his time. One must become familiar with his writings to understand the religious precepts of the Druze.

[3] The main religious precepts of the Druze are those of the Fatimid Shiites, which in turn are based on the religious system of the Isma'ilis. Unlike the Ithna'asharis or Twelver Shiites, the Isma'ilis uphold the divine authority of only seven Imams, ending with Isma'il, son of the sixth Imam Ja'far al-Sadiq (d. 765); thus, they are known as Seveners. While the Twelvers assert that Ja'far al-Sadiq bestowed the Imamate on his son Musa al-Kazim even though an older son, Isma'il, was still living, the Seveners maintain that Ja'far, regardless of his motives, had no right to bypass Isma'il and transfer that office to Musa. The Twelvers claim that Ja'far did so because Isma'il was a drunkard and unfit to occupy the divine office of the Imamate. But some moderate Isma'ilis did not object to the Imamate of Musa al-Kazim while his brother Isma'il was still living and called him Imam *Mustawda*, (acting or trustee Imam), and that Isma'il was an Imam *Mustaqarr*, (a permanent or necessary Imam). Hence, we have two divisions of Shi'ism, the Twelvers and the Seveners, also called Isma'ilis. The controversy between the two groups over who is the rightful successor to Ja'far al-Sadiq continues to this day.

The Druze, whose history and religious beliefs are linked with those of the Fatimids, are the rightful heirs to the Isma'ilis, albeit with some modifications. The offspring of Isma'il were so persecuted by the Sunnite Umayyads and Abbasids that they went underground and propagated their beliefs in total secrecy. They had a highly organized propaganda apparatus and competent propagandists called the *Da'i*s. The most important of these was Abd Allah ibn Maymum al-Qaddah. Because of persecution he moved from place to place until he settled in Salamya, Syria, where he died between 883 and 887. The Abbasids, who had come to power in 750, intensified their oppression of the Isma'ilis, because they were challenging them for authority. Persecution forced the sons of al-Qaddah to leave Salamya and settle in North Africa, which was relatively peaceful and more fertile for their propaganda.

Between 901 and 908, the active and shrewd propagandist Abu Abd Allah the Shiite, also known as al-San'ani, was instrumental in establishing the Isma'ili Da'wa in North Africa. In 903 he captured several towns from the Aghlabids and extended his authority to other parts of North Africa, as far as Qayrawan. He abolished the Khutba for the Abbasid caliphs in the Friday prayers, thus ending the Abbasids' authority in North Africa. Most important, he proclaimed the imminent appearance of the expected Mahdi—in this case

Ubayd Allah, called al-Mahdi, whom Abu Abd Allah invited to North Africa. Al-Mahdi left Salamya and went to North Africa. Within a few years, he succeeded in establishing the Fatimid state and became its first caliph in 909. One of his successors, al-Mu'iz, sent an army to occupy Egypt in 968-969. Al-Mu'iz subsequently moved to the new country, which became both the center of the Fatimid state and of Shi'ism in the East. In 996 al-Hakim bi Amr Allah became caliph at the age of eleven, following the death of his father al-Aziz, and with him began the history and religious system of the Druze.

Al-Hakim has long been known for his eccentric and irrational behavior. An ardent Fatimid Shiite, he persecuted not only the Christians but the Sunnites as well. Despite his eccentricities, he founded *Dar al-Hikma* (the House of Wisdom), where Fatimid scholars taught their own form of Shi'ism. Attached to it was *Dar al-Ilm* (the House of Learning), a library which housed a great number of manuscripts. In both of these institutions, highly trained *Da'i*s taught and promulgated the Isma'ili faith. To *Dar al-Ilm* was assigned a highly qualified man titled *Da'i al-Du'at* (chief propagandist) whose function was to teach the people of all social classes the faith of the Isma'ilis.

[4] What is important to our subject is that, like his predecessors, al-Hakim was inclined to accept his own deification. *Da'i*s who hailed from Persia encouraged this tendency. Chief among them were Hamza ibn Ali al-Zawzani of Khurasan, al-Hasan ibn Haydara al-Farghani known as al-Akhram, and Muhammad ibn Isma'il Anushtikin (or Nashtakin) al-Darazi of Bukhara, who may have been of Turkish origin. These men were well-versed not only in Isma'ilism but in Zoroastrianism, the Mazdakism of the Persians with its belief in the duality of two cosmic principles representing good and evil, and most importantly in the deification of Persian kings. They also had knowledge of Greek philosophy, elements of which appear in their teachings, and even exalted some Greek philosophers to the point of deification. These *Da'i*s propagated the faith that came to be known as Druzism. No other extremist sect known to us today, including the Nusayris and Ahl-i Haqq, could claim such a host of intellectuals capable of speculative reasoning.

Hamza ibn Ali came in 1014 to Egypt, where he became a courtier of al-Hakim and lived in his palace. He preached the deification of al-Hakim in Masjid Raydan and attracted a number of Isma'ili *ghulat* who responded to his message. He called himself Hadi al-Mustajibin (the guide to those who accepted his call, *i.e.*, for the deification of al-Hakim). He also called one of his disciples Safir al-Qudra (messenger of divine power) and began secretly to promote the apotheosis of al-Hakim. Muslim leaders who did not accept Hamza's message had to acquiesce for fear of punishment (3). Al-Hakim welcomed Hamza's dissemination of the concept of his deification and even encouraged him to spread it among the people. It is said that when al-Hakim passed by his masjid, Hamza came out to meet him and talked to him in private.

In 1017, Hamza finally declared the apotheosis of al-Hakim in public. But in his letter of 1019, entitled *al-Ghaya wa al-Nasiha*, Hamza clearly says that it was Muhammad ibn Isma'il al-Darazi who declared the apotheosis of al-Hakim. He says the arrogant Darazi hastened to proclaim al-Hakim's deification without true understanding. He says al-Darazi was one of the *mustajibin* (those who responded to Hamza's call to the divine oneness of al-Hakim), but out of envy and through deception by Satan he made public the deification of al-Hakim and called himself Sayf al-Islam (the sword of Islam). Hamza states that he wanted to stop al-Darazi, but he disobeyed and went further, calling himself the Lord of those are rightly guided and better than Hamza himself. Because he was in charge of the state treasury, al-Darazi even counterfeited money. In this letter Hamza mentions that some former followers of his, like Abu Mansur al-Bardha'i and Abu Ja'far al-Habbal, deceived him and supported al-Darazi. Hamza reiterates his charge of arrogance against al-Darazi and hastens to declare the apotheosis of al-Hakim in other letters, especially *al-Kitab al-Ma'ruf bi al-Naqd al-Khafi, Risalat al-Balagh wa al-Nihaya fi al-Tawhid, Risalat al-Subha al-Ka'ina*, and all of which are found in *Rasa'il al-Hikma* (Diyar Aql: Lebanon, 1986), pp. 49-63, 73-82, and 202-205 consecutively.

[5] Following in Hamza's footsteps, Hasan ibn Haydara al-Farghani known as al-Akhram also preached the apotheosis of al-Hakim, who therefore lavished him with gifts and made him one of his retinue. But many citizens of Cairo did not like the report of al-Hakim's apotheosis and began a revolt. Some Sunnites retaliated and killed al-Akhram. Angered, al-Hakim took revenge on his murderers and gave him a royal burial. It is said that al-Darazi was killed in 1019 at the instigation of Hamza, but more likely he took refuge in al-Hakim's palace after the revolt until he could flee the country. With al-Hakim's support, al-Darazi went to Wadi al-Taym in Lebanon and other parts of Syria, where he attracted many with his message of al-Hakim's divinity. He also preached metempsychosis, declaring that the divine spirit which originally existed in Adam dwelt after Adam's death in Ali ibn Abi Talib and finally in al-Hakim. Those who accepted al-Darazi's beliefs have been known since then as Druze.

But we should note that the Druze reject this name and call themselves *al-Muwahiddun* (Unitarians), and that although al-Darazi gave his name to the Druze, the true founder of Druzism is Hamza ibn Ali, not al-Darazi. It is reported that Hamza also went into hiding after the revolt; probably he went to Syria, as did al-Darazi. Yet another account maintains that Hamza disappeared at the end of 1021 like the Shiite al-Mahdi, but will appear at the end of time in great power and glory to destroy those who rejected the apotheosis of al-Hakim. After him the *hudud* (ministers) also disappeared, except for Baha al-Din al-Muqtana, who took charge of administering the Druze community. The last word we have of Hamza is his *Risalat al-Ghayba*, which he sent to Syria with the Fatimid Abu Ya'la Hamza ibn Abi al-Abbas al-Husayni, shortly after the disappearance of al-Hakim. As for the fate of al-Hakim, it is said that he was killed by his own sister Sitt al-Mulk.

Of all the extremist Shiite sects known to us, the Nusayris are the closest to the Druze in some aspects of their religious system. According to *Ta'lim al-Din al-Durzi* (the Druze Catechism), the Nusayris were once a part of the Druze sect but then split from it. The Druze catechism speaks of the Nusayris as having been one with the Unitarian Druze before separating themselves through the effort of a certain rector called al-Nusayri. Question 44 or 45 of the catechism (depending on the manuscript followed) asks, “How did the Nusayris separate themselves from the *Muwahhidun* (Unitarian Druze) and abandon the unitarian religion?” Answer: “They separated when al-Nusayri called them to do so (4). Al-Nusayri claimed to be the worshipful servant of our Lord, the commander of the faithful, but denied the divinity of our Lord al-Hakim and professed the divinity of Ali. He said that the Deity had manifested himself successively in the Twelve Imams of the family of the Prophet, and that he had disappeared after having manifested himself in Muhammad al-Mahdi, the *Qa'im* (the Twelfth Imam) (5).

[6] From this statement, we learn that the name of the Druze sect dates back to the late ninth century, when Muhammad ibn Nusayr proclaimed the deity of the eleventh Imam al-Hasan al-Askari (d. 873). In his letter *al-Risala al-Damigha li al-Fasiq: al-Radd ala al-Nusayri La'anahu al-Mawla fi Kill Kawr wa Dawr*, Hamza ibn Ali refutes the allegations of a certain Nusayri who vilified the religion of *Tawhid* and accused the Druze of permitting incest and sodomy. He also refutes this Nusayri's allegation that the Druze maintain that the souls of *nawasib* (Sunnite Muslims) and *addad* (adversaries, antagonists) pass after death into animals like dogs, pigs and monkeys. Hamza especially enjoins Druze women not to believe in the false allegations of this irreligious Nusayri and bids them to adhere to the honorable Druze code of ethics (6).

The most fundamental dogma that separates the Druze from other extremist Shiite sects is their belief in al-Hakim as the one and only deity, whereas most extremist Shiites maintain that Imam Ali is the only deity. In his refutation of a certain Nusayri who claimed that Ali and al-Hakim are one and the same entity, Hamza contends that Ali, the Imams who succeeded him, indeed all the *natiq*s (prophets, or proclaimers of the message) and all the *wasi*s or *usu*s (those entrusted with the explanation of the message of the *natiq*s) are no more than slaves to “Our Lord al-Hakim, may his memory be glorified in every time and age. Our Lord is the

one who confirms their authority and positions. Glory is to him alone who has no partner" (7). Thus, when the Druze call themselves al-Muwahhidun (Unitarians) and emphasize the dogma of *Tawhid* (the oneness of the deity), they mean the divinity and oneness of al-Hakim. Almost every Druze source known to us emphasizes the apotheosis of this caliph. The *Rasa'il al-Hikma* (The Epistles of Wisdom), some written by Hamza ibn Ali and others by his contemporaries, and *Mushaf al-Munfarid bi Dhatih*, written by Hamza, are filled with references to al-Hakim's divinity.

To Hamza and other Druze writers, the divinity of al-Hakim is a reality that cannot be comprehended by human reason. Thus, man's effort to probe it will inevitably fail, because it is not subject to time and space. Al-Hakim is omnipresent, omniscient, and omnipotent. He is neither *zahir* (outward, visible to the eye) nor *batin* (inward, hidden), and no name can be ascribed to him because he transcends human appellations. He has no attributes and cannot be described with human language; he is a person, but not a body or an avatar. He is the cause of causes, the creator of everything in existence. He is unique and beyond compare with heavenly hosts or earthly beings; he is incomprehensible. The essence of his divinity cannot be discerned by the human eye or by human reason. He transcends the whole creation (8). Because he is unique in his divine essence al-Hakim has no human attributes or actions. He does not eat, drink, or sleep, and he does not urinate or defecate. These natural functions would negate his divinity. He has no father and mother, and these terms can only be understood metaphorically to distinguish him from his worshipers (9). Most Druze books refer to al-Hakim by the formula, "Glory be to him who is so unique that nothing is like unto him." They believe that he is the originator who has no origin, the one who alone exists and has no adversary who can overcome him (10).

[7] While other extremist Shiites maintain the transcendence of Ali over the Prophet Muhammad, the Druze profess the transcendence of al-Hakim over Ali. For this reason Hamza rationalized al-Hakim's eccentric and irrational behavior by using spiritual metaphors which are in some ways similar to the extremist Shiites' making the human actions of Ali appear as divine miracles. For example, the idea that Ali ordered the setting sun to move back to the east and it obeyed, or that he stretched out his hand, caught the moon, and placed it in his bosom, became evidence of his miraculous attributes. Hamza warns followers of the Imam Ja'far al-Sadiq to abstain from blaspheming the Deity (al-Hakim) and to remove doubt from their hearts about his erratic actions. He tells them not to denounce these actions, even though they might have seen him ride a reed and knot his garment behind his back, or play with children with polished animal heel-bones (*ki'ab*), since he had done these things symbolically to separate the rational from the irrational. The fact that al-Hakim also rode a donkey, wore woolen garments, and let his hair and nails grow symbolizes his rejection of the outward practices of *tanzil* (the *Shari'a* of Islam) and *ta'wil* (the Shiites' interpretation of religious dogmas, especially the apotheosis of Ali). Riding a donkey was his means of exposing the truth about the *natiq*s. Likewise, the saddles (unadorned with gold or silver) that he used symbolize the abolition of the laws of both the *natiq*s and the *asa*s, *i.e.*, the *tanzil* and *ta'wil*. The saddles particularly are proof that the religion of the Druze is the sword that will subdue all those people who hold different religious beliefs. Even the daily strolls al-Hakim took through the orchards of his palace have a spiritual meaning. The beautiful things he passed by are a sign of the perfect religion of *Tawhid*, while the ugly ones point to the religion of the Prophet of Islam. Hamza ibn Ali goes so far as to defend the ribald actions ascribed to al-Hakim as symbols of his divinity. He warns that those who do not believe these actions are divine symbols are infidels, and their reward is eternal punishment (11).

Another essential dogma of the Druze is *tajalli* (theophany), the revelation of the Deity in human form. This dogma is so fundamental that the Druze call themselves Banu Ma'ruf, meaning those who *arafu* (attained to) the knowledge of the divine in human form (12). It is worth noting that in *al-Sira al-Mustaqima*, Hamza ibn Ali praises Abu Sa'id al-Jannabi and his young son Sulayman Abu Tahir, two pioneers of the ghulat Qaramita

(Carmathians) Shiites of Bahrayn, for explicating the dogma of *kashf* (*tajalli*), which no other *da'i*s (propagandists) had done so well (13). For this and perhaps other reasons, some assert that the Druze are remnants of the Qaramita, but the Druze reject this claim (14). The appearance of God is like that in the Old and New Testaments, where He spoke to the people of Israel through the prophets and His Son (Jesus), who is His own essence [Hebrews, 1: 1].

[8] Since the Deity is transcendent and incomprehensible, the Druze believed that he should make himself known to his creation through time, so that they might follow and obey him. But let no one think when he sees the theophany of the Deity that he has really seen him, because the divine essence of God is impossible to see or comprehend. Nevertheless, the deity willed to appear to the Druze in a corporeal form as a gesture of his grace, to allow them to know him (15). Thus al-Hakim, the final theophany of God, has by his appearance established the faith of *Tawhid* and revealed what was mysterious. In fact, to the Druze the secret thus revealed is the belief in the oneness of the lord al-Hakim, whose promises will never fail (16). But if man can see this theophany, *i.e.*, the Deity in human form, then the Deity becomes limited by space and time. Such an assumption causes a tremendous theological problem which militates against the belief in the transcendence of the Deity and the idea that he is beyond human comprehension. In order to solve this problem, al-Da'i Isma'il ibn Muhammad al-Tamimi, in his *Kitab fihi Taqsim al-Ulum wa Ithbat al-Haqq wa Kashf al-Maknun* (written at the behest of Hamza), says that when one sees this outward image of the theophany, he thinks that it is a human image like his. But when one looks at it with the eye of knowledge, that is with a spiritual approach, he sees not an image but God himself (17). One prominent Druze leader, the late Kamal Junblat, asserts that the eternal one, the unchangeable in his nature, cannot be incarnated in human form, which is mortal, ephemeral, changeable, and subject to extinction (18).

But to the Druze the theophany occurred over many cycles and ages and in different forms, all of which were meant to guide ephemeral, changeable and dying humanity to the *Tawhid* of the deity, al-Hakim. This idea is derived from the Isma'ilis and other extremist Shiites, especially the Nusayris. It is also found in the system of Ahl-i Haqq (Ali Ilahis) with some differences. As was stated earlier, the Ahl-i Haqq maintain that Ali was one of the seven theophanies of the deity and was himself divine. He existed from the beginning of time, and his coming to this world was proclaimed by the angel Gabriel to Adam (19). While some extremist Shiites maintain that the God Ali appeared in seven forms and cycles (*adwar*), the Druze say that their deity, al-Hakim, appeared in seventy-two cycles which lasted for millions of years, but the time and place of only a few such appearances are known. Significantly, the Deity first appeared to humankind under the name Ali al-A'la ("the most high"), the same term the Nusayris use in referring to Ali ibn Abi Talib. The Arabic word Ali means "high", but for many Arabs it is also the name of their God. The Druze view of the cycles is that the deity appeared in many forms until it finally appeared in the Fatimid caliphs, of whom al-Hakim was the last and ultimate manifestation. In other words, he became the Messiah. Similarly, Baha al-Din Muqtana, in *al-Risala al-Masihiyya*, identifies Hamza with the Messiah. He is the one and only God. But al-Hakim is now in concealment until he appears on the last day. This period is called *Zaman al-Sitr* (the period of concealment). The period of Ali al-A'la was the longest, lasting 343 million years, and was followed by other cycles. From the appearance of Adam there were seventy weeks, which may recall the seventy weeks of Daniel. The period between each pair of cycles is seventy weeks, and the period between each pair of weeks is a thousand years (20).

[9] In this period of Ali al-A'la, created men were called al-Timm, al-Rimm, al-Hinn and al-Jinn, who had no written laws and no book. In the Nusayris' religious system, the God Ali appeared in seven *qibab*s (tabernacles) or periods, inhabited by the beings named above, except that the Yunan (Greeks) are considered among them. He was one and the same god in each of these manifestations. The term al-Rimm (perhaps al-Rum) appears to mean Greeks (21).

Along with Ali al-A'la came his *hudud* (ministers), and all the world came into existence, for Ali al-A'la (none other than al-Hakim) existed in his essence alone, without his creation. But he willed to make a cause and effect for his creation. So he made his Will emanate from his radiant light and command him to be, and he was. This Will thus became his perfect image, endowed with light and power. The creator called this Will "the Cause of Causes", and by the power of the creator it became *al-Aql al-Kulli* (The Universal Mind) and *Nuqtat al-Bikar*, that is, the point in which the compass begins and ends the circle. In this sense Nuqtat al-Bikar means that al-Aql al-Kulli is the beginning and the end (22). Then, as we shall see, the other *hudud*

were created in succession. But al-Aql al-Kulli is none other than Hamza ibn Ali himself, whom the God al-Hakim caused to appear in seventy ages in different forms and under different names (23).

Question 24 of the Druze catechism is, “How many times did Hamza appear, and under what names?” Answer: “He appeared seven times, from Adam to the Prophet Muhammad.” Question 25 of the same catechism asks, “What was his name in each of these appearances?” Answer: “In the period of Adam his name was Shatnil, in Noah's period he was called Pythagoras, in the time of Abraham he was David, in the time of Moses he was Shu'ayb, in the time Isa (Jesus) he was the true al-Masih (Christ), in the time of Muhammad he was Salman al-Farisi, and in the time of Sa'id (Ubayd Allah al-Mahdi) he was Salih” (24). Thus, Hamza ibn Ali carved out for himself a position of divinity in the Druze religious system (25).

[10] While Ali al-A'la and al-Bari (al-Barr) may seem to represent two different theophanies, to this writer they appear to be one and the same primeval creator. In *al-Sira al-Mustaqima*, Hamza reasons that because the deity who first appeared in human form was called al-Qa'im (self-existent) and not Qa'im al-Zaman (Lord of Time), as the Fatimids call him, the deity is limited by time, while as God al-Hakim is outside time. Hamza asserts that with his appearance as Nuqtat al-Bikar, who proclaimed the oneness of the divinity of al-Hakim, there is no need for more theophanies because Hamza has now fulfilled them all. Thus, the God al-Hakim has blessed him (Hamza) and the *mustajibin* (those who respond to the faith of *Tawhid*) by appearing in human form, that they might comprehend him. Therefore, Hamza says, despite his human form al-Hakim is not the son of al-Aziz bi Allah (his earthly father), nor he is the father of his son al-Zahir, because he transcends these human limitations. But why al-Hakim appeared in different cycles and in different forms, and why he made himself known to people in some of these cycles and concealed it in others, are questions Hamza does not address. To him, these phenomena are mysteries beyond the comprehension of the human mind.

It is most peculiar, however, that in *al-Sira al-Mustaqima*, Hamza relates an anecdote that thoroughly confuses students of history. To my knowledge, it is not found in the religious systems of extremist Shiites. He says that in our own cycle, *i.e.*, the known cycle of creation, there existed three men, all of them called Adam. One was Adam al-Safa (the Pure, the Choicest, or perhaps the Rock, as Jesus called Peter "*Cepha*", rock), who was none other than Hamza himself as he existed in an earlier cycle. This Adam, also called Shatnil, was born in Adminiyya in India; his father's name was Daniel. Adam al-Safa left India and came to the city of Surna ("miracle") in Yemen, and from there he sent twelve *da'i*s to preach the message of *Tawhid*. For this he became known as Abu al-Bashar (Father of Men), because men in this sense were those to whom Adam al-Safa preached the message of *Tawhid* and who accepted it. Thus, Adam became their spiritual father. Then Iblis (Satan), an adversary of al-Barr, appeared in the person of Harith (or Harat) ibn Tarmah, from Isfahan. Al-Barr asked the angels to worship Shatnil. All of them obeyed except Harith, who said that he was better than Shatnil and would never genuflect before him. Because of his disobedience, Harith was expelled from the Janna (paradise) and no longer regarded as one of the *hudud* (26). This episode is plainly of Qur'anic origin. But what is the origin of the name Shatnil? Muhammad Kamil Husayn conjectures that Shatnil is Shanti, the name by which the Chinese called the Christian saints. Probably Hamza heard this name and distorted it into Shatnil (27). Interestingly, in one of his letters Baha al-Din al-Muqtana says he is the slave to Qa'im al-Haqq (the Lord of Truth) Shatnil, who may be his lord Hamza (28).

The second Adam is *al-Nafs* (Universal Soul), who appeared in the form of Enoch, or the second Adam who according to the Qur'an (Sura of Taha, 20: 121) disobeyed God and was called Adam al-Asi (rebellious, disobedient) or Adam the human being. His wife was called Hawwa (Eve), because she encompassed (*ihtawat*) all the believers. She was not only his wife but his proof (*hujja*), his slave (*abd*), and one of his

*da'i*s (29). Then the *Kalima* appeared in the form of *Sharkh*. The third Adam, was Adam al-Nasi (the forgetful) because he forgot God his lord according to the Qur'an (Sura of Taha, 20: 115.)

[11] These three Adams were born from a man and a woman, not from the dust of the earth, as the ignorant (non-Druze) claim. It seems strange that Kamal Junblat speculates that the theophany of the deity will occur around the year 2000 A.D., and that with this theophany a new path will be opened for believers all over the world to follow (30). After al-Barr, the deity appeared in other forms. He appeared during the era of Abu Zakariyya, who is actually Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Ismail (also called al-Rida), who was persecuted by the Abbasid Caliph al-Ma'mun (d. 833). He later appeared as al-Ali, al-Mu'ill, al-Qa'im bi Amr Allah, al-Mansur bi Allah, al-Aziz bi Allah (the father of al-Hakim), and finally as al-Hakim himself. Thus, al-Hakim became the final theophany and is himself the Deity.

Nevertheless, following Isma'ili reasoning, the Druze maintain that the Will of the primeval God was not to live in total obscurity but to reveal himself through the process of *fayd* (emanations). He created *al-Aql al-Kulli*, the first emanation of the divine nature. Here we may note the influence of the Isma'ili concept of God and creation (31). According to the Isma'ili writer al-Kirmani (d. 947), the first intellect includes the whole Existence; in him it becomes one (32). The Isma'ilis appear to have adopted the Neo-Platonic doctrine of emanations, stripping it of mysticism. Like the Isma'ilis, the Druze and other *ghulat*, especially the Nusayris, maintain that God has no qualities. He is only an abstraction without attributes. He becomes so obscure that no one can communicate with him. This idea contradicts Neo-Platonism, Judaism, Christianity and Islam, which all maintain that God has divine attributes and is the primary source of existence (33).

To the Druze, the Universal Mind is Hamza himself, who became the ruler of the universe. He is a kind of a demigod, but sufficiently powerful that on the day of judgment he will act on behalf of al-Hakim to judge whether men believe in al-Hakim or deny him. In this respect, says Makarem, according to the doctrine of *Tawhid* the immanent Universal Mind is the source of the emanation of all creation and the very proof of its outward existence. He adds that the Universal Mind made all creation and they cannot be separated from each other; the Universal Mind is the Cause, and the creation is its Effect. Thus, the highest mind is the means of revelation and knowledge implanted in every believing (that is, Druze) soul (34).

Meanwhile, another demigod was created as an adversary (*didd*), whose function was to nullify the work of the Universal Mind. The emanation of the *didd* made it necessary for the primeval God to create ministers who emanated from the Universal Mind. These are the *Nafs* (Universal Soul), *al-Asas* (the Foundation), *al-Kalima* (the Word), *al-Sabiq* (the Preceder), and finally *al-Tali* (The Successor). These emanations are the *Hudud*. More importantly, they are al-Hakim's ministers, whose basic function is to serve him and reveal him as the lord of the universe. These emanations personify Druze divine men. Hamza personified *al-Aql al-Kulli*, Isma'il al-Tamimi personified *al-Nafs*, Muhammad ibn Wahab al-Qurashi personified *al-Kalima*, Abu al-Khayr Salama al-Samiri personified, *al-Sabiq* or *al-Janah al-Ayman* (the Right Wing), and Ali ibn Ahmad al-Samuqi, also known as Baha al-Din al-Muqtana personified *al-Tali* or *al-Janah al-Aysar* (the Left Wing). These *hudud* are the *Sham'a* (candle) of *Tawhid* (35). They are the ones who revealed the religion of *Tawhid* and call on humanity to embrace it. The duty of every Druze is to know them and their positions and functions, in order to understand the *Tawhid*, the Oneness of the Lord al-Hakim. These emanations are the only means of salvation, according to the connotation of this term by the Druze (36).

[12] Next in importance to the *hudud* are the *natiq*s (prophets). According to the Druze classification, these include Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus (called Isa son of Joseph), Muhammad (the Prophet of Islam), and Muhammad ibn Isma'il, who gave his name to the Isma'ilis. Each of these *natiq*s has a deputy or minor prophet called *samit*s or *asa*s, whose function is to interpret the faith of the *natiq*. They include Ishma'il,

Abraham's son (by his bondwoman) Hagar, Enoch, Aaron, Daniel, Simon, Plato, and other Greek and Biblical characters. Both the *natiq*s and the *samit*s appear in irregular cycles. The *natiq* is the legislative prophet, and the *samit* is his substitute. Between each *natiq* and the next stand seven Imams who are the deputies or *Samit*s. Each of the legislating prophets abrogates the law of his predecessor. Jesus abrogated the laws of Moses, and Muhammad abrogated the laws of both Judaism and Christianity. In the last cycle, the religion of *Tawhid* abrogated all former religions and thus became the only true religion on earth. To the Druze the number seven is sacred; there are seven Imams (representing seven heavens), seven seas, seven earths, seven zodiacs. This is strikingly close to the seven cycles of the Nusayris, in which God appeared in seven different human forms (37). But in the main, it is the same doctrine of *hudud* held by the Isma'ilis, although with some differences. The Isma'ilis say that men cannot comprehend the *Tawhid* of God without knowing the spiritual and the corporeal *hudud* and having faith in them and obeying them. These spiritual *hudud* are the Mind, the Souls, the Jadd, al-Fath and al-Khayal. They prefigure the corporeal hudud—the *Natiq*s, the *Awsiya* or *Samit*s, the *Imama*s, the *Hujaj* (Proofs, Authorities), and the *Du'at* (Propagandists). The Isma'ilis maintain that God created the Universal Mind who created the Univeral Soul, whereby all creation came into existence. Hamza debated this doctrine in *al-Risala al-Mawsuma bi Kashf al-Haqa'iq* and produced what he thought was more appropriate doctrine of the *hudud*. (*Rasa'il al-Hikma*, pp 130-145)

Another doctrine shared by the Druze, the Nusayris, and Ahl-i Haqq is that of metempsychosis (reincarnation). The Nusayris call metempsychosis *musukhiyya* or *tanasukh*, while the Druze call it *taqammus*. According to the Nusayris, the soul after death is reborn into another human body, or into an animal, a plant, dirt, dry straw, or insects like flies and ants, depending on its state in life and the degree of its good or bad deeds. For instance, the soul of a good Nusayri will pass into the body of a good human being, while the soul of a sinful Nusayri will enter the body of an unclean beast. But in the Druze doctrine of *taqammus*, derived from *qamis* (shirt, tunic), good and bad souls enter the bodies of good or evil people.

[13] Hamza ibn Ali makes this distinction clear in *al-Risala al-Damigha*, written to refute a Nusayri book that had come into his hands. Hamza says the Nusayris assert that the souls of the *Nawasib* (Sunnites) and *addad* (adversaries) will pass into dogs and other unclean beasts such as pigs, monkeys, and fowl, until they enter fire to be burned and beaten under the hammer. He rejects as preposterous and utterly false the belief that human souls enter the bodies of animals, and warns that anyone believing in this *musukhiyya* will suffer the loss of both this world and the next (38). Hamza explains that taqammus means the successive alternation of souls in human bodies for the sake of testing them and purifying them. As soon as a soul leaves one body, God has prepared for it to be reborn in another. God does this with great wisdom because each soul needs a body and cannot exist without it. He does this also to keep the population of the world in constant balance (39).

The Druze also maintain that *taqammus* is a process that only Druze souls experience. Thus, according to some Druze writers the soul of a good Druze at the time of death enters the body of another good Druze, while the soul of a sinful Druze may enter the body of a Jew or a Christian. In this case, it passes from one such body to another until finally it is sufficiently purified to enter the body of a good Druze and becomes part of the eternal community of believers, the Druze. But the soul of a sinful Druze seldom enters the body of a Muslim.40 Also, the soul of a righteous male Druze enters only the body of a male Druze, while the soul of a female Druze enters the body of a female Druze.

Metempsychosis is important in the religious system of the Ahl-i Haqq because it is associated with the worship and decorum of the *Jam'* (religious assembly) and with the *haqq* (Truth), that is, the oneness of God which is the essence of their worship. According to the Ahl-i Haqq the righteous—those who adhere faithfully to the rules of the *haqiqat* (Truth), *i.e.*, their religious beliefs, and worship at the *Jam'*, and partake

of the sacrificial meal—will be reincarnated so that they may come to know the *haqq* (Truth). The wicked, those who act wrongly at the *Jam'* or do not adhere faithfully to the principle of *haqiqat* (the knowledge that God is the ultimate reality) will be excommunicated from the Ahl-i Haqq community and reborn in the form of filthy animals, ultimately going to hell. In this regard the Ahl-i Haqq are closer to the Nusayris' doctrine of metempsychosis. But unlike the Nusayris and Druze, the Ahl-i Haqq hold the pantheistic belief that all humankind emanated from God and will at the end be unified with God, who initially created it. They connect this belief with their doctrine of metempsychosis. In other words, to Ahl-i Haqq the righteous will be united with the *haqiqat* (truth of God). The rebirth of the wicked as base and dirty animals symbolizes their unchaste and immoral nature; they will be eternally separated from the *haqiqat*. Finally, they will go to hell, because the righteous and the wicked cannot coexist. The Thoumaris, a subgroup of the Ahl-i Haqq, maintain that the reincarnation of a sinner's soul in animal form may go on for a million cycles, during which he gradually attains purification, until finally he is reborn in perfect human form and approaches God. Some Ali-Ilahis believe that dogs are not dirty animals and souls would transmigrate to them. A certain Ali Ilahi, Khan Guran, loved his dog, who he believed was the reincarnation of his grandfather (41).

[14] The Druze believe that on the last day, when the world comes to an end, the god al-Hakim will appear with Hamza ibn Ali, most likely in Mecca, accompanied by great cavalry hosts, with thunder and lightning shaking the earth. On that day, Hamza will take revenge on those who have shed the blood of the *Muwahhidun* (Druze) and will terminate all laws and religions on earth. He will then proclaim the *Tawhid* and the *Muwahhidun*, and the Druze will inherit the earth forever. All infidels will be subject to them. Unlike the *Janna* (paradise) of Islam, where people marry and give themselves over to the sensual pleasures of eating, drinking, and intercourse, *Janna* for the *Muwahhidun* (Druze) is a spiritual place where they alone enjoy happiness because they have known and embraced the true religion of *Tawhid*. This final triumph and reward is based on their belief that they are the best of God's creation, the chosen people of God (42).

Hamza ibn Ali lists seven articles of faith peculiar to the Druze. They are:

1. Truth of the Tongue
2. The Perseverance of Friendship between Brothers
3. Renunciation of all other Religions
4. Disbelief in Evil Spirits and Deceivers
5. The Worship of the Lord al-Hakim in every age and generation
6. Acquiescence in the actions of al-Hakim, whatever they are
7. Absolute acceptance of al-Hakim's orders

These articles have substituted the religious duties held sacred by Muslims: the Islamic profession of faith, prayer, *zakat* (alms), fasting, the *Hajj*, and *Jihad* (43).

A cursory reading of these articles suggests they are of Druze origin. But Dr. Muhammad Kamil Husayn writes that they are found in the book *al-Himma fi Adab Itiba' al-A'imma*, by the Fatimid writer al-Qadi al-Nu'man ibn Muhammad ibn Hayyun al-Maghribi (d. 973). Husayn cites one caveat; since al-Qadi Nu'man lived before al-Hakim's time, he cannot refer to the oneness of al-Hakim in every generation but says that the Imam and Qa'im al-Zaman (the Lord of Time) in every age and generation must be obeyed (44). He goes on to say that the Druze *Shari'a* replaced the Islamic religious duties. But in his epilogue, he iterates the ideas of Druze writers like the Amir Shakib Arslan and Arif al-Nakadi, who contend that the Druze are Muslims and have never abandoned Islam. Surely, this particular subject is thorny and remains controversial. Very recently a Druze writer, retired Major Jamil Dhubyan, published a book entitled *Islamiyyat al-Muwahiddin al-Duruz (Islamism of the Muwahiddin the Druze*: al-Shouf, Lebanon, 1991) to show that the Druze are genuine

Muslims. But it is apparent from the Druze books that the religion of *Tawhid* stands alone independent of other religions. It is, as the Druze maintain, the only true spiritual path.

Footnotes

The Druze and Other Shiite Ghulat Sects: A Comparative Perspective

by Matti Moosa

[Page 1]

1 See Matti Moosa, *Extremist Shiites* (Syracuse University Press, 1988), 245-254, especially p. 248.

[Page 2]

2 Sami Nasib Makarem, *Adwa ala Maslak al-Tawhid* (Beirut, 1966), 145, and *al-Risala fi Dhikr al-Ma'ad* (about Pythagoras explaining to his disciples the true *Tawhid*), in *Rasa'il al-Hikma* (Beirut: Dar li Ajl al-Ma'rifa, Diyar Aql, 1986), pp. 596-607 especially p. 601. Makarem's book *The Druze Faith* (Delmar: Caravan Books, 1974) is perhaps the best and most comprehensive exposition of the religion of the Druze.

[Page 4]

3 *Al-Risala al-Mawsuma bi al-I'dhar wa al-Indhar*, in *Rasa'il al-Hikma*, p. 248, and *Risalat al-Safar ila al-Sada*, in *Rasa'il al-Hikma*, pp. 546-547. For *Risalat al-Ghayba*, see *Rasa'il al-Hikma*, pp. 250-257.

[Page 5]

4 *Al-Risala al-Mawsuma bi al-I'dhar wa al-Indhar*, in *Rasa'il al-Hikma*, p. 248, and *Risalat al-Safar ila al-Sada*, in *Rasa'il al-Hikma*, pp. 546-547. For *Risalat al-Ghayba*, see *Rasa'il al-Hikma*, pp. 250-257.

5 For the Druze Catechism see Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris. MSS. 5188, fols. 51-52, 1445, 1446, 1447; Antoine Isaac Silvester De Sacy, *Exposé de la Religion des Druzes*, 2 (Paris, 1838): 260; Moosa, p. 258; Anwar Yasin (pseudonym), *Ta'lim al-Din al-Durzi* (Paris, 1985, including both Arabic text and French translation).

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6 See *Al-Risala al-Damigha li al-Fasiq: al-Radd ala al-Nusayri La'anahu al-Mawla fi kull Kawr wa Dawr*, in *Rasa'il al-Hikma*, pp. 163-174.

7 *Al-Risala al-Damigha*, in *Rasa'il al-Hikma*, p. 172.

8 See *Risalat al-Balagh wa al-Nihaya fi al-Tawhid* in *Rasa'il al-Hikma*, pp. 73-82, al-Sira al-Mustaqima in *Rasa'il al-Hikma*, pp.111-129, *al-Risala al-Mawsuma bi Kashf al-Haqa'iq*, in *Rasa'il al-Hikma*, pp. 130-145, *al-Risala al-Mawsuma bi Sabab al-Asbab in Ras'ail al-Hikma*, pp. 146-159, *al-Risala al-Mawsuma bi al-Shafiya li Nufus al-Mwuahhidin* in *Rasa'il al-Hikma*, pp. 453-462, *Min Doun Qa'im al-Zaman* and *Idah al-Tawhid* by Baha al-Din (nicknamed al-Muqtana) in *Rasa'il al-Hikma*, pp. 526-537, and Hamza's book *Mushaf al-Munfarid bi Dhatih*. In *Risalat al-Tanzih ila Jama'at al-Muwahhidin*, in *Rasa'il al-Hikma*, p. 186, Hamza twice refers to this book as his. I wish to thank Dr. Nadim Shehadi and Samar Hamdan of the Druze Heritage Foundation for providing me with a copy of *Mushaf al-Munfarid bi Dhatih* (n.d and n.p.)

9 *Min Doun Qa'im al-Zaman wa al-Hadi ila Ta'at al-Rahman*, in *Rasa'il al-Hikma*, 526-537.

10 See, for example, *al-Sira al-Mustaqima* in *Rasa'il al-Hikma*, p. 111, and *Mushaf al-Munfarid bi Dhatih*, pp. 8, 28, 33, and 49-66 just an example.

[Page 7]

11 *Kitab fihi Haqa'iq ma Yazhar Quddam Mawlana, Jalla Dhikruh, min al-Hazl*, in *Rasa'il al-Hikma*, pp. 99, 109.

12 *Al-Risala al-Mawsuma bi al-Shafiya li Nufus al-Muwahhidin*, in *Rasa'il al-Hikma*, p. 454; *al-Risala al-Mawsum bi Idah al-Tawhid*, in *Rasa'il al-Hikma*, p. 656.

13 *Al-Sira al-Mustaqima*, in *Rasa'il al-Hikma*, p. 116.

[Page 8]

14 Amin Tali', *Asl al-Muwahiddin al-Duruz wa Usuluhum* (Beirut, 1961), pp. 42-45.

15 *Al-Sira al-Mustaqima* in *Rasa'il al-Hikma*, 124-125; Isma'il ibn Muhammad al-Tamimi, *Kitab fihi Taqsim al-Ulum wa Ithbat al Haqq wa Kashf al-Maknun* in *Rasa'il al-Hikma*, pp. 258-270.

16 *Kitab fihi Taqsim al-Ulum wa Ithbat sl-Haqq wa Kshf al-Maknun* in *Rasa'il al-Hikma*, pp. 258-270; *al-Risala al-Shafiya li Nufus al-Muwahhidin*, in *Rasa'il al-Hikma*, pp. 453-454.

17 *Kitab fihi Taqsim al-Ulum*, in *Rasa'il al-Hikma*, pp. 258-259.

18 Kamal Junblat, Introduction to Sami Nasib Makarim, *Adwa ala Maslak al-Tawhid*, p. 33.

19 Matti Moosa, *Extremist Shiites*, pp. 206-207, 245-254 (esp. 248), 311, 317.

20 See *al-Mawsuma bi Kashf al-Haqa'iq* in *Rasa'il al-Hikma*, 130-145, and *al-Sira al-Mustaqima* in *Rasa'il al-Hikma*, pp. 111-129.

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21 Moosa, pp. 316-317.

22 *Al-Mawsuma bi Kashf al-Haqa'iq* in *Rasa'il al-Hikma*, p. 132. For an explanation of *Nuqtat al-Bikar*, see Makarem, p. 158, and *Kitab al-Nuqat wa al-Dawa'ir*, ed. Christian F. Sybold (Amsterdam, 1850), pp. 3-10.

23 *Al-Ghaya wa al-Nasiha*, in *Rasa'il al-Hikma*, p. 94.

24 Druze Catechism, Bibliotheque Nationale MS. 1445, and Anwar Yasin, *Ta'lim al-Din al-Durzi*, Arabic text with French translation (Paris, 1985).

25 For more on this point see Moosa, pp. 317-318.

[Page 10]

26 *Al-Sira al-Mustaqima*, in *Rasa'il al-Hikma*, 111-120.

27 Muhammad Kamil Husayn, *Ta'ifat al-Duruz, Tarikhuha wa Aqa'iduha* (Cairo, 1962), p. 117.

28 *Al-Risala al-Mawsuma bi al-Isra'iliyya*, in *Rasa'il al-Hikma*, p. 623.

29 *Al-Sira al-Mustaqima*, in *Rasa'il al-Hikma*, p. 115.

[Page 11]

30 Kamal Junblat, *Hadhihi Wasiyyati*, p. 50.

31 See the Isma'ili da'i Abu Ya'qub Ishaq al-Sijistani, *Kitab al-Yanabi'*, ed. Mustafa Ghalib (Beirut, 1965), pp. 156-157; Makarem, *Adwa ala Maslak al-Tawhid*, pp. 124-125.

32 Sami Nasib Makarem, *The Doctrine of the Isma'ilis* (Beirut, 1972), pp. 21-22.

33 Moosa, pp. 312-314.

34 Makarem, *Adwa ala Maslak al-Tawhid*, pp. 123-124.

35 See *al-Mawsuma bi Risalat al-Sham'a* in *Rasa'il al-Hikma*, pp. 277-281; *Kitab al-Nuqat wa al-Dawa'ir*, ed. Sybold, pp. 14-15, has a circular monogram, with al-Aql in the middle surrounded by the rest of the *hudud*.

36 See *al-Kitab al-Ma'ruf bi al-Naqd al-Khafi* in *Rasa'il al-Hikma*, pp. 49-63, *Risalat al-Balagh wa al-Nihaya fi al-Tawhid* in *Rasa'il al-Hikma*, pp. 73-82.

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37 *Kitab fihi Taqsim al-Ulum wa Ithbat al-Haqq wa Kashf al-Maknun*, in *Rasa'il al-Hikma*, pp. 258-270 ; Moosa, pp. 311-323. On the *Natiq*s and *Samit*s cf. Abu Hamid al-Ghazzali, *Fada'ih al-Batiniyya* (Amman:

Jordan, 1993), pp. 28-29.

[Page 13]

38 See *al-Risalat al-Damigha* in *Rasa'il al-Hikma*, 170-171; Moosa, p. 363.

39 *Kitab al-Nuqat wa al-Dawa'ir*, pp. 30-31, 34. A modern Druze work on *taqammus* is Amin Tali, *al-Taqammus* (Beirut: Manshurat Uwaydat, 1980).

40 Makarem, *Adwa ala Maslak al-Tawhid*, pp. 121, 126-127, and Fuad I. Khuri, *Being a Druze* (Druze Heritage Foundation: Beirut, Lebanon, 2004, entire Chapter Five, pp. 101-116.

41 Moosa, pp. 250-251.

[Page 14]

42 *Al-Risala al-Mawsuma bi al-I'dhar wa al-Indhar*, in *Rasa'il al-Hikma*, p. 249.

43 See *Risalat Bad' al-Tawhid li Da'wat al-Haqq* (probably written by Hamza), in *Rasa'il al-Hikma*, p. 66; *al-Wasaya al-Sab' li al-Muwahhidin*, in *Rasa'il al-Hikma*, pp. 309-319, *Mithaq al-Nisa'*, in *Rasa'il al-Hikma*, p. 72; *Dhikr ma Yajib an Ya'rifuh al-Muwahhid*, MS. 206, Library of the American University of Beirut; Muhammad Kamil Husayn, *Tai'fat al-Duruz*, p. 98; Muhammad Ahmad al-Khatib, *Aqidat al-Duruz: Ard wa Naqd* (Al-Riyad, Saudi Arabia, 1989), p. 201.

44 Husayn, *Ta'ifat al-Duruz*, p. 122. See Matti Moosa, *Extremist Shiites* (Syracuse University Press, 1988), pp. 245-254, especially p. 248.

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A NEW SOURCE ON AḤMAD IBN AL-ṬAYYIB AL-SARAKHSĪ: FLORENTINE MS ARABIC 299

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The Bibliotheca Mediceo-Laurenziana MS Arabic 299, entitled *Kitāb Fīhi al-Shudhūr al-Dhahabiyya fī Madhhab al-Naṣrāniyya*, has long been erroneously attributed to the Syrian logician Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī. In fact, this anonymous MS is an anthology of essays written by several authors in defense of Christian doctrine. A very interesting portion of this MS is a dialogue between Israel, bishop of Kaskar, and Aḥmad ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sarakhsī, the pupil of the philosopher al-Kindī. The first part of this dialogue deals briefly with the agnomen *Abū* by which the Arabs customarily address each other; the second part treats the essence of numbers and debates whether this essence is altered by the process of addition; the last part deals with the question of whether there is any separation among the three persons of the Trinity.

THE BIBLIOTHECA MEDICEO-LAURENZIANA contains among its Oriental manuscripts Arabic MS. 299, entitled *Kitāb Fīhi al-Shudhūr al-Dhahabiyya fī Madhhab al-Naṣrāniyya*, which we have undertaken to edit and comment upon for the benefit of those concerned with Christian apology. The first description of this manuscript was provided by Isṭīphān 'Awwād al-Sim'ānī (Stephen Assemani), a member of the celebrated Lebanese family, in his *Bibliothecae Mediceo-Laurentianae et Palatinae codicum manuscriptorum Orientalium Catalogus* (pp. 113–15). Rev. Louis Cheikho (d. 1927) also mentions this manuscript in his monograph "Al-Makhṭūṭāt al-'Arabiyya li Katabat al-Naṣrāniyya" (Arabic Manuscripts of Christian Authors), in *al-Mashriq* (1924), pp. 220–21, but erroneously lists it among the works of the Syrian logician Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī (d. 974). He cites the manuscript as "The Golden Fragments in the Christian Doctrine: Quotations from the Sayings of Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī at the Florence Library." Other writers, to be sure, have copied this mistake and followed Cheikho in attributing the manuscript to Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī.[1]

[1] The anonymous article "Mashāhīr al-Suryān: al-Faylasūf Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī al-Mutawaffa Sanat 947," *al-Ḥikma* (1929), No. 4, p. 189, mentions the manuscript under discussion. After comparing this article with Murād Fu'ād Chiqqī's introduction to Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī, *Tahdhīb al-Akhlāq* (Jerusalem, 1930), I am convinced that Chiqqī is the author of the article. Chiqqī's introduction, however, lists twenty-four additional works by Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī which are not cited in the anonymous article; especially important to us is his listing of *al-Shudhūr al-Dhahabiyya* as item 71 in his introduction.

The first thing to be noticed about this manuscript is that it is anonymous. The explanation of its anonymity is that it is not the work of a single writer, but an anthology of essays of varying lengths written by several authors. These diverse essays, however, have as their common purpose the defense of Christian doctrine. The compiler's name does not appear on the manuscript, simply because it was not the custom of ancient Oriental learned men to compile and edit anthologies, as is the current practice in the Western world. However, the title of the manuscript, referring to "golden fragments," indicates that the work is an anthology. Stephen Assemani mentions in his commentary (p. 113) that this manuscript has been compiled by an anonymous person, but goes on to say that its author is unknown. (Possibly he has confused the terms "compiler" and "author"; perhaps he has assumed that the essays were the work of one man, compiled later by another.) He further states that the "author" of this manuscript, whom he is unable to identify, lived possibly after the eleventh century.

The MS. contains the following works:

(1) *Kitāb al-Ṣaḥā'iḥ*, by al-Ṣafī Abū al-Faḍā'il ibn al-'Assāl (his name does not appear in the text), (113 pp.)

(2) A tract including the doubt of al-Imām Fakhr al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb concerning the unity of the divine and human natures of Jesus, together with al-Ṣafī's answer to it (10 pp.).

(3) A tract concerning the state of the soul after it departs from the body and before the Resurrection, being a summary of a monograph by the naturalist and sage Abū al-Faraj Hibat Allāh Abū

al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Abī Isḥāq, known as ibn al-'Assāl (10 pp.).

(4) A tract concerning the necessity of the incarnation of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, by Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī (3 pp.).

(5) An anonymous tract describing the Lord Christ as divine rather than human, although it concedes the propriety of describing him as both (6 pp.).

(6) An assembly reported of Elias, Metropolitan of Niṣībīn, attended by Israel al-Kaskarī (15 pp.).

(7) Several anonymous tracts, not more than three pages each in length, dealing with various theological subjects

(8) A tract by Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī on the Lord who was born of Mary (7 pp.).

(9) A brief tract from the book entitled *al-Āḥād* by 'Abbād, containing a discussion of the Lord Jesus (3 pp.).

A very interesting portion of this manuscript is (6) the dialogue between Israel, bishop of Kaskar (Kashkar), and Aḥmad ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sarakhsī, the pupil of the philosopher al-Kindī. The dialogue is titled *An Assembly Reported of Elias, Metropolitan of Niṣībīn, Attended by Israel al-Kaskarī* (Bishop of Kaskar).[2] Israel, we know, was the bishop of a now extinct town located in present-day Iraq on the Tigris River. But the undiscerning reader may easily be misled into believing that Īliyya (Elias), the Metropolitan of Niṣībīn, is the same Īliyya known as Bar Shīnāya (Ibn al-Sanī), who lived in the eleventh century. Indeed, Stephen Assemani himself mistakenly believed that his Īliyya was Bar Shīnāya, mentioned in *Kitāb al-Majdal* as the author of *Daf' al-Hamm* (The Driving Away of Worry).[3] What is still more puzzling is ho-assertion that the manuscript here under review contains most of the seven assemblies of Īliyya, Metris politan of Niṣībīn,[4] for it is clear that the MS includes only one such assembly. Moreover, the manuscript refers to Īliyya as the metroplitan of al-Maghrib (the part of the Syrian world west of the Euphrates), adding that before becoming a monk he was called 'Alī ibn Ubayd ibn Dāwūd, and that he was a contemporary both of the eminent Muslim philosopher Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb ibn Isḥāq al-Kindī (d. ca. 873) and of his pupil al-Sarakhsī.[5]

The assembly of this metropolitan apparently has been recorded from the testimony of an authority who was present at the proceedings. According to this authority, while Īliyya was visiting al-Kindī, someone came with the news that Israel, the bishop of Kaskar, had arrived in Baghdad. Al-Kindī sent his pupil, al-Sarakhsī, to debate with the bishop in the presence of many people of different religious convictions (their debate is the substance of the account of the assembly, a translation of which will appear later in this article). The author of *Kitāb al-Majdal* calls Israel, who was bishop of Kaskar from 860 until his death in 872, an intelligent and saintly man, skilled in logic, who was thought worthy to be a patriarch. Indeed, his nomination for that office caused an argument which led to his death; for one Sunday, while Israel was officiating at the altar, a man pushed his way through the congregation and attacked him, grasping his vitals and twisting them vigorously, so that he fainted. Forty days afterwards, Bishop Israel died and was buried in the Monastery of St. Phethion.[6] All of this information is reiterated by Stephen Assemani in his commentary on Florentine MS. Arabic 299. Thus it seems incredible that Assemani should regard Īliyya, Metropolitan of Niṣībīn, and a contemporary of this bishop, as identical with Īliyya Bar Shīnāya, who died in the middle of the eleventh century.

It is my belief that the dialogue between Bishop Israel and Aḥmad ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sarakhsī has not been previously published. The distinguished professor Franz Rosenthal, who has written extensively on al-Sarakhsī's life and works, has made no mention of it.[7]

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[2] Florence MS. Arabic 299, pp. 149–56.

[3] 'Amr ibn Matta, *Akhbār Faṭārikat Kursī al-Mashriq: min Kitāb al-Majdal*, ed. Henricus Gismondi (Rome, 1896), p. 99.

[4] Stephen Evodius Assemani, *Bibliothecae Mediceo-Laurentianae et Palatinae codicum manuscriptorum Orientalium Catalogus*, p. 115.

[5] Florence MS. Arabic 299, pp. 149–50. See also this writer's article "Al-Kindī's Role in the Transmission of Greek Knowledge to the Arabs," *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, XV (1967), 1, and Mar Ignatius Ya'qūb III, "al-Kindī wa al-Suryāniyya," *The Patriarchal Magazine* (1963), No. 6, pp. 255–67.

[6] 'Amr ibn Matta, pp. 73–74.

[7] See his book *Aḥmad B. At-Ṭayyib As-Sarakhsī* (New Haven, 1943), and the following articles of which he has generously sent me copies: "From Arabic Books and Manuscripts IV: New Fragments of As-Sarakhsī," *JAOS*, LXXI (1951), 135–42; "From Arabic Books and Manuscripts VI: Istanbul Materials from al-Kindī and As-Sarakhsī," *JAOS*, LXXVI (1956), 27–32; and "From Arabic Books and Manuscripts VIII: As-Sarakhsī on Love," *JAOS*, LXXXI (1961), 222–24.

So that the reader may comprehend its philosophical content and its uniqueness for himself, I have appended a complete translation of it to this article. But before discussing the dialogue, let us speak briefly about al-Sarakhsī.

The date of al-Sarakhsī's birth is uncertain, but it has been conjectured that he was born between 833 and 837 at Sarakhs, in Khurāsān in present Iran. His full name, according to al-Mas'ūdī, is Aḥmad ibn al-Ṭayyib ibn Marwān; according to Yāqūt, he was also known as ibn al-Farā'iqī. His agnomen is Abū al-'Abbās, but he was sometimes called Abū al-Faraj; Professor Rosenthal believes (though this is most unlikely) that the two agnomens indicate that he must have had two sons, al-'Abbās and al-Faraj.[8]

Al-Sarakhsī was quite possibly the best of al-Kindī's pupils, and his excellent knowledge and eminence as a man of letters won him an appointment as tutor to the 'Abbāsid Caliph al-Mu'taḍid when the latter was still a prince. He accompanied al-Mu'taḍid in his war against Khumārawayh ibn Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn, the ruler of Egypt, and participated in the battle of al-Ṭawāḥīn (The Mills) in 884. When al-Mu'taḍid became Caliph in 892, he entrusted his former tutor with different governmental positions. Later, however, al-Sarakhsī fell into disfavor and was humiliated by the Caliph, who, for reasons which have been the cause of disagreement among Muslim historians, threw him into prison, where he spent the last three years of his life.[9]

The dialogue between al-Sarakhsī and Bishop Israel consists of three parts. The first of these deals briefly with the agnomen (kunya) *Abū* by which the Arabs customarily address each other instead of using the personal name, such as Abū Yūsuf, Abū Ya'qūb, etc. The second part treats the essence of numbers and debates whether the addition of one number to another alters its essence; e.g., if one is added to one, would the result be two, and would the entity and essence of the number one be changed by the addition of another number to it? To prove his argument, the bishop apparently resorts to Aristotle's view that a number has a distinct entity, and that even when another number is added to it, its essence is unchanged. When al-Sarakhsī asks the bishop whether, if we add one to eight, the result will be nine, the bishop answers that the number does not become nine, for the simple reason that each number has its separate entity and qualities, which are not altered by the process of addition. Most probably al-Sarakhsī asks this question in order to refute the dogma of the Trinity, by proving that the addition of the three persons of the Trinity represents pure polytheism, which is contrary to the Muslims' fundamental belief in monotheism. Al-Sarakhsī apparently intends, by asking this question, to prepare his opponent for the final question, namely, whether there is any separation among the three persons of the Trinity. Further, he asks, if there is such separation, is it essential or accidental? What al-Sarakhsī intends, of course, is that the addition of the second person (Jesus) and the third person (the Holy Spirit) to the first (God the Father) would assign partners to God, who, according to Islam, is alone and has no partner. To be sure, the Muslims have held this mistaken notion about the Trinity from Muḥammad's time to the present, erroneously believing that the persons of the Trinity are three separate individuals, worshipped as three separate Gods. The bishop says that the separation of the persons of the Trinity is neither essential nor accidental, but an imaginary separation occurring between the incorporeal and corporeal elements, between the things described and their attributes, and between the particulars and the qualities which indicate the reality of their causal determinants. In other words, although the persons of the Trinity are independent in their qualities and attributes, yet they are one in essence.

What is particularly noteworthy about this assembly is the great interest it reveals among many people in Baghdad, whether they were Jews, Muslims, or Christians, in questions pertaining to religious dogmas; such questions and debates were evidently encouraged by the 'Abbāsid Caliph al-Ma'mūn, at least at the start of his reign. What evokes our admiration is the quiet and scholarly atmosphere which dominated the assembly and above all the complete tolerance and freedom of speech with which the debaters exchanged their views. There is no indication that they became angered or condemned one another. The audience, meanwhile, was listening with great attention and consideration, even showing concern over the outcome of the debate. Since the subject of the debate was religious, the audience must have thought that its outcome determined the truthfulness or falsehood of that aspect of religious doctrine with which the participants were dealing. The dialogue presented in the following pages is, as we have indicated above, consistent with the general nature of Florentine MS. Arabic 299, which contains treatises written in defense of various points of Christian dogma.

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[8] Cf. Rosenthal's book on al-Sarakhsī, pp. 16–17.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 25.

[TRANSLATION]

An Assembly Reported of Elias, Metropolitan of Niṣībīn, Attended by Israel al-Kaskarī

[Bishop of Kaskar].

A certain authority has told us about Īliyya [Elias], Metropolitan of al-Maghrib, who was called 'Alī ibn 'Ubayd ibn Dāwūd before he became a monk, that while he was with Ya'qūb ibn Isḥāq al-Kindī, someone came to inform him of the arrival of Israel, Bishop of Kaskar, in the city of Dār al-Salām [Baghdad]. He [al-Kindī] said, "I have been informed that this bishop has speculative knowledge of religion and has all the sciences at his disposal. I believe, however, that the matter may be different from what it is reported to be, for his reputation may exceed what he would show if he should be examined [orally]."[10] [Elias] said to him, "Upon my life, with some reports it is perhaps as you say. However, conversation is more decisive, and talking with this bishop will give you more information than second-hand reports and will surpass all that you have heard about him." Al-Kindī said, "What is to be expected of him who maintains that three are one and one is three, and that God has become incarnate and that a man has become God? Would he exceed your learned men [in what they have maintained]?" [Elias] said to him, "Although those are eminent in their learning, yet this bishop has soundness of doctrine and authentic evidence, more than I can tell you in detail." Al-Kindī turned to Aḥmad ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sarakhsī, who was foremost of all his disciples, and said to him, "O, Abū al-'Abbās, hasten to this man [and stay] until you have come to know his views and the extent of his [knowledge]."

[[Elias] said, "I left and went to see the bishop to inform him about what had happened. I found him staying at the monastery of Mar Phathion.[11] I greeted him and explained to him some of what had been said. I found him sitting with metropolitans and bishops at his left hand, and in his presence were other people who had come to greet him. Not long afterwards, Aḥmad ibn al-Ṭayyib arrived with a group of polemicists and speculative thinkers, among them Jews, Muslims, and Mu'tazilites. They offered their greetings. Aḥmad sat facing the bishop, and the people took their seats and turned their eyes toward him. He [the bishop] was good-looking and dignified, great in stature, with a consummate mind and a quiet, serene disposition, a venerable and august person, handsome and sonorous-voiced. We knew that this was the bishop.

"When the assembly was filled, Aḥmad said, 'Abū whom?—may God strengthen you.' The bishop turned to his disciple and said, 'What is he inquiring about?' (It is said that he had probably seen and dictated to Ibrāhīm [the disciple] in the assemblies, and that he had a fair knowledge of logic and polemics.) 'I do not know the man.[12] Therefore, I will address the answer to you in Syriac, so that you may interpret it to him in Arabic.' The bishop then said to the disciple in Syriac, 'Explain to him that this term [Abū] is divided into four parts, all of which are invalid, according to philosophical speculation.' The disciple translated this for him. Aḥmad, surprised at what he had heard, said, 'And what are these invalid parts?' He [the bishop] said, 'One of them is that this [term] is peculiar to the Arabs, and that speculation in our assembly is general, and the law of philosophical speculation does not make it necessary that particular knowledge should predominate over general knowledge. Second, it is a rank assumed by the Arabs, but I am a Syrian, and it would be shameful for me to assume what is not mine. Third, I find that many people have claimed the fatherhood of those who were not their sons and abandoned that which was their own [*i.e.*, the fatherhood of their own sons]. Fourth, it is evident that groups of people have relinquished the *nisba* of fatherhood by not having sons. Therefore, as the causal determinants (*ma'ānī*) of the divisions [of the term 'Abū' into four parts] are

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[10] This statement comes from al-Kindī, who had been informed of Israel's knowledge in religion and speculative theology.

[11] The Monastery of Mar (Saint) Phathion (Phethion) was built in the fifth century to memorialize the Persian nobleman Phethion, a native of Blāshbār who embraced Christianity and was martyred in A.D. 446. The Monastery was built about a mile from Baghdad, near the village of Sūnāya, which, soon after the building of Baghdad in the seventh century, became part of the section of the city referred to as "al-Maḥalla al-'Atīqa" (The Old Quarter). Cf. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, III, 19.

[12] This part of the MS. is confused, and several words appear to be missing. Evidently Bishop Israel, knowing no Arabic, brought with him an interpreter named Ibrāhīm, himself fairly well versed in logic and highly skilled in intellectual debate. Perhaps, again, Ibrāhīm was a Christian living in Baghdad who had met the Bishop's pupil, who had served as his interpreter at similar assemblies in Baghdad. At any rate, Bishop Israel relied on an interpreter in his debate with al-Sarakhsī, and this interpreter was a learned man.

rendered invalid by the whole of this argument, it also invalidates the relationship of what has been shown to be invalid and imperfect.'

"Upon hearing his eloquence, the people turned their eyes to the bishop, because he had stated what no one else before him could have said so naturally and without constraint. His excellence became manifest to them, and they and Aḥmad knew that he was skillful in philosophical reasoning and capable in argument. Aḥmad said, 'How shall I call you, then?' And he said, 'By my office, Bishop, since it has been my name.' Aḥmad said, 'It is not permitted for me to compare myself with a dignitary of your denomination, such as yourself.' The argument continued, until at last an agreement was reached, that Aḥmad should address him as 'Bishop'.

"Aḥmad said, 'O Bishop, may God make you happy, if we add one to eight, it becomes nine.' The bishop said to him, 'No.' Aḥmad turned to those in the assembly and said, 'Are you not surprised at this objectionable [answer]? Is it not true that if we add one to eight, it becomes nine?' All of them said, 'Yes.' And they did not doubt that the bishop had forsaken the truth by failing [to provide an answer], and that he had refused to answer because he was incapable of doing so. Gloom hung over the Christians, for fear that the bishop might be unable to answer a point at the beginning of the first encounter, while Aḥmad's voice, as well as the voices of al-Kindī's disciples, the Mu'tazilites and the Jews, were raised in commotion and ridicule, testifying to Aḥmad's victory and the bishop's defeat. The bishop, however, maintained his calm and serious attitude, paying no attention to their foolish talk, and not abandoning his viewpoint because of their commotion. This made him even more insistent on his position and more adamant about what he had said. After a while the bishop turned to his disciple and said, 'Tell Aḥmad, "If you have sought me for inquiry, then turn to me and hear my reply, and let your purpose not be to debate without proof and to contradict me without explanation." ' Aḥmad, elated by victory and arrogant in his triumph, began to agitate, as did the others who were present. When they calmed down, toward noontime or so, the bishop said with a sharp tongue, 'You say that when we add one to eight, the number becomes nine. But the condition of eight does not cease to be what it is, and it is not altered from its essence [literally, 'thatness'] by taking the number and altering it. Do you not see that if we should count a number of things to a certain term and then add the same amount or less, the characteristic essence of the first number would not change to something else, though the number had been taken [and altered]? The number merges as a whole in a particular term, but nothing which exists in its essence passes from its nature when the number is taken [and added] to the [other] term.'

"Aḥmad and those in the assembly became astonished after they had been elated by their victory and, after having had no doubt of their triumph, all of them said, 'By God, well done, the bishop has hit the point.' Aḥmad stood stammering with shame and made no attempt to answer. When the assembly calmed down, Aḥmad said, 'I do not know which makes me wonder more, your little regard for all of us while everyone testified to your defeat and the fact that you never yielded or cared for anyone, or your encountering me, despite the fact of your being a non-Arab, with this eloquent speech and effective tongue.' Thus became evident to Aḥmad and those who were with him, and to all who were present, the capability of the bishop in speculative reasoning, his perfection in forming replies; his sound presentation of evidence, his mastery of polemics, and his ability in logic.

"When the discussion in which the assembly was engaged calmed down, Aḥmad said, 'Your return in your "Gospel" [13] to the predicate must be either with or without assent (*tawāṭu'*).' The bishop said, 'Yes.' Aḥmad said [to the others] as if he were astonished, 'Don't you realize what he has said?' The bishop said to him, 'Be calm, and do not hasten to make a judgment without proof, for soon I will explain to you the point of view and the reality of the truth, and I will consult with the people [in the assembly] on these matters.' Aḥmad had no rebuttal to refute this answer. And when the affair had taken some time, the bishop said, 'One positive has only one negative, and the addition of assent or non-assent does not necessitate the existence of many negatives for one positive, because it is otherness [*ghayriyya*] which necessitates many contraries for one positive. What you ought to say is, "*Can* the predicate be with or without assent, if the negative is to be contrary to the positive and the contradictory, etc. with respect to assent contrary to its affirmative?" Otherness does not necessitate [contradictoriness], for if you should say, "Can there be God and no God in the heavens?" the answer is, "No." But if you say, "[Can there be something] other than

[13] This term is quite obscure and difficult to comprehend. The only understanding I have of it is that al-Sarakhsī is referring to *Injīlikum* ("your Gospel").

God?" then there are angels, birds, etc.' Aḥmad was silenced, and the people approved the words of the bishop and his excellence in presenting [conclusive] proof, just as they had done at the beginning, when the first question was discussed. The bishop went on explaining his statement and confirming the evidence with conclusive eloquence and inimitable proof, while everyone was astonished at his presentation of logical indications and rational testimonies.

"The people kept silent for a while; then Aḥmad said, 'Is there a separation between the three persons [of the Trinity] or not?' The bishop said, 'Yes.' Aḥmad said, 'Is it substantial or accidental?' The bishop said, 'Neither substantial nor accidental.' Aḥmad said to him, 'What is it?' The bishop said to him, 'An imaginary separation that occurs between the incorporeal and corporeal elements, between the [thing] described and its attributes, between the particular [thing] and the qualities which indicate the reality of its causal determinants and distinguish each one with respect to the causal determinant which it contains, designate it, and ascribe to it what belongs to it. As for the substantials and accidentals, they are lifted from the First Essence, which is unparalleled, and they are necessary for the corporeal [elements], not the incorporeals; for the compound, not the simple; nay, as some of them are substantial that distinguish between the essences, kinds, and corporeal [elements], and as these three persons [of the Trinity] are not different corporeal [elements], therefore, they become subject to such separation and accident. Nor is [the difference] between the three persons of the Trinity the same as the difference between the reflections of corporeal [elements] which are similar in kind and dissimilar in qualities, and since these three persons are not corporeal, such imaginary separation between them becomes necessary. However, I am distinguishing between them only by using imaginary separation, like that which exists between the [thing] described and its attributes, between the particular [thing] and its qualities. The proof for this is that we find that the living rational being is not his life and reason. Therefore, what affects the speech of the [thing] described and the attribute—such as the causal determinant which is peculiar to it—does not affect anything else. Also, with each one of them is associated a knowledge which differentiates it from its counterpart, and each one of them requires an evidence not required by its counterpart. And there are no substantial and accidental separations. Here you are, a living and rational being, and each one—your person, your life, and your reason—is not the other, and between them there is no substantial and accidental separation. Consider the fire, which has heat, light, and dryness, and each one—the essence of fire and its qualities—is not the other; each one of them subsists in the causal determinant which differentiates it from the others, without the existence of substantial and accidental separations. Also, [consider] the water in its coldness and dampness, and the air in its heat and dampness, and the earth in its coldness and dryness, and the sun in its light and rays—these elements, despite the fact that they are composites and are subject to quantities and qualities, [are such that there] may be found among their qualities and attributes that which differentiates them from the others and which makes them independent. And what makes the causal determinants of the division necessary is that one of these [elements] cannot stand alone unless the substantial separations are associated with it, and unless the accidental separations have some connection with it. [Thus] these separations should more appropriately and correctly be set apart from their Creator.'

"Aḥmad and those with him took the necessity of the noon prayer as an excuse to leave the place; I left, and they left too. Then the whole affair was related to al-Kindī, who began to paw the ground in astonishment in my presence, and nodded, looking downward, with great perplexity. And he forbade Aḥmad to debate further with the bishop, and the speculative thinkers and polemicists heard of what had happened to Aḥmad, despite his eminence and proficiency. This is what came of the questions and answers."

VII

The History of Saint James Liturgy

By Dr. M. Moosa

According to tradition the liturgy of St. James, brother of our Lord, is the oldest liturgy used by the first Christian church in Jerusalem. It bears the name of St. James, *its author* the first bishop of the Holy City as the liturgy of the Church of Alexandria bore the name of St. Mark, the founder of that church. Tradition also shows that the Eucharistic Celebration in the liturgy of St. James was recited in the Aramaic language which was spoken by the Apostles. This tradition is confirmed by Mar Dionysius Bar Salibi (d. 1171) in the third chapter of the first book of his *Exposition of the Syriac Liturgy*. The present form of this liturgy as it *exists in the Syrian Church of Antioch is undoubtedly much longer than* the original one. For it is certain that many additions have been made to it through the course of time.

That the liturgy of St. James is an old liturgy is attested by the 32nd canon of the Trullanic Synod which met in Constantinople in A. D. 693. Prior to this date the celebrated St. John Chrysostom quoted specific parts of this liturgy in his various treatises. For example, he mentions in his ninth treatise *On Repentance* the phrase "let them lift up their minds and hearts to God", and in his treatise against the Jews the phrases "tolerate *each other", and "depart ye in peace", which are parts of the liturgy of* St. James. St. Jerome also used some phrases in his *Refutation of the Pelagians* such as "Sacerdotum quotidie ora concelebrant ὁ μόνος ἁμάρτητος quod in lingua nostra dicitur: qui solus est sine peccato", which constitutes a part of this liturgy.

There is every reason to believe that the fundamental parts of the liturgy of St. James have not undergone change since the fourth century A. D. In his 23rd homily which he delivered around the year 347, St. Cyril of Jerusalem not only quotes heavily from the liturgy of St. James but in expounding the celebration of the Holy Eucharist in the same homily, he follows the same order and manner as that of this liturgy. After referring to the washing of the hands by the celebrant, the greeting of peace and the exhortation of the congregation to thank the Lord and their response to him, Cyril states:

> We also remember the heaven and the earth, the sea, the sun, the moon, the stars and all the creation both endowed with reason and lacking in reason, Angels. Archangels, Virtues, dominations, principalities, powers, thrones, Cherubims endowed with many different appearances. We also make mention of the Seraphim which Isaiah saw standing around the throne of God and with two wings covering their face with two wings

covering their legs and with two wings flying about saying Holy. . . . We also beg of the merciful God that He sends down the Holy Spirit upon the gifts which we offer that He might make the bread the body of Christ and the wine the blood of Christ. But after the spiritual sacrifice is completed we pray to God for the general peace of the Churches, for the right government of the world, for the emperors and for those who are in sickness and affliction. Afterwards, we remember those who have died: the patriarchs, prophets, apostles and martyrs so that by their prayer God might receive our prayer. We also pray for the Fathers, Bishops, and all the deceased. Afterwards, we say the prayer which the Savior taught His disciples.

This still constitutes an essential part of the liturgy of St. James as is celebrated by the Syrian Church today. This liturgy, used by the church of Jerusalem, found its way slowly into Syria, Sinai, Thessalonica and the Greek colonies of South Italy. After the Church of Constantinople became predominant in Jerusalem, its Patriarchs replaced the liturgy of St. James with two liturgies, one attributed to St. Basil of Caesarea and the other attributed to St. John Chrysostom. However, they reserved the celebration of the liturgy of St. James for the commemoration of this saint on the 23rd of October. This liturgy was also celebrated by the Malkites in Syria until the 12th century when it was replaced by the Malkite Patriarch Balsamon (d. 1204) with the two liturgies used by the Church of Constantinople. Nevertheless, it survived longer on the island of Zante where it was also always celebrated on the 23rd of October. In 1888 the archbishop of Zante celebrated this liturgy on the 2nd Thursday following Easter at the church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. Since 1900 the liturgy of St. James was celebrated by Archbishop Epiphanius at the monastery of the Cross in Jerusalem on the 30th of December. But this tradition was not continued after his death.

The liturgy of St. James was preserved in both the Greek and the Syriac languages. Both Greek and Syriac texts as we have them today differ from each other because of the additions made to them through the course of time. However, the fundamental part of this liturgy, namely the Eucharistic Prayer, is undoubtedly of Aramaic origin, for the church of Jerusalem recited this prayer in Aramiac and not in Greek.

The first edition of the Greek text appeared for the first time in 1560 in Paris under the title *Λειτοὺργίαι τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων Ἰακώβου τοῦ Ἀποστόλου καὶ Ἀδελφοθέου, βασιλείου τοῦ μεγάλου, Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου**
and in later edition this was given the title Textus Receptus. The origin of this text is very hard to determine. However, before Assemani published his *Codex Liturgicus* a Basilian monk drew his attention to the Roṭulus MS of the 10th or 11th century in the library of Messina as well as the

*Liturgies of the holy Fathers James the Apostle and brother of Christ, Basil the Great, and John Chrysostom.

Rossanesis Vatican Greek MS 1970 of the 11th century, both of which contain the liturgy of St. James in Greek. A Latin translation of the Rossanensis is to be found in the *Codex Liturgicus*, V, 400-408. H. E. Daniel reproduced the *Textus Receptus* in his *Codex Liturgicus* LV, 80-133 as well as the versions published by Assemani. A copy of the Messina version is also to be found in C. A. Swainson's *The Greek Liturgies* (Cambridge, 1884), 215-346. This work also contains the complete texts of Rossanensis and both of the Paris Greek MS 2509 of the 15th century and the supplement Greek MS 476 of the 15th century. A description of further manuscripts is contained in part 1 of the *Liturgies: Eastern and Western* by F. E. Brightman.

In his introduction Brightman gives a description of the Paris Greek MS. supplement 303 of the 16th century, the Oxford miscellaneous Greek MS 134 of the 16th century, a manuscript from Zante, another manuscript from Cairo, and still another one from Chalki. In their work entitled *Oriens Christianus*, Anton Baumstark and Th. Scherman bring to attention the Rotulus Vatican MS 2282 of the 7th or 8th century which they believe is the oldest extant Greek version of the liturgy of St. James. This text was published by V. Cozza-Luzi in the second part of *Nova Patrum Bibliotheca* ed. by A. Mai. In 1886, Archbishop Dionysius Latas of Zante published an edition under the title Ἡ θεία λειτουργία τοῦ ἁγίου ἐνδόξου ἀποστόλου Ἰακώβου τοῦ ἀδελφοθέου, Zante 1886, including the *Textus Receptus* and other manuscripts.

The first Latin translation of the Greek version of this liturgy appeared with the first edition of the original text: *Liturgia Sive Missae Sanctorum Patrum Jacobi Apostoli et Fratris Domini Basili Magni e Vetusto Codice Latinae Translationis Joannis Chrysostomi*, interprete Leone Tusco . . . Auctore F. Cladio Sainctes, Antwerp, 1560. A German translation of this liturgy was made by J. W. Augustin in his *Denkwürdigkeiten aus der Christlichen Archaologie*, pp. 427-459, and in F. Probst *Liturgie der drei ersten Jahrhunderte*, pp. 295-318 and in R. Storf. *Griechische Liturgien* (Bibliothek der Kirchenväter, Kempten, 1877). The same translation appeared in the second edition of this work in 1912.

It has been stated formerly that the fundamental part, that is the Eucharistic Prayer, of the liturgy of St. James was originally celebrated in the Aramaic language, and that the Syrian Church of Antioch has used this liturgy since the first century. However, through time, the Syriac version of this liturgy suffered some changes, a phenomenon which induced the celebrated Jacob of Edessa (d. 708) to undertake the revision of Syriac text of this liturgy according to the Greek text. The same text was slightly abridged by Barhebraeus (d. 1286) and came to be known as the short text while the one revised by Jacob of Edessa came to be known as the long text. The revised text of this liturgy by Jacob of Edessa was edited, translated into German and published by Adolph Rücker under the

title *Die Syrische Jacobosanaphora nach der Rezension des Ja'qob(h) von Edessa* (Munster in Westf. 1923).

What makes the liturgy of St. James of utmost importance is that besides its Eucharistic Prayer, it contains many other prayers which are identical with those mentioned by the liturgy of the church of Alexandria. Monsignor Rahmani in his *Les Liturgies Orientales et Occidentales* (Leban, 1924), 171-184 records twenty-six instances of prayers and details identical with those of the liturgy of Alexandria. Rahmani believes that since the liturgy of St. James had been instituted by James the Apostle at Jerusalem, it must be regarded in its essential parts, as the source of the liturgy of the church of Alexandria.

The Syriac version of the liturgy of St. James has survived in many old manuscripts. The oldest of these manuscripts are the fragments contained in the British Museum MS 14523 which probably dates back to the 8th or 9th centuries.

Of all churches, the Syrian Church of Antioch is perhaps the richest in the number of liturgies it possesses. Patriarch Aphraim Barsoum, in his book *Al-Lu'lu al-Manthur fi Tarikh al-Ulum wa al-Adab Al-Surianiyya,* lists seventy-nine liturgies whose authorship is established. He also lists an additional number of liturgies whose authors are not known.

The Syriac style of the liturgy of St. James is simple, lucid and elegant. It was not meant to be highly rhetorical because the main purpose of the liturgy was to appeal to the common worshippers who appreciated clear rather than complicated prayers. The liturgy was also meant to induce the congregation to contemplate the wonders of the divine mystery and feel the true message of salvation.

The celebration of the liturgy is usually preceded by private prayers which the priest recites silently, particularly the prayer for breaking the sacrificial bread. Some of these prayers are recited silently by the priest throughout the whole celebration of the Eucharist. The celebration of the liturgy is also preceded by a *hosoyo* (propitiatory prayer), which is recited before the Creed and known as the *Sedro of Entry*. A part of this liturgy includes prayers recited by the serving deacon, deacons and the clergy which are introduced with a hymn composed by Severus Patriarch of Antioch (d. 538), based on the tradition of Melitene.

Unlike all of the other Eastern liturgies, the liturgy of St. James does not have litanies. Instead of the litanies were read the Dyptichs usually following the kiss of peace. But the reading of the Dyptichs has ceased since the 11th century although copies of them still survive in some manuscripts. The Dyptichs are usually two tablets; one containing the names of the heads of churches, Kings, and the names of charitable believers. The other tablet includes reference to the life of our Lord from the annunciation until his resurrection, the Pentecost and the Apostles' preaching of the Gospel. This is followed by the mentioning of the Patriarchs from

Adam to Job as well as the Prophets, the Priests, the Levites, the Kings, the twelve Apostles, the four Evangelists, the Seventy, the holy women, the three ecumenical Councils, the Kings from Abgar of Edessa to Constantine and Anastasius, the Patriarchs of Antioch from Peter to Bar Wuhayb (d. 1333), the Fathers of the church from Dionysius to Barhebraeus, the Doctors, such as Mar Ephraim, Mar Isaac, and Mar Balai, the Martyrs, the Confessors, the Abbots, the Priests, the Deacons and the Monks, and ends by the phrase "Remember Lord those whom we have mentioned and those whom we have not."

The celebration of the liturgy also includes the six intercessions or commemorations of the believers both the living and the dead. These Intercessions are either short or long. There is a long intercession known as the Eastern Intercession which was used by the eastern section of the Syrian church which was under the jurisdiction of the Maphrianate See of Takrit. The Fifth Intercesssion which commemorates the Fathers and Doctors of the church, is usually recited by two deacons, only during Lent, as has been the custom in the Church of Mosul and its neighboring churches until today. This Intercession, unknown to other Syrian churches outside Mosul, contains the names of the majority of the Doctors of the church as well as the Maphrians of Takrit beginning from Ahudemeh (d. 575) to Saliba (d. 1231). In some manuscripts the version of this Intercession contains the name of the illustrious Barhebraeus (d. 1286), and interspersed with it the names of a group of eastern bishops and holy men.

To the liturgy has been added a short hymn usually chanted on the Sunday of Lent before the prayer of peace. A public hymn called the "Catholic Hymn" was selected by the Fathers of the church to be chanted during the breaking of the sacrificial bread. To the liturgy is also added a long prayer for the sick and the afflicted, recited shortly before the end of the service. Because it is seldom used today, this prayer has been replaced by a short supplicatory prayer.

The liturgy ends with a recessional hymnn, usually chosen from among eight hymns, of the dodecasyllable or the heptasyllabic meters, composed by the Patriarch John Bar Ma'dani (d. 1263), or other Patriarchs, bishops and priests. This recessional hymn was probably introduced in the thirteenth century.

Matti Moosa's

*Political Zionism and Palestine**

* Published on the Internet, August, 2011. This article, which is presented solely for non-commercial educational/research purposes, was written by Dr. Moosa in 1969. It has remained unpublished until now.

Footnotes

[Page 1]

The present conflict between the Arabs and Israelis is neither religious, historical, nor racial. Both Arabs and Jews are "Semitic" peoples, and they share several cultural traits. Furthermore, the Jews in medieval times enjoyed the protection of the Arabs and Muslims, and many of them shared in the intellectual life of the Arab world then. When Christian Spain expelled the Jews in the 16th century, they found refuge in North Africa and in the rest of the Arab countries. And when Jews were forced to leave Russia because of pogroms in the 1880's, Muslim Turkey gave them asylum and protected them. The Arab-Israeli conflict is therefore not religious, historical, or racial; it is, as the facts indicate, political, or to be more precise, nationalistic.

Those Jews, Zionists, and gentile supporters of Zionism, particularly some American evangelists, who seek to legitimatize the establishment of the present state of Israel on purely religious grounds, such as the fulfillment of ancient prophecies or the spiritual continuity between the old Israel and the modern state had better find a more tenable justification. It is a Biblical imperative that the coming of the Messiah and the restoration of God's own people to the promised land should be accomplished through the providence of God and [2] not secular diplomacy, political intrigues or military might. The hope of the Jews for the restoration of the Kingdom of Israel by the Messiah was made manifest even in Jesus' time when His disciples asked Him, "Lord, wilt thou at this time restore again the Kingdom to Israel?" (1) It is true that the Jews looked upon the Messiah probably as an earthly king who would drive the Romans out of their country and restore the Kingdom once more to Israel. But this hope was predicated on the spiritual power of the Messiah as Lord who through divine power could alone save Israel from Roman yoke.

Another Biblical imperative is that the restoration of the Hebrews to the Holy Land depended on their full commitment and obedience to God and His righteousness (2). The pages of the Old Testament are filled with the warning of the Prophets for the children of Israel that if they disobeyed God and violated His laws He would inflict on them terrible punishment including exile from their land (3). And many times God delivered them to their oppressors because of their disobedience (4). However, God promised to restore the Hebrews to the land if they mended their ways, worshipped Him in spirit and truth and led a righteous life. The Hebrews had no choice but to correct their ways or subjugate themselves to God's punishment. It is evident that Israel's rejection of God and His righteousness was so serious that He in turn rejected them and committed them to eternal wandering among nations. Thus, cries out the Prophet

Hosea, "My God will cast them away, because they did not hearken unto him: and they shall be wanderers among the nations" (5). They have lost their earthly home forever. In brief, God's promises through the Prophets for the restoration of Israel necessitated drastic and complete changes in their life and behavior; they should [3] become righteous and holy as He is in order to merit the privilege of becoming truly His people. No one would disagree that this state of perfection and righteousness cannot be applied to the present state of Israel or to the great majority of its people. Israel is a secular state and was established not through God's Providence but through the power and intrigues of Western diplomacy, especially British diplomacy. It should also be remembered that from the Christian point of view Israel is not the old Hebrew community but the new community of Christians, or the "Israel of God" as St. Paul related in his letter to the Galatians (6). In other words, Israel is the Christian church which is the body of Christ the Messiah, foretold by the Prophets of old. Furthermore, the Temple, the center of Jewish worship, was levelled in 70 A.D. and in the opinion of the chief rabbi of England, quoted in a secret document by Edwin Montagu, a Jewish statesman and member of the British Cabinet during World War I:

> Ever since the conquest of Palestine by the Romans, we [Jews] have ceased to be a body politic; we are citizens of the country in which we dwell. We are simply Englishmen, or Frenchmen, or Germans, as the case may be, certainly holding particular theological tenets and practicing special religious ordinances; but we stand in the same relation to our countrymen as any other religious sect, having the same stake in the national welfare and the same claim on the privileges and duties of citizens. To Mr. Goldwin Smith's question, "What is the political bearing of Judaism?" I would reply that Judaism has no political bearing (7).

And when Christianity triumphed, Palestine became part of the Christian world in the East, as well as part of the Byzantine Empire. There were very few Jews living in Palestine after 70 A.D., and the country—particularly the city of Jerusalem—assumed [4] a Christian outlook and Christian characteristics. And when the Muslim Arabs conquered Palestine in the summer of 634 and entered Jerusalem, they found not a Jewish but a Christian population. It was the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Sophronius, not a Jewish rabbi, who handed the keys of the holy city to Umar, the second Caliph of Islam. It was Sophronius, while showing the Caliph around the holy places, who exclaimed prophetically, "Truly this is the abomination of desolation spoken of by Daniel the Prophet standing in the holy place" (8). After 634 A.D., Palestine became part of the Arab-Islamic world, and its people adopted the Arabic tongue and acquired Arab manners. The Arab Muslims, except for the mad Fatimid Caliph of Egypt, al-Hakim bi Amr Allah, who in 1009 A.D. destroyed the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and other Christian shrines, respected and protected the holy shrines there. For over 1300 years, until the state of Israel was established in 1948, Palestine was unquestionably an Arab country. Yet all did not go well with the Jews and Christians under Muslim rule. These two peoples were regarded as "the people of the Book," who might enjoy the protection of the Muslim state, but only by paying a heavy tax which was beyond the means of most. To avoid this tax, a great many of them embraced Islam. Those who chose to remain faithful to their religious convictions were in some cases—under al-Hakim, and earlier under the Abbasid Caliph al-Mutawakkil (d. 861)—subjected to all sorts of abuses and forced to wear certain types of clothing or carry heavy wooden crosses or logs around their necks (9). This treatment, of course, was exceptional [5] and does not mean that the Christians and Jews were always badly treated. Indeed, under the Ottoman *millet* system, the different religious denominations, including the Jews, had autonomy in their religious and educational affairs, maintaining their own churches and synagogues and their own schools.

Although Jewish life was disrupted and the Jews ceased to be a political body, many Jews still yearned for Palestine and Jerusalem. But their yearning arose from a purely religious attachment to the Holy Land. We may mention among such men Judah Halevi (d. 1145) of Toledo, Spain, and in the nineteenth century Sir Moses Haim Montefiore (d. 1885). These and other men looked to Palestine as a spiritual abode, not a state, and many like them went to settle and die in the Holy Land. By 1845, the number of these Jews who were in Palestine for religious reasons was about 12,000, and they maintained friendly relations with the Arab population. It is interesting to note, incidentally, that the British government in the 1830's thought of placing the Jews in Palestine under its protection. Realizing that France had claimed protection of the Catholic Uniates in the Ottoman Empire, and that Russia claimed protection over the Christian Orthodox and Armenian subjects of the Sultan, Britain, which had no group or denomination to protect, fixed its eyes on the Jews. Thus, in 1839, William Young was appointed as British vice-consul in Jerusalem. He was directed by Lord Palmerston to afford protection to the Jews and to report on the condition of the Jewish population of Palestine. Not long afterwards, the British sought to consolidate their ties with the Jews of [6] Palestine by establishing an Anglican Archbishopric of Jerusalem in 1841, and consecrating for this position Michael Alexander Solomon a young convert from Judaism whose chief task was to bring the fallen children of Israel back to the faith (10). Ultimately the plan failed because the Jews did not want to change their religion, and because the newly appointed bishop succeeded in arousing the opposition not only of the heads of other Christian churches in Palestine, but also of the British consul James Finn himself (11).

The pogroms of 1882 in Eastern Europe, particularly in Russia, forced many Jews to migrate to Western Europe and to America. Very few went to Palestine, and again those who did so went there for religious reasons. Haim Montefiore, followed by Baron Edmond de Rothschild, established Jewish colonies in Palestine and gave financial assistance to those persecuted Jews who desired to settle there. The motives of these two philanthropists were purely religious, and the small Jewish colonies operated without interference from the Arabs. The number of Jewish settlers fluctuated for several decades, and by 1918 the number of Jews in Palestine was estimated to be 56,000, about eight percent of the total population.

The "Love of Zion" movement cherished by Montefiore and others who conceived of the Holy Land as their spiritual objective and nothing more was, however, turned into a Jewish nationalistic movement by Jews living in Germany and Russia. Moses Hess (1812-75) may be regarded as the father of Jewish political nationalism. An admirer of Spinoza and Hegel, and [7] sometimes associated with Karl Marx, Hess became an anarchist, participated in the German revolution of 1848, and, when this revolution failed, fled to France. Hess could never forget the discrimination and prejudice against the Jews in.the country of Hegel. In his book *Rome and Jerusalem* (1862), he asserted that Jews will ever be strangers among nations ... that each Jew, whether he likes it or not, is bound in solidarity with his entire nation. He called for the rebirth of ancient Israel and argued that if emancipation of the Jews in exile was incompatible with Jewish nationality, then it was the duty of the Jews to sacrifice the former for the sake of the latter (12). But the extreme idea of establishing a state for the Jews came from the ghetto Jews of Eastern Europe—Russia, Poland, Rumania and Hungary—where, in the words of Moshe Menuhin, a contemporary Jewish writer, "oppression and discrimination produced a pathological ghetto mentality, a hopeless feeling of frustration" (13). These Jews, who adhered tenaciously to their "Jewishness," would not or could not assimilate themselves into the culture of the countries in which they lived. Therefore, they were regarded as aliens by the governments of those countries and were treated accordingly. Living in ghettoes, they formed a sort of state within a state, with no concern for the gentile communities

around them. Nothing can better explain the conditions of their life and their relations with the gentile world than these words of the Zionist leader Chaim Weizmann:

> When I was a child, I lived in the separateness of the Jewish life of our townlet.... Non-Jews were to me something peripheral.... The Gentile world was [8] poisonous.... I knew little of Gentiles, but they became to me, from very early on, the symbols of the menacing force against which I should have to butt with all my young strength in order to make my way in life. The environment I was born into and grew up in as a child, the upbringing which I received made Jewishness, the Jewish nation, nationalism as others term it—an organic part of my being. I was never anything but Jewish. I could not conceive that a Jew could be anything else (14).

It was in this climate, says Moshe Menuhin, that Jewish political nationalism—neurotic, paranoid nationalism—was conceived by some of the spiritually maimed ghetto intelligentsia as the desperate solution to the "Jewish problem" and as the salvation of Jews all over the world (15). It was the East European Jewish intelligentsia, living under abnormal circumstances, who recognized that there was a "Jewish problem" and that it could not be solved except by Jewish nationalism. Foremost among these men was Peretz Smolenskin (1842-85), who claimed that the "salvation of the Jews lies in their distinctiveness, and renationalization will prove the only solution of the Jewish problem." He went on to say that Jews are disliked not because of their religion or their reputed wealth, but because they are weak and defenseless. What they need is strength and courage, which they will never regain except in a land of their own (16). Another zealous exponent of Jewish nationalism, Dr. Leo Pinsker, who had previously advocated assimilation, published a book titled *Auto-Emancipation* after the pogroms in 1882. Pinsker recognized that the Gentiles hatred of the Jews was "'Platonic hatred,' a mental disease which is incurable." He maintained that since the Jewish problem was international, [9] it could be resolved only by means of nationalism. Pinsker did not care whether the Jews had their national home in Palestine or elsewhere (17), but the majority of his supporters preferred Palestine. In 1883, thirteen years before Theodor Herzl called the first Zionist meeting at Basle, Switzerland, an international assembly was held at Katowitz, Germany, not far from the Russian border. Those who attended this meeting decided to settle Palestine with colonies of Jewish farmers. Those who preferred Palestine formed societies called the "Lovers of Zion," under the leadership of a rabbi named Kalischer. They sought the financial assistance of men like Baron de Rothschild, who was already sustaining settlements in Palestine. Yet, as we can see, the concern of these men was not to establish a state, but to settle poor, helpless Jewish farmers in Palestine and thus relieve their suffering under the Russian regime.

Although the idea of solving the "Jewish problem" by the establishment of a Jewish state had developed before Theodor Herzl's time, it remained for Herzl to put this idea into practice. Born in Budapest and educated at the University of Vienna, young Herzl acted and thought like any other Austrian student, caring little or nothing for being a Jew (18). Indeed, he was so indifferent to Jewish life and so engaged in secular matters that he seemed to have forgotten his Jewish identity (19). He was as strange to his people as they were to him. But when he went to Paris to cover the notorious trial of Captain Dreyfus, he discovered that there *was* persecution of the Jews, that there *was* a "Jewish problem" stemming from the fact that [10] his people had no home of their own. The ultimate solution to this problem, Herzl wrote in a pamphlet entitled *Der Judenstaat* was the establishment of a Jewish state. His first act was to call a congress in 1897 at Basle, where Zionism as a Jewish political nationalistic movement was officially started. The first Zionist Congress was originally to meet in Munich, but the Jewish leaders there were fearful of the consequences such a meeting might have for the Jewish community in the city (20). The

ultimate objective of the members of the first Zionist Congress was irrevocably political, not religious—to establish for the Jewish people a publicly and legally assured national home in Palestine. Herzl and his colleagues were not even concerned about Judaism and the spiritual welfare of the Jews. According to the former Columbia scholar, Professor Richard Gottheil, "Many leaders of the new Zionism were indifferent to religious sentiment and dissociated from Jewish practices. Herzl belonged to this category, as did also some of his principal helpers" (21). Thus, as can be seen, a purely political movement calling itself Zionist was trying to solve the problem of the European persecution of the Jews by acquiring Palestine as a national home for them. It was a political movement organized in Europe in reaction to the Christians' persecution of the Jews, two thousand miles from the borders of Palestine, for which the innocent Arabs of Palestine would pay dearly in years to come.

Of course, not all Jews were sympathetic to Herzl's Judenstaat. Many of them, particularly the Lovers of Zion, members of the Alliance Society in Paris, and other [11] philanthropists, refused to attend the Zionist Congress. They maintained that according to the Torah, the Messianic hope of the coming of the redeemer and the restoration of the Jews to the "Promised Land" was to be accomplished by divine scheme, not political nationalism or secular power. The most vehement attack came from the Reformed Jews, who emphasized the dissociation of Judaism from nationality and insisted upon the universality of Judaism and the coming of the Messiah. To this group, Jewish nationality had no meaning, and Jews were expected to live by the Talmudic teaching that "The laws of the land in which the Jews live are the laws that must be obeyed" (22). Nevertheless, the Zionists continued to speak in the name of the majority of European Jews—in Gottheil's words, "arrogating to themselves an office they did not possess" (23). What is even more disturbing is that Palestine, which should have been central to the Zionist scheme, was for Herzl just one of the different possible sites for Jewish settlement. It certainly did not represent in his view a Messianic hope or a fulfillment of prophecies, for he was not concerned with hopes and prophecies. Palestine was his first choice, to be sure, but if this land could not be obtained, the Zionists should accept another location for their national home. Among the possibilities were Canada, Argentina, Al-Arish in Egypt, Cyprus, and even East Africa. Indeed, when the Ottoman Sultan Abd al-Hamid II refused Herzl's plan to settle European Jews in Palestine, David Trietsch attempted in 1899 to colonize Cyprus. In 1902, Herzl considered Al-Arish as a place for Jewish settlement, and the British government apparently [12] approved (24). But when Joseph Chamberlain, the most powerful member of the British Cabinet, visited East Africa after the Boer War, he felt the East African Protectorate, stretching from Mombasa to Lake Tanganyika, was better suited for Jewish settlement. Herzl was prepared to accept such an offer; he knew East Africa was not Zion, but getting something was better than getting nothing (25). The majority of the Zionists, however, would settle for nothing but Palestine. Herzl's main concern was to obtain international recognition for his movement and a charter from influential powers approving the settlement of Jews in Palestine. He sought aid from the Ottoman Sultan, the German Kaiser, the King of Italy, and even the Pope, but failed. His plan to solve the "Jewish problem" by eliciting the assistance of the Pope is interesting. While he was in Paris in 1895, he wrote in his diary:

> About two years ago I wanted to solve the Jewish Question, at least in Austria, with the help of the Catholic Church. I wished to gain access to the Pope and say to him: Help us against the anti-Semites and I will start a great movement for the free and honorable conversion of the Jews to Christianity...The conversion was to take place in broad daylight, Sundays at noon, in St. Stephen's Cathedral, with festive procession and amidst the pealing of bells. Not in shame, as individuals have converted up to now, but with proud gestures (26).

But why Palestine? In the words of the Jewish Rabbi Phillip Sigal:

> Naturally, to secure support and stir Jews into emotional excitement for nationhood, the founders and expositors of the cause had to make Palestine the object of their longing. They humanized and secularized the ancient hope for a restoration of the Holy Land, and in this way Messianism was transmuted into Zionism by a process of political and ideological metamorphosis (27).

[13] It is interesting to note that the Zionists' aspirations and their vigorous efforts to settle Jews in Palestine did not pass unnoticed by the Arabs and Turks. In *Der Judenstaat*, Herzl wrote that the Zionists were prepared to "regulate all the finances of Turkey" if the Sultan agreed to give them Palestine (28). When he was approached by Herzl, however, the Sultan refused, offering this reason: "Palestine, being a part of the Turkish Empire, belongs to the Turkish people, not to me. I cannot give away part of it. Let the Jews save their billions. When my empire is partitioned, they may get Palestine for nothing. But only our corpse will be divided. I will not agree to vivisection" (29). After the political ambition of Zionism became publicly known in 1897, many Arabs saw in it a potential danger to part of their land (30). Alarmed at the avowed ambition of Zionism to capture Palestine, a prominent Palestinian Arab, Yusuf Zayn al-Khalidi, wrote to the chief rabbi of France and predicted a popular Arab revolt against the Jews, unless "geographical Zionism" was abandoned, and irrespective of what the Ottoman officials could do to forestall such an eventuality (31). A pioneer Arab nationalist and official of the Ottoman government, Najib Azoury, was able to note at the end of the 19th century the presence of two forces—Jewish, and Arab nationalism—which were destined to fight each other over Palestine until one achieved victory (32).

Theodor Herzl died prematurely in 1904, but the Zionist movement continued. When the First World War broke out, the Zionists, whose operations centered in Germany, attempted to [14] obtain from Turkey a kind of "Balfour Declaration" assuring them of a national home. But when the events of the war foretold the Germans' defeat, the Zionists, predominantly Russian Jews, lost no time moving their center of operations to England, which was not so anti-Jewish as Eastern Europe, and which was on its way to winning the war. Furthermore, many British statesmen like Chamberlain, Lloyd George, Lord Cromer, Viscount Milner, Wickham Steed, and others who played an important role in the issuance of the Balfour Declaration were fully aware of the Zionists' desires and indeed had themselves "learned Zionism in Herzl's school" (33). The head of the Zionist movement in Britain was Dr. Chaim Weizmann, professor of chemistry at Manchester University. He lost no time in marshalling the sympathy and support of influential British Cabinet members, statesmen, and others to obtain from the government a charter permitting the Zionists to colonize Palestine. The notion that the Balfour Declaration was given to the Zionists in return for Weizmann's having developed explosives badly needed by the British government is but a myth, which Weizmann himself refuted in his book *Trial and Error*. Yet some textbooks taught in the high schools of this country perpetuate this myth even today. The reasons which motivated the British government to grant the Balfour Declaration to the Zionists are discernible. George Antonius has correctly noted that Britain was moved by two considerations. The first was political: to win over the powerful Zionist elements in Germany and Austria, who at the start of the war had been negotiating with the Central Powers for the issuance [15] of a Turkish "Balfour Declaration," and thus to give them a personal interest in an Allied victory. The second consideration was imperialistic, first envisioned by Lord Kitchener: by securing part or all of Palestine, to fortify the British position in Egypt and the Suez Canal, the lifeline of communications with India. If the Zionists were granted Palestine, they would become staunch defenders of this bulwark, since they would be bound to Britain by perpetual

gratitude. Furthermore, Britain, recognizing the French designs on Syria, did not want Palestine, which at the time was part of Syria, to fall into the hands of the French and thus endanger the British position in the Middle East (34). This has been clearly explained by the British Prime Minister, Mr. Asquith, in an entry dated March 13, 1915:

> I have referred to Herbert Samuel's dithyrambic memorandum, urging that in the carving up of the Turks' Asiatic domain we should take Palestine, into which the scattered Jews would in time swarm back from all quarters of the globe, and in due course obtain Home Rule. Curiously enough, the only, other partisan of this proposal is Lloyd George, who, I need not say, does not care a damn for the Jews or their past or their future, but thinks it will be an outrage to let the holy places pass into the possession or under the protection of "agnostic, atheistic France" (35).

Whatever the motives may have been behind British policy during World War I, the fate of Palestine was sealed by Britain without due consideration for the destiny of the Arab inhabitants of that land. The available historical evidence is sufficient to demonstrate beyond the slightest doubt that the British, by following a more honorable policy in the Middle East, could have prevented the present problem of Palestine. They did not, and their pledges and counterpledges, both open and secret, not only encouraged but aggravated the development of that problem.

In June, 1916, the Arabs, relying on the honor of British promises, cast their lot with the British and revolted against their fellow Muslims, the Turks. This action was an outgrowth of negotiations between Sir Henry McMahon, the first British High Commissioner for Egypt, and Husayn, the Sharif of Mecca, who was acting in the name of Arab national societies in Syria, Iraq, and Egypt. The negotiations, which lasted from July, 1915, until March, 1916, culminated in a military agreement by which the British promised to establish an independent Arab state covering all of the Arabian peninsula, except for some districts in Lebanon, to which the Arabs waived their claims in deference to undefined French interests there. In return, the Arabs were to revolt against the Turks and form a force to fight on the side of the British (36). Britain wanted this Arab support badly in order to frustrate the plans of the Turkish Fourth Army in Syria, which was still intent on capturing the Suez Canal. Palestine was not explicitly mentioned in the area promised to the Arabs, but it was to all intents and purposes included in that area, although the British insist even today that this was not the case. Unfortunately the Arabs, and particularly Husayn, who placed complete confidence in the British, did not know what lay ahead of them.

In order to win the war, Britain had engaged in several secret agreements, the terms of which contradicted one another and later caused not only confusion, but the [17] Palestine problem. In 1916 Britain signed the notorious Sykes-Picot agreement with France and Russia to partition the Ottoman Empire, particularly the Arab countries. According to this agreement (April 26--October 23, 1916), the territory of Syria, including present-day Lebanon and Iraq, was divided between Britain and France, and Palestine was designated as an international zone, under international administration (37). Thus Palestine, which had already been promised to the Arabs, was now to be internationalized under the Sykes-Picot agreement, of which Husayn and the Arabs knew nothing. But when the Bolshevik revolution succeeded in October, 1917, the Bolsheviks revealed all the secret agreements of the war to embarrass the Allies. Among these was the Sykes-Picot agreement, of which the Turks quickly delivered a copy to Husayn (38). Husayn promptly became outraged and asked the British government for an explanation. The Foreign Secretary, Arthur Balfour, sent assurances through Sir Reginald Wingate to

inform Husayn that Sykes-Picot was not an agreement, but a conversation between the Allies, and that the Turks out of ignorance or malice had distorted the original purpose of the understanding between the powers (39). The least that can be said about this message of Balfour's is that it was dishonest. It was meant to deceive Husayn not merely by failing to mention whether the Allies had concluded an agreement, but by implying specifically that no agreement had been reached.

The next shock for Husayn came as he learned that the British government had issued on November 2, 1917, the Balfour Declaration, promising the establishment of a national home for the [18] Jews in Palestine. Husayn, utterly dismayed, again asked the British to explain, and they sent from Cairo Commander David Hogarth, a scholar and long-time student of Arab affairs. Hogarth, who had two audiences with Husayn in January, 1918, assured him orally that "the Jewish settlement in Palestine would only be allowed in so far as would be consistent with the political and economic freedom of the Arab population." Husayn put down Hogarth's statement in Arabic in his own handwriting. In all innocence, Husayn replied that if the purpose of the Balfour Declaration was to provide a refuge for the persecuted Jews, he would do everything in his power to promote that aim. He would also agree to the administration of the holy places by the three religious denominations concerned. But he made it clear that the Arabs would never surrender their rights or soverignty (40). He even wrote an article to be published in his newspaper *al-Qibla*, "calling upon the Arabs of Palestine to bear in mind that their sacred books and their traditions enjoined upon them the duties of hospitality and tolerance, and exhorting them to welcome the Jews as brethren and co-operate with them for the common welfare" (41). Further assurances came from none other than Dr. Chaim Weizmann himself, who stopped in Cairo en route to Palestine, heading the Zionist Commission to that country. Weizmann gave the Arab leaders and intellectuals in Egypt so persuasive an account of the innocence of the Zionists' plans that he dispelled their fears and made them believe in the prospects of Zionist-Arab cooperation. Dr. Faris Nimr, an eminent Arab writer and journalist, was so convinced by [19] Weizmann's statements that he wrote several articles in *al-Muqattam* assuring the Arabs of their political future and urging their full cooperation with the Zionists. Other assurances to the same effect were issued by the British government (42).

The Balfour Declaration was a triumph for Zionism, which had maneuvered so hard to attain recognition as a national political movement. It was the Zionists' charter to establish a national home for the Jews in Palestine. From a legal viewpoint, it was groundless; indeed, it defied any classification under international law. It was merely a pledge, not an agreement or a treaty, and furthermore, at the time when the Balfour Declaration was issued, Britain did not own a single square foot of land in Palestine, nor had it yet occupied that land. In other words, Britain had promised to the Zionists a land which belonged neither to it nor to them. Further, the Declaration had many pitfalls. Its language and phraseology were most evasive, ambiguous, and meaningless. The most vulnerable aspect of the Declaration, however, was its contradiction of the Covenant of the League of Nations, which guaranteed the political aspirations of the Arab countries for future independence, as well as its contradiction of other British policy statements which promised the Arabs a definite area of their own, including Palestine. The Declaration also contradicted the Sykes-Picot agreement, by which Palestine was designated as an internationally administered area. In other words, the British had made three contradictory policies on Palestine by promising this area both to the Arabs and to [20] the Zionists, and by designating it as an international area. It is true that the first part of the Balfour Declaration clearly states:

> His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement

> of this object (43).

But since that Declaration was made, no one has given serious attention to the remainder of its text, which put forth very clearly the necessity of preserving the rights of communities already existing in Palestine and elsewhere:

> It being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country (44).

Britain, to be sure, fulfilled the first part of its pledge by incorporating this Declaration into the British mandate for Palestine, which was later approved by the League of Nations. But Britain found itself in serious moral trouble in seeking to reconcile the establishment of a national home for the Jews in Palestine with Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, which mentioned Palestine among "certain communities belonging to the Turkish empire that have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized." This meant that under the mandate system, Arab countries such as Iraq, Jordan and Palestine were to be placed under the guardianship of developed nations like Britain, in order to be trained and prepared for future independence. But under the circumstances Britain found itself simultaneously promoting the independence of Palestine [21] and assisting in the establishment of a Jewish national state which could only frustrate the ultimate aspiration of Palestinian Arabs for independence. Let us see what Balfour himself had to say about the two-faced policy which he and his government adhered to in this matter. Perhaps the best that can be said for him is that he admitted the terrible sin his government and its allies had committed against the Arabs of Palestine. In a memorandum of August 11, 1919, submitted to the Cabinet, Balfour explained some aspects of the Allies' policy in the Arab areas, particularly Syria. After discussing the British pledges made to Husayn and the Anglo-French Declaration of November, 1918, which promised to guarantee the freedom and independence of the Arab countries liberated from Turkish rule, Balfour said of the aspirations of the Palestinian Arabs:

> The contradiction between the letter of the Covenant and the policy of the Allies is even more flagrant in the case of the independent nation of Palestine than in that of the independent nation of Syria. For in Palestine we do not propose even to go through the form of consulting the wishes of the present inhabitants of the country, though the American Commission has been going through the form of asking what they are. The four Great Powers are committed to Zionism. And Zionism, be it right or wrong, good or bad, is rooted in age-long traditions, in present needs, in future hopes, of far profounder import than the desires and prejudices of the 700,000 Arabs who now inhabit that ancient land.
>
> In my opinion that is right. What I have never been able to understand is how it can be harmonised with the declaration, the Covenant, or the instructions to the Commission of Enquiry (45).

No evidence can be more convincing than this, provided by Balfour himself, to show how badly Britain and its Allies treated the Arabs of Palestine. Balfour's statement is no mere matter of past history; the 700,000 Arabs for whose [22] rights Balfour was utterly unconcerned have lost their homes and are still suffering the consequences of his government's short-sighted and double-dealing policies. It is this same Balfour who two years earlier, in the Declaration which bears his name, promised that nothing would be

done to jeopardize or prejudice the civil or religious rights of the communities already existing in Palestine.

But in issuing the Balfour Declaration, Britain was not acting alone. It had elicited the approval of President Wilson who was surrounded by influential Zionists like Felix Frankfurter, Louis Brandeis, and Judge Julian Mack. It was, moreover, an English Zionist, James Malcolm, who was instrumental in enticing the British government to act in unison with the Americans. Malcolm convinced Sir Mark Sykes, Undersecretary to the War Cabinet, and the negotiator of the notorious agreement which bears his name, that the Zionists' support was essential to the Allies' war effort. He therefore put him in touch with Dr. Weizmann and his associates, and these two men worked through Brandeis to influence Wilson. A quarter-century later, Weizmann wrote to Malcolm:

> You will be interested to hear that some time ago I had occasion to write to Mr. Lloyd George about yourself and the initiative in 1916 to bring about the negotiation between myself and my Zionist colleagues and Sir Mark Sykes and others about Palestine and Zionist support of the Allied cause in America and elsewhere (46).

Be it a "national home" or not, the Zionists understood the Balfour Declaration to have stipulated a national state for the Jewish people in Palestine. The Zionists, particularly Weizmann, could not believe that the British government would [23] grant them such a pledge so rapidly. Even long afterwards, Dr. Weizmann showed his complete surprise:

> We Jews got the Balfour Declaration quite unexpectedly; in other words, we are the greatest profiteers. We never dreamt of the Balfour Declaration. To be frank, it came to us overnight. The Balfour Declaration of 1917 was built on air, and a foundation had to be laid for it through years of exacting work; every day and every hour of these last ten years, when opening the newspapers, I thought: Whence will the next blow come? I trembled lest the British Government would call me and ask me: Tell us, what is this Zionist organization? Where are your Zionists? For these people think in terms different from ours. The Jews they knew were against us; we stood alone, on a little island, a tiny group of Jews with a foreign past (47).

Weizmann's apprehension was altogether real. For there were in the British Cabinet responsible men who came from a long line of Jewish heritage, who not only opposed Zionism and Weizmann's operations, but looked upon Zionism as a vicious foreign movement conceived by East European Jews and detrimental to the English ideal of freedom. The Rt. Hon. Edwin Samuel Montagu, a member of the Cabinet and a Viceroy in India, bitterly opposed Zionism as a foreign movement and said:

> It has always seemed to me to be a mischievous political creed, untenable by any patriotic citizen of the United Kingdom.... I have always understood that those who indulged in this creed were largely animated by the restrictions upon and refusal of liberty to Jews in Russia. But at the very time when these Jews have been acknowledged as Jewish Russians and given all liberties, it seems to me inconceivable that Zionism should be officially recognized by the British Government and that Mr. Balfour should be authorized to say that Palestine was to be reconstituted as the "national home of the Jewish people" (48).

In a secret letter to Lord Robert Cecil, Assistant Secretary for Foreign Affairs, dated September 14, 1917, Lord Montagu, speaking as an English citizen, said regarding the origin of the Zionists' operations in England:

> [24] I cannot, however, leave the subject...without reminding you that Zionism had a foreign origin; that it was founded by Theodor Herzl, an Austrian; that his successor as a leader of the Zionist movement was David Wolffsohn of Koln, who was succeeded in turn by Otto Warburg of Berlin. In conformity with the foreign origin of Zionism as a whole, Jews of foreign birth have played a very large part in the Zionist movement in England. Among its best leaders in England are Dr. Gaster, a native of Roumania; Dr. Hertz, a native of Austria; and Dr. Chaim Weizmann, who is, I believe, a native of Russia (49).

Lord Montagu has thus rightly observed that the Zionist movement was created by East European Jews, not by Western Jews, who enjoyed a larger measure of freedom.

The British government, ignoring the exhortations of many English Jews opposed to Zionism, went forward with its plans. To carry them out, it appointed in 1920 Sir Herbert Samuel, a Jewish English statesman, to be the first High Commissioner for Palestine. The purpose of this appointment soon became obvious, for Samuel set about immediately to establish the national home and encourage Jewish immigration to Palestine. But with all their promises of a more spiritual and dignified Jewish life, the Zionists could not attract more than a few thousand to Palestine. In the four years following the Balfour Declaration, only 28,000 Jews were added to the 56,000 already living there. Yet the Arabs were alarmed at even this number of immigrants, and riots began in 1920. And when the Jews resorted to violence and killed some Arabs, the great spiritual Zionist Ahad Ha'am denounced such atrocities. To one of the Hebrew dailies of Palestine, *Haaretz*, he wrote:

> [25] Jews and blood! Are there any greater contradictions than these?... For what have we saved from our [national] destruction if not the teachings of our prophets, which we took along with us on the long road of our exile to enlighten our dark life? Our blood was shed in all corners of the world during thousands of year's, but we shed no one's blood.
>
> What shall we say now if this rumor [about murdering innocent Arabs in vengeance] is really true? My God! Is this the end? Is this the goal for which our fathers have striven, and for whose sake all generations have suffered? Is this the dream of a "Return to Zion," to stain its soil with innocent blood? Are we really doing it only to add in an Oriental corner a small people of new Levantines who vie with other Levantines in shedding blood, in desire for vengeance, and in angry violence? If this be the "Messiah," then I do not wish to see his coming (50).

Another great Jewish leader, Dr. Judah Magnes, first president of Hebrew University, began his career as an ardent political Zionist, but when he discovered its perversive ideas, he became a spiritual Zionist, following the lead of Ahad Ha'am. Magnes visited Palestine twice in 1909 and 1912 and discovered as Chaim Weizmann had done earlier, that the Arabs formed the majority of its population. He became unhappy about the Balfour Declaration, which he described as "imperialism's iniquitous gift to the Jewish people, which ought not to have been accepted." Realizing how important the Arab population was to the peaceful existence of the Jews in Palestine, Magnes said soon after his arrival there in 1922:

> The main ally of the Jewish people was neither the European nations nor the United States of America, but the Arab people... To win them over to the idea of rebuilding the Jewish homeland must be the supreme object (51).

For more than thirty years, from the time Palestine came under British occupation in late November, 1917, until one month before the proclamation of the state of Israel, when they [26] decided to leave the country on the pretext that the mandate no longer was workable, the British followed an ambivalent, confused and confusing course in Palestine. The British leaders who backed the Zionists knew full well that from the beginning, the Zionists had understood the national home to be a state. Indeed, this should logically have been their intention if they were to achieve their goals. Toward this end the Zionists immediately set up the Jewish Agency in Palestine, which, although it had only quasi-governmental status, acted like a sovereign state. The British acted as guardians to this quasi-state. Yet Winston Churchill, then Colonial Minister, in 1922 rejected any notion that the British government was encouraging the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine. But the Arabs were duly alarmed when the flow of Jewish immigrants continued and riots began between Arabs and Jews. By 1930, when the Arab position and Arab rights had become seriously jeopardized by the new immigrants, the British at last recognized that Arab rights should be protected and Jewish immigration controlled. But the Zionist pressure was so heavy that Ramsay MacDonald, the Laborite Prime Minister, was compelled to reverse himself and give the Zionists an even freer hand in Palestine (52).

The rise of Hitler in Nazi Germany and the persecution of East European Jews during the war intensified immigration to Palestine, and the Jewish population there rose from 174,606 in 1931 to 553,600 in 1944. The Arabs, who saw the country was fast slipping from their grasp, resorted to rebellion. [27] And from 1936 to 1939 the Palestinian Arabs lost, in money, land, and treasure more than did the British and Jews together. In 1939 the British government called for a meeting of both Arabs and Zionists in London, planning to impose a solution upon the two parties. The White Paper issued in that year stipulated that after an interval of ten years, a bi-national state of Arabs and Jews would be set up in Palestine. Immigration was to continue for five years at an annual rate of 15,000, after which it would be dependent upon Arab agreement. The Zionists, who would agree to nothing short of a national state, bitterly opposed the White Paper. The Arabs were equally unhappy and also rejected it.

It was now too late for the British government to maintain control of the situation in Palestine, for the Jewish Agency had become extremely powerful. To express their open aspiration for a national state, the Zionists, inspired by David Ben-Gurion, met at the Biltmore Hotel in New York in 1942 to adopt a plan for converting all of Palestine into a Jewish state. This was only six years before Ben-Gurion declared the birth of Israel. What would the British have said about the Biltmore Program? Nothing, for they were the ones who had set the first stone in the building of the state which the Zionists had so long demanded. And when the British government discovered in 1947 that it had become impotent in Palestine, it simply turned the whole question over to the United Nations, neatly avoiding its own responsibility. The United States now took upon itself the task of encouraging further immigration to Palestine, and the United Nations failed in its efforts to [28] partition Palestine. It was at about this time that the Zionist terrorists, the Irgun, Stern, and Zvi Lumi, became very active. In April, 1948, one month before the proclamation of the birth of Israel, the terrorists began their heroic job of tyrannizing the Arabs and expelling them from their homes. In that same month terrorists went through the small village of Deir Yasin, massacring 254 men, women, and children in cold blood. The terrorist leader, Menachem Begin, former Prime Minister of Israel, relates this atrocious anecdote in his book *The Revolt, Story of the Irgun*, and boastfully states that the Arabs tried to flee in panic, shouting: "Deir Yasin!" (54)

To conclude, the present Arab-Israeli conflict is really the outcome of the rise of Zionism as a political nationalist movement in the 19th century and the marriage of convenience between this movement and British policies, particularly in World War I. Some influential British statesmen like Balfour believed, rightly or wrongly, that the only solution of the so-called Jewish problem was to repatriate the Jews to their alleged homeland. Yet the real leaders in the struggle for Palestine were the East European Jews, the product of the East European ghetto. Thus, the Palestinian Arabs today are living one of the bitterest ironies of history. They have paid the price for the "anti-Semitism" tactfully played up by the Zionists to fight the hatred of the Jews by European Christians, which even the Enlightenment failed to cure. They have also paid the price for the guilty conscience which Western people have as a result of the massacre of the Jews [29] by Nazi Germany. The very existence of the state of Israel today signifies the Zionists' backlash against this "anti-Semitism." Moreover, it symbolizes the deep-rooted idea, inherent in Zionism, that the emancipation of the Jews in any society means their complete assimilation and the loss of their Jewish identity. Such an idea is, of course, based on the false premise that the Jewish people constitute a separate nationality. It is ironic—and tragic—that the Arabs of Palestine should have had to pay the price for a troubled relationship between European gentiles and Jews, something they had nothing to do with.

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Footnotes

Political Zionism and Palestine

by Matti Moosa

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1 Acts 1:6

2 See for example Leviticus entire Chapter 26 and Arnold J. Toynbee's *Introductory Note* to Elmer Berger, "Prophecy, Zionism and the State of Israel," volumes 3-4, *Issues* (Nev York: Autumn 1968 - Winter 1969), 22-24.

3 No one can appreciate the force of the Hebrew prophets warning to Israel unless he reads all the prophets in the Old Testament, most particularly Isaiah and Jeremiah and particularly Ezekiel Chapter 36. The present writer strongly recommends "The Broken Covenant and the New Covenant," Chapter 4 in John Bright, *The Kingdom of God* (New York: Abingdon, 1953), 98-126.

4 Cf. 2 Kings, Chapter 17.

5 Hosea 9:17.

6 See St. Paul's letter to the Galatians 6:12-16.

7 British Records Office, Cab. No. 24/28.

8 Theophanes, *Chronographia*, A.M. 6127 in *Patrologia Graeca*, ed. Jacques Paul Migne, 108 (Paris: Petit-Montrouge, 1863), 693B.

9 On this subject see A.S. Tritton *The Caliphs and Their Non-Muslim Subjects: A Critical Study of the Covenant of Umar* (London, Bombay: Oxford U. Press 1930). There is an Arabic translation of the same made by Hasan Habashi entitled *Ahl al-Dhimma fi al-Islam* (Cairo: Mathast al-Itinsad, 1949).

10 Michael Alexander Solomon came from Schonlake in the Grand Duchy of Posen. He came to England in 1820 and was converted to Christianity in 1825. He was ordained a bishop on November 7, 1841 and his ordination was attended by prominent British statesmen like Sir Stafford Canning, Shaftsbury and

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Gladstone. The new bishop arrived in Jerusalem in 1842 to fill the position of the Anglican Jerusalem Bishopric. See A. L. Tibawi, *British Interests in Palestine 1800-1901* (London: Oxford, University Press 1961), 50-72.

11 On this point see Tibawi, Chapters 2 and 3.

12 Moshe Menuhin, *The Decadence of Judaism in Our Time* (New York: Exposition Press 1965), 23-24.

13 Menuhin, 26.

14 Chaim Weizmann, *Trial and Error* (New York: Harper 1949), 17-18, 38 and 453.

15 Menuhin, 27.

16 Jacob Salmon Raisin, *The Haskala Movement in Russia* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1913), 262.

17 Raisin, 282-283.

18 This attitude of Herzl is manifested in his diaries. See *The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl*, ed. Raphael Patai and translated by Harry Zohn I. (New York: Herzl Press, 1960).

19 Richard James Horatio Gottheil, *Zionism* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1914), 84-85.

20 Gottheil, 113.

21 *Ibid.*, 96.

22 *Ibid.*, 98.

23 *Ibid.*, 117.

24 *The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl*, 4: 1360-1364. As late as 1938 a group of Dutch Jews engaged by "Jewkol," a Jewish colonization organization explored the possibility of settling Jews in Dutch Guiana (Surinam) and their report was favorable. See L. M. Fruditbaum, "Where Else Could Jews Have Gone", *Issues* (New York: Winter 1967 - Spring 1968), 90.

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25 Alex Bein, *Theodor Herzl, A Biography*, Translated from the Germans by Maurice Samuel (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1943), 45.

26 *The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl*, I: 7.

27 Rabbi Phillip Sigal, "Reflections on Jewish Nationalism," *Issues* (Fall, 1961), 23.

28 Theodor Herzl, *The Jewish State*, trans, by Sylvie d'Avigdor, 4th ed., (London: R. Searl, 1946), 30. It is interesting to learn that the distinguished French Jewish Journalist Bernard Lazare who flirted with Zionism and Hegel's ideas after the Dreyfus case, and even became a member of the Zionist Action Committee, broke with Zionism and Herzl when he discovered the perverse methods of the Zionists to achieve their goals. He also denounced the establishment of a Jewish National Bank as a tool for the oppression and demoralization of the Jewish people. See Thomas P. Anderson, "Bernard Lazare: Lapsed Zionist and Prophet of Jewry in the Modern World," *Issues* (New York: Winter 1967 - Spring 1968), 52.

29 *The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl*, I: 378.

30 N. Mandel, *Turks, Arabs and Immigration into Palestine 1882-1914*, in St. Anthony 5 Papers No. 17, (Oxford University Press, 1965), 80-81.

31 Mandel, 88-89.

32 Negib Azoury, *Le réveil de la nation arabe, l'Asie turque*, (Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1905), 5.

33 See "The Making of Zionist Diplomacy," in *Issues* (Winter 1967 - Spring 1968), 98 which is part of a series of articles prepared by the research staff of the American Council for Judaism.

34 George Antonius, *The Arab Awakening* (New York: Putnam's Son, 1946), 253-262.

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35 *Memoirs and Reflections* by the Earl of Oxford and Asquith, 1928, quoted in Antonius, 264.

36 For the Husayn-McMahon correspondence see Antonius, 413-426 and J. C. Hurewitz, *Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East*, 2 (Princeton, N.J., D. Van Nastrahd Co., 1956), 13-17. Hurewitz comments that "The negotiations culminated in a mutually acceptable military alliance but in an ambiguous political understanding that was not clarified at the time." Hurewitz, 2: 13.

37 For the text of the Sykes-Picot Agreement, see Antonius, 428-430 and Hurewitz, 2: 18-22.

38 Antonius, 252-253.

39 *Ibid.*, 256-257.

40 *Ibid.*, 268-269.

41 See *al-Qibla*, (Mecca No. 183, March 23, 1918) quoted in Antonius, 269.

42 Antonius, 270.

43 For the text of the Balfour Declaration see Antonius, 266-267 and Hurewitz, 2: 25-26.

44 Antonius, *Ibid.*, and Hurewitz, *Ibid*.

45 *Documents on British Foreign Policy* (London, Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1952), 4: 342-347.

46 For this letter of Weizmann to James Malcolm see *The London Times: Literary Supplement* (July 22, 1949).

47 See *Council News:* American Council for Judaism, March - April, 1958.

48 British Public Record Office, Cab. No. 24/24, 23rd August, 1917.

49 British Public Record Office, Cab. No. 24/24, 1917. The letter is marked India Office.

50 The translation was made by Moshe Menuhin in his book the *Decadence of Judaism in Our Time*, 66-67.

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51 Norman de Mattos Bentwick, *For Zion's Sake: A Biography of Judah L. Magnes* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1954), 120-130.

52 Anthony Nutting, "The Tragedy of Palestine from the Balfour Declaration to Today," *Issues* (Winter 1967 - Spring 1968), 3.

53 All these events are discussed in detail in J.C. Hurewitz, *The Struggle for Palestine* (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1950).

54 Menachem Begin, *The Revolt; Story of the Irgun*, translated from the original Hebrew text by Samuel Katz (New York: Schumann, 1951), 162-165.

A Tribute to Bishop Mor Gregorius Bulus Behnam (1914-1969)

By Matti Moosa

The first time I set my eyes on the young monk, Sarkis Behnam, later to be known as Bishop Gregorius Bulus Behnam, was on August 15, 1935 at the ancient Monastery of St. Matthew near Mosul, Iraq. On that day, Sarkis and three other students of the monastery's seminary were ordained as monks. Many dignitaries from Mosul and the neighboring villages went up to the monastery to attend the ordination ceremony. I was only eleven years old when my father took me along with him to witness the ceremony. I vividly remember young Sarkis with the other three companions prostrating themselves outside the sanctuary of the ancient church of the monastery located not far from the Beth Qadishe (Mausoleum of Saints), where the celebrated Bar Hebraeus was buried. At the end of the celebration of the Eucharist, Dionysius Yuhanna Mansurati, metropolitan of the monastery, assisted by Athanasius Tuma Qasir, metropolitan of Mosul, vested Sarkis and his companions with the monastic habit, and changed Sarkis' name into Bulus. When the service of ordination ended, those present began congratulating the newly ordained monks for assuming the monastic habit. As I look back on that ceremony, I can only remember the faces of these ordained monks, having had no personal contact with them, especially Bulus. The opportunity of meeting Bulus personally and becoming his close friend and admirer presented itself ten years later in 1945. Prior to that time, the only thing I recall about Bulus is that in 1938, he was appointed a teacher at St. Ephraim Seminary in Zahle, Lebanon, a position he took after spending three years as a monk in the monastery.

In 1945, the Patriarch Aphram I Barsoum (d. 1957) ordered the transference of St. Ephraim Seminary from Zahle, Lebanon to Mosul, Iraq. He chose as its principal the dynamic and learned young monk, Bulus Behnam, who presently became instrumental in the religious and cultural awakening of the Syrian Church in Mosul. Forceful, sincere and fully aware of the past glory of the Syrian Church of Antioch and its fathers, Bulus Behnam believed that some literature created for the propagation of the history and culture of his church would be necessary and indeed, indispensable. The idea of this publication was realized through the creation of *al-Mashriq* magazine, born in the spring of 1946. However, the birth of *al-Mashriq* was not without difficulty. It was only one year after the end of World War II, and Behnam found that acquiring paper for the publication of his magazine was truly difficult. The future Metropolitan had to travel to Baghdad in order to receive his rationing of paper, which he finally procured. It was on April 11, 1946 during Lent that the young, erudite monk boarded a third class coach on the train that was to carry him and his rolls of paper to Mosul. This writer had the honor to be his friend and companion on that trip. Since then, these two traveling companions became bound with strong ties of friendship until the untimely and most lamentable death of Behnam in 1969. The archdeacon Ni'mat Allah Denno (d. 1951) was at the station to bid us farewell.

It was a moving sight to see this prominent clergyman wearing his monastic habit and squatting on the floor of a third class train coach with rolls of printing paper carefully piled next to him. As the train left the Baghdad railway station, this writer saw young monk Behnam take something out of a paper bag and spread it on a piece of cloth before him. After which, he invited this writer to join him for a dinner of bread and boiled truffles. The young monk was observing Lent and truffles were the only meal he could bring with him on the journey. Half-way between Baghdad and Mosul, near the city of Takrit, torrents of early spring rain washed out parts of the track making the journey any further impassable. The train was ordered to return to Baghdad.

Behnam with a group of passengers including this writer, decided to go to Takrit where they hoped to find a car to take them to Mosul. No one was as exhilarated and anxious to take advantage of this mishap and visit the city of Takrit as was Rev. Behnam. One could even detect the tears in his eyes at the prospect of gazing on the city that was once the center of Syrian Christianity in Mesopotamia and the seat of the Maphrianate (Prelacy). He and the group left the small and out-of-the-way railway station to start an hour's journey to Takrit. Behnam hired a donkey to carry his suitcase and valuable rolls of paper while the rest of the group hired donkeys to carry their luggage. When the group reached Takrit, they were unable to find lodging as there were no hotels. So, we sought rest in the sole public *chai khana* (tea house which is most referred to as coffee house by the inhabitants of Iraq).

I was sitting next to Rev. Behnam sipping tea in the usual glass cup (called *finjan* or *istikan*), listening to Egyptian crooners on the radio. As we discussed our situation and lack of amenities, behold a man came and stood before Behnam saying, "*Abouna*, (father) Dr. Tuma Kafilmout (the city's physician) invites you to be his guest in his house." We heaved a true sigh of relief, and collecting our luggage, followed the man to the house of Dr. Tuma Kafilmout, the only physician in Takrit. On the morning of April 12, 1946, Rev. Behnam and I sought the help of some men of Takrit to find a car to take us to Mosul, but our efforts were in vain. The heavy downpour continued and the unpaved highway to Mosul was risky to traverse. So, we resigned to fate and stayed in Takrit waiting for a magic opportunity to find a car to transport us to Mosul. It was the evening of the same day that a group of school teachers and others paid us a visit.

Behnam's enthusiasm to visit Takrit was understandable. Takrit, after all, was the heart, indeed, the pride of his Church in the East. Here at Takrit the most exquisite rituals of the Syrian Church were composed. Takrit distinguished itself by developing and possessing a religious rite came to be known as the Rite of Takrit. Takrit also became a seat of the Maphrianate of the East in the sixth century when the original Maphryono, or Catholicos, defected to Nestorianism rejecting the authority of the Patriarch of Antioch, his ecclesiastical superior. During the two days the travel group spent in Takrit, Behnam lost no time visiting the historical sites of the city, especially the ancient Syrian churches. Standing side by side among the ruins of the once Church of St. John, I could see how Behnam was completely distracted by the ruins. He looked as if he was trying to reconstruct the history of this eminent city and relive the past glory of his church. He returned to reality when a teacher from the elementary school of the city, who was our guide, told him that many people of the city affirmed that on many occasions, they saw pillars of light rising from the ruins of St. John Church.

Behnam was so moved by this visit to Takrit that he wrote an article about it entitled "A Night in Takrit," followed by another regarding the history of this city as the center of ancient Syriac Christianity. Both articles appeared in the first issue of his magazine *al-Mashriq*. The first article was preceded by a poem expressing Behnam's nostalgia for the bygone glory of his church.

After visiting the ruins of the Syrian churches, we were invited to lunch by the principal of the elementary school. Later that afternoon, we visited Mahmud al-Thuwayni, a prominent dignitary of Takrit whose house overlooked the Tigris River and looked like a boat floating on the water. Along with us the judge from the local court and several school teachers were also visiting. Many of them were captivated by the historical narrative Rev. Bulus Behnam was presenting about Takrit. Suddenly, Mahmud al-Thuwayni interrupted Rev. Behnam. He stood up, looming like a giant over us since he was such a huge man, and placing his hand over his heart, said, "I bear testimony by Allah that my ancestors are Christians." Deep silence followed his declaration and no one challenged his words. Evidently, his testimony corroborated Rev. Behrman's assertion that until the thirteenth century the majority of the people of Takrit were Syrian Christians.

Shortly afterward we visited the ancient Citadel of Takrit, and continued in our search for a way back to Mosul. However, it seems that the dignitaries of Takrit were so anxious to hear Rev. Behnam that they insisted that we stay for one or two more days. We submitted and thus, it was not until April 14 that we finally found a car and left for Mosul.

Rev. Bulus Behnam (later ordained a bishop in 1952, under the name of Gregorius), was a man of many talents. He was a proficient writer in both Syriac and Arabic, a poet, a scholar and dynamic orator. In the field of Syriac literature, his objective was to present a selection of the literary and philosophical writings of ancient Syrian fathers to his readers. His audience was mainly the Syrian people, having an intrinsic appreciation of their Syriac culture and heritage. Thus, it was Behnam's duty to revive and inculcate them with their heritage. The pages of his bi-monthly magazine *al-Mashriq* (The East) are replete with his various articles on Syriac language and culture. In this endeavor, he may have been motivated by the exhortation of an eleventh-century anonymous Syrian philosopher from Edessa who wrote a unique book entitled *The Cause of all Causes, or A Book for all Nations under Heaven*. His primary objective was to teach people how to seek and find truth. In his introduction, the author, most likely a rationalist, maintained that reason is virtually truth and knowledge and the center of philosophy. Above all it is the best link between God and man. Proud of the precious knowledge the book contained and the love it inculcated to mankind, he exhorted those who may read his book to translate it and

publicize it in many languages in order that it may reach many people and benefit many nations. This was then the motivation of Bishop Bulus Behnam, which he made clear when he said:

> For a time I cherished the idea of carrying this torch, but I was distracted by multiple chores. However, when I read the Introduction of the author of *The Cause of all Causes*, I determined to translate it as well as other books into Arabic to prove the greatness of the graceful Syriac legacy which I have the honor to be one of its faithful servants [(1) See "Min Uyun al-Adab al-Suryaniyya (Masterpieces of Syriac Literature), *al-Mashriq* (Mosul, June, 1946), 1: 25.]

He then goes on to analyze the main ideas of the author. One concept which astonished him was that of "Superman," which no ancient Syrian writer had since tackled and no modern writer detected. Immediately, this term reminded him of Nietzche's Superman and will to power. But the Superman of the Syrian writer, says Behnam, is different from that of the German philosopher. His superiority does not derive from power or attainment of it; his superiority is simply manifested in perfection. Behnam goes on to compare the concept of the Syrian philosopher with that of Nietzche, which is unprecedented in Syriac writings.

Behnam follows with a significant subject on Syriac Culture. He says that he began writing it two years prior (1944) and published parts of it in several periodicals and newspapers of Syria and Lebanon. Under this topic, he discusses Syriac culture in particular; the sources of Syriac culture; the Syriac language, its ancient dialects and the present day Eastern and Western dialects; the consequences of Syriac culture; and the prominent Syriac writers and literary contemplations in the contributions of Syriac culture. His main intention was to convey that the Syrian people in pre-Christian times had a thriving culture which greatly impacted the surrounding nations of the Middle East. It was not until the Arab invasion of the countries of the Middle East that the dominant Syriac language began to recede and be replaced by Arabic. Indeed, the language of Palestine in the time of Jesus Christ was not Hebrew but Aramaic (Syriac). He maintains that many Syriac terms remain until this day in the Arabic language. Also, many Greek terms found their way into Arabic via the Syriac language. However, vicissitudes of time, warfare and persecution caused the decline of Syriac culture, and as a result, only a few villages in Iraq and Syria still speak Syriac. He also discusses the different schools established by both Eastern and Syrian people and their impact on the culture of the Middle East. Unfortunately, Behnam left this significant subject unfinished.

In 1946, the young monk Bulus Behnam published his book with a rather florid Arabic title of *al-Banafsaja al-Dhakiyya fi Khlasat al-Ta'alim al-Masihiyya li al-A'ilat wa al-Madaris al-Orthodoxiyya* (The Fragrant Violet: Concise Christian Teachings for the Use of the Orthodox Families and Schools (Mosul, 1946)). He was gracious to autograph a copy for me while I was still practicing law in the courts of Mosul. For its spiritual significance to the Syrian Orthodox Church and schools, I translated it into English under the title *Concise Teachings of Christianity for Orthodox Families and Schools* (Beth Antioch Press and Gorgias Press, 2013). Metropolitan Mor Cyril Aphram Karim of the Eastern Part of the United States appreciated this book and told me personally that it would be used for teaching in Sunday school. Indeed, it is the first of its kind to meet the needs of the Syrian Orthodox community in the United States and other countries, which have been in dire need of resources for religious instruction.

Behnam's *Khama'il al-Rayhan (The Scrub of Basil)* or *The Orthodoxy of St. Jacob of Saruj (The Doctor of the Church)*, published in 1949, is a refutation of the Papal Syrian priest Ishaq Aramala. Armala maintained that St. Jacob of Saruj (of Roman Catholic faith, or Chalcedonian) was holding to the belief of two natures of Christ, divine and human, separate after the Incarnation. Behnam says in that book that Armala has distorted facts regarding the faith of St. Jacob, and he found it his duty to defend the orthodoxy of St. Jacob, refuting Armala's allegations and placing the true faith of St. Jacob in proper perspective. Armala, apparently, based his claims on St. Jacob's letters to abbots of monasteries and bishops, especially to the monks of the Monastery of St. Basus; the monks of the Monastery of Arzen in Persia; Phula (Paul), Bishop of Edessa; Eutychyana, bishop of Dara; Mara, bishop of Amid; and to the monk Marun, etc. Behnam produces instances where Armala distorted the connotation and language of the letters to support his thesis. He reveals profound knowledge of the Syrian Church, its theology and the Syriac language deemed necessary for any writer who intends to treat the life and faith of Jacob of Saruj. However, Armala, using his commendable knowledge of the Syriac and Arabic languages, spent his life and effort attacking the Syrian Orthodox Church from which his own church seceded.

As far back as 1909, he wrote a book on the Syrian Patriarchate of Antioch entitled *Al-Zahra al-Dhakiyya* (Fragrant Flower) denigrating the Syrian Church, its Orthodox faith and patriarchs. But he was refuted by Patriarch Aphram Barsoum, who was still a monk at the Za'faran Monastery, in a treatise entitled *Kalima Intiqadiyya ala al-Zahra a-Dhakiyya* (1910).

Armala was not the only pretender to knowledge. Behnam went on to deal with another Papal Syrian priest, A. S. Marmarchi, who later joined one of the Latin Orders. Behnam's *Tahqiqat Tarikhiyya wa Lughawiyya fi Haql al-Lughat al-Samiyya* (Historical and Linguistic Verifications in the Field of Semitic Languages), (1953), is a response to Marmarchi's criticism of a treatise by the late Patriarch of Antioch, Aphram Barsoum (d. 1957), entitled "*Al-Alfaz al Suryaniyya fi al-Ma'ajim al-Arabiyya*" (Syriac Terms in the Arabic Dictionaries), published in the magazine of the Arab Academy in Damascus, Vols. 23 and 25.

Marmarchi says most of the words cited are in fact Arabic. Barsoum mentions 759 terms, 352 related to Syriac origin, the rest to Akkadian, Hebrew, Greek and Persian origin. Marmarchi could criticize only 141 correlations, and was ultimately forced to acknowledge their Syriac origin. More than a refutation of Marmarchi, it is a learned study of the Semitic languages, of the relationship of the Syriac (Aramaic) with these languages, and the relationship of Akkadian with the Arabic language. Behnam bases most of his ideas on western writings, and especially relies on Akkadian, German and English Dictionary of William Muss-Arnolt (Berlin, 1905), and R. Campbell Thompson, *A Dictionary of Assyrian Botany* (1949).

Another subject discussed by Behnam is *Ta'qibat Tarikhiyya* (Historical Investigations). In essence, it is a lengthy and profound review of a book on Syriac literature by two Egyptian writers: Murad Kamil and Muhammad Hamdi al-Bakri. It was serialized in the *Muqtataf* periodical in 1949 and then published in book form in the same year. Apparently, the authors, not well versed in Syriac literature, had leaned heavily on Western sources and committed many common errors of Western writers. Behnam's *Ta'qibat* appeared in his *Lisan al-Mashriq*, Vol. 3, 1951. To facilitate his task, he divided his review into several sub-titles and discusses each of them individually. They are as follows: 1- The Aramaic language; 2- The dialects of the Aramaic language; 3- The Aramaic dialects in the Holy Bible; 4-The dialect of Edessa; 5- The Syrians and inventiveness; 6- The Babylonia captivity; 7- The different types of Syriac calligraphy 8- Edessa: its language and conversion to Christianity; 9- The spread of Christianity; 10- Aphrahat the sage; 11- Christianity in India and whether India received it from Adiabene in Mesopotamia; 12- Is the correspondence of King Abgar of Edessa with our Lord (Jesus) unfounded?; 13- The importance of the Syrian writer and poet Bar Daysan (d. 222); 14- The geographical location of Beth Garmai (Bajermi) and whether it was visited by St. Ephraim (d. 373)?; 15- Was Marutha of Miyafarqin a victim of the persecution of the Christians by the Persian King Yazdagird I (399-420)?; 16- Were all the Christians in Arabia at the emergence of Islam (in the seventh century) members of the Nestorian Church; 17- The Syrian Church does not hold the heresy of Eutyches; 18- The name of the city is Berwa and not Beire; 19- The life of Rabula, bishop of Edessa; 20- Preferring Isaac of Antioch to St. Ephraim; 21- Was St. Ephraim a disciple of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus?; 22- Mor Ahudemeh, the universal Metropolitan of the East; 23- Al-Phaph Mountain; and 24- Jacobites and Jacobitism.

These are the points on which the Egyptian authors erred. Unfortunately, this limited space does not allow us to give Behnam's refutation and correction of each of them. They certainly deserve full attention by those writers, especially in the West, of Syriac history and literature who have for a long time received and reiterated these errors without proper investigation.

In the play, *Theodora* (1956), translated into English by Matti Moosa (2007), Bishop Gregorius Behnam places the life of Empress Theodora (590-548), in its proper historical perspective. Theodora, Byzantine Empress, wife of Justinian I, is a controversial figure of the sixth century. Whatever little we know of her early life comes from Greek and Syriac sources which are diametrically opposed. The *Anecdota* is the chief Greek source written by Procopius of Caesarea, a contemporary of Theodora. For no obvious reason, Procopius tried everything to vilify and distort her true character. Procopius is anything but objective, and his account of Theodora should not be taken seriously. Behnam defends her because she is a Miaphysite Orthodox, and because she gave asylum to many Miaphysites fathers in Constantinople, thus she is the protector of the Orthodox fathers. Behnam opposes Procopius' view that she was a harlot daughter of a bear trainer in Constantinople. He bases his ideas on Syriac sources, especially the Syriac history by a ninth-century anonymous monk of the Monastery of Qartmin (Mor

Gabriel). He says that Theodora was the daughter of an Orthodox priest in Mabug near Aleppo. It happened that Justinian, before becoming emperor, was in Syria. He heard of Theodora's virtues and beauty and asked her father for her hand in marriage. The father agreed on condition that he should not force her to accept the Chalcedonian faith of two natures. Justinian agreed and married her.

Behnam's *Peripatetic Philosophy in our Intellectual Legacy* (1958) is a collection of significant articles in which he discusses the development of philosophy according to the Syrians. In a lengthy Chapter, "Al-Siyasa fi al-Falsafa al-Suryaniyya" (Politics in Syrian Philosophy), written in 1951, and published in this book for the first time, Behnam states the most ancient philosopher to discuss worldly politics is Plato in his *Republic*. He maintains, however, that his ideas do not agree with the realities of heavenly religions. Indeed, some of them contradict the fundamental social basis of civilized mankind such as the communalism of wives, children and property. Fortunately, these ideas were nipped in the bud, although some of his followers continued to propagate them. The present author may add that in his *Politica*, Aristotle himself criticized these ideas, especially the communalism of wives and the abolition of property as fatal and impracticable.

In the tenth-century, says Behnam, appeared an anonymous philosopher of Edessan-Syrian origin who wrote a book called *The Cause of All Causes*, already mentioned. But his ideas were more social than political. He discussed the development of cities and the form of their administration in a manner different from that of Plato. His objective was how man should achieve happiness through shortest and safest avenues. He also discussed the generations of people, their physical forms, reasons of building of cities, differences of religions and several other social and political topics.

In this same century, the philosopher Abu Nasr al-Farabi (d. 950) flourished and offered us a true picture of his political ideas in *Ara' Ahl al-Madina al-Fadila* (Ideas of the Inhabitants of the Virtuous City). Behnam says that al-Farabi reiterated many of Plato's ideas in a new garb, greatly distant from those of revealed religions. Strangely, he did not mention Plato's radical ideas whether good or bad. Nevertheless, his virtuous city is a utopia which does not exist on this earth. In fact, if such city would ever exist, the earth would become a paradise and the people holy angels. Behnam then moves to discuss his central theme of the writing on politics by the Syrian Maphryono (Prelate) of the East, Mor Gregorius Bar Hebraeus (d.1286).

In his magnificent book *Hewath Hekhemtho* (The Cream of Wisdom), Bar Hebraeus discusses Politics. Behnam maintains that politics is a unique subject peculiar to Bar Hebraeus and only perfunctorily alluded to by other Syrian writers. He explains that Bar Hebraeus' political ideas are not only drawn from Plato, Aristotle and al-Farabi, but also from his own experience in life. He did not slavishly follow their precepts but rather plowed a pragmatic method of his own. While the precepts of the above philosophers were symbolic and theoretical, those of Bar Hebraeus were tangible and practicable.

For instance, Behnam asserts that in the case of al-Farabi, Bar Hebraeus did not copy him, but produced his own ideas about what the ideal city and society should be. He says that to al-Farabi the ideal relationship among men should be through trust, agreement and full pledge to each other voluntarily without taking advantage of them. In other words, al-Farabi meant that just treatment should be the ideal foundation of human relationship. While Bar Hebraeus accepts this and other theories al-Farabi borrowed from Plato, he went a step further maintaining that true love should be the most sublime basis of human relationship. Not that Bar Hebraeus belittles the role of fair treatment as one of the bases of human relationship, but he adroitly compares it to love and prefers love to it. Then, he goes on to discuss the different types of love. He differentiates between positive and selfless love which offers everything to the welfare of mankind, and selfish and egotistic love which yields hatred and evil detrimental to society. In this regard, Bar Hebraeus is motivated by his Christian upbringing and faith.

Behnam continues to say that the importance of Bar Hebraeus' ideal city or state is not utopian as is the case in al-Farabi's virtuous city; it is a real and pragmatic state which, in comparison with modern states, would not be too different. The inhabitants of this city are ordinary people although they differ in their intellectual capabilities and attitudes. They are not some kind of ordinary men turned into angels or who have acquired the qualities of prophets and supernatural men as is the case in al-Farabi's virtuous city. The only thing which differentiates them from other men is their willingness to live in unity and love, and to use their intellectual traits for the benefit of society. Thus it is possible, as Bar Hebraeus maintains, to establish a state where people live in a happy society

free from imprecation and strife. Here, Bar Hebraeus tends to be utopian although not to the same degree as Plato and al-Farabi.

To the best of our knowledge, Bishop Gregorius Bulus Behnam is the first Syrian writer to study thoroughly the treatise of Bar Hebraeus on politics and compare it with al-Farabi's virtuous city. He deserves our admiration for his objective and dispassionate analysis. We hope that scholars will devote more time and effort to this treatise which only constitutes a tiny portion of the writings of Bar Hebraeus, the greatest Syrian intellectual of the thirteenth century.

The remainder of Behnam's *Peripatetic Philosophy* contains four topics, three of which treat the theory of knowledge. They are: The Fountains of Knowledge with Ibn Sina, Ibn Sina in Syriac Literature, Bar Hebraeus' Theory of Knowledge, and Chemistry among Oriental Scientists.

In two articles on Ibn Sina, (Avicenna d. 1037), Behnam shows that he received his knowledge of Aristotle from Syriac translations into Arabic of the Greek philosopher. While he is proud of the contribution of Syriac scholarship to Islamic science, he, at the same time, admits the influence of Muslim learned men like Ibn Sina on Syriac scholarship in the fields of literature and philosophy, and particularly on Bar Hebraeus.

In the field of literature, Behnam says that the learned Syrian Patriarch of Antioch, Yuhanna Bar Ma'dani (d. 1263), translated into Syriac Ibn Sina's philosophical poem *On The Soul*. He also says that Bar Ma'dani translated rather loosely into Syriac verse Ibn Sina's famous story of the Bird. It constituted 150 lines. The story is about the fall of the human soul from its state of holiness, and its many attempts to break its bonds and regain its former state of holiness. The soul is likened unto a wounded bird with broken wings who tries to catch up with other free birds in order to reach the Supreme Being, who permitted its bondage with the belief that he is the only power that can set him and his companion birds free once more.

In his study, Behnam's mainly attempts to compare the ideas of Bar Hebraeus with those of Ibn Sina. In this regard, he resembles the Orientalist A. J. Wensinck who compared the ideas of Bar Hebraeus with those of Abu Hamid al-Ghazzali (d. 1111), in his book *Bar Hebraeus' Book of the Dove* (Leiden, 1919). Behnam shows that Bar Hebraeus was not an imitator of al-Ghazzali.

Behnam explains that Bar Hebraeus was no imitator of Ibn Sina, but had produced his own ideas and conclusions independent of him. For example, in his *Treatise on the Soul*, Bar Hebraeus did not solely rely on Ibn Sina but also on former fathers of the Syrian Church, like Moses Bar Kepha (d. 903), who wrote a treatise on *The Immortality of the Soul*. Behnam recognizes that like al-Farabi before them, Ibn Sina and Bar Hebraeus based most of their philosophical studies on the writings of Plato and Aristotle, but with one difference. While Ibn Sina relied on the Arabic translations of the writings of these two great philosophers into writings which were not the best quality, Bar Hebraeus utilized the direct Syriac translations from the Greek. Behnam affirms that the Syriac translations are much better quality that the Arabic translations from the Syriac. Be that as it may, Bar Hebraeus' appreciation of Ibn Sina and his ideas was so great that he translated his book *Al-Isharat wa al-Tanbihat* (The Book of Indications and Prognostications), at the request of Simon, chief physician of the Mongol Emperor Hulegu, who conquered Baghdad in 1258.

Behnam continues to analyze Bar Hebraeus' *Theory of Knowledge* and compares it with past theories. What he brings to light, however, is Bar Hebraeus' refutation of the philosophers who rejected rational knowledge, especially concerning religion. Some of these philosophers rejected rational knowledge on the premise that there are many religions in this world and also many intellectuals and thinkers. They maintain that if reason was true, thinkers would have agreed on the sources or the particulars of religion. They conclude that since human reason cannot agree on these points, therefore it cannot become a measure for knowledge. Consequently, rational knowledge does not exist.

Behnam goes on to say that Bar Hebraeus refutes such argument by means of religion. He states that human nature perceives true precepts through a particular kind of knowledge which descends from above. This knowledge not only is recognized by Christians, but by many secular philosophers. Bar Hebraeus calls this particular knowledge "enlightenment." The more this enlightenment increases, the more one can depend on

rational perception. The causes of this enlightenment are prayer, an ascetic and righteous life. Bar Hebraeus further states that whenever miracles do happen frequently, there truth is more manifest. We know that in Christianity miracles happened and are still happening. Therefore, Christianity is a true religion and the teaching of the fathers is likewise true. Bar Hebraeus concludes that since human reason has the ability to discern this matter, it should logically possess rational knowledge. Consequently, rational knowledge is true knowledge.

Behnam merits our appreciation for his study of Bar Hebraeus, his philosophy and for placing the ideas of this outstanding thirteenth-century Syrian writer in proper perspective, a matter not many scholars have discussed.

Behnam's enchantment with and admiration of Bar Hebraeus were boundless. Concerning scholarship he calls him his master, and for his virtue and saintliness, his paragon. Quite often, Behnam told this writer, who was his close friend and admirer, that he was so fond of Bar Hebraeus that he used to see him in his dreams. He also told this writer that at his ordination as bishop he chose the name of Gregorius, which was the ecclesiastical epithet of Bar Hebraeus.

In 1965, Behnam's book *Ibn al-Ibri al-Sha'ir* (Bar Hebraeus the Poet) was published. Behnam meticulously analyzed the different types of Bar Hebraeus' poetry, especially his exquisite ode on *Divine Wisdom* which he translated into Arabic verse.

The book treats extensively the life of Bar Hebraeus, his episcopate, his contribution to the Syrian Church and the different aspects of his poetry and themes. Behnam bases his study on Bar Hebraeus' *Anthology*. It was published for the first time by the Maronite priest Mikha'il Abd Allah Gabriel Shababi in 1877. It was published the second time by the monk-priest Yuhanna Dolabani (later a bishop) in 1929. In his edition, Dolabani relied on ancient and more correct manuscripts which rendered it superior to that of Shababi. Basically, Behnam used this edition.

Behnam proceeded to classify the poetry of Bar Hebraeus according to the respective themes treated by the composer. They include passionate love, friendly relationship, eulogy, praise, criticism, nature's beauty, human character, the soul, philosophy, mysticism and Christian dogma. Behnam described each of these themes in a few lines and makes an important observation about Syriac poetry. He says that Syriac poets did not use satire; they did not debase or scandalize their opponents but rather expostulated with them. However, they criticized the heretics who deviated from what they considered the Orthodox tenets of Christianity. Behnam's observation reminds us of ancient Arab poets. They never knew satire as we know it today. They knew only *hija'*, meaning defamation, and *madh*, meaning praise. Therefore, it is not surprising that the Syriac poets never knew satire.

Bar Hebraeus, Behnam assays, criticized harshly some pseudo-intellectuals and pretenders to knowledge. He also criticized vehemently some church fathers for their cowardice and negligence of duties. But this criticism is seldom used by Bar Hebraeus.

Behnam, further observes, that mysticism in its true sense, was not treated by Syrian poets until the thirteenth century. During this time, Patriarch Yuhanna Bar Ma'dani (d. 1262), composed poems on perfection, the categories of the perfect, and the union of the soul with God. Bar Hebraeus composed similar poems, one of which is his outstanding poem on *Divine Love*. Like Umar Khayyam (d. 1123-4), he used wine to typify love and desired to drink it with abundance. He describes this wine as being so ancient that it preceded time and days and nights. This wine was indescribable. It was never contained in earthenware because the quality of the potter and the earthenware were so inferior to its superior quality. Like other mystics, Bar Hebraeus considers the outcome of drinking this wine as unity with God.

Behnam further observes that Ma'dani and Bar Hebraeus were the first to treat philosophy and mysticism in their poetry. The greatest example is Bar Hebraeus' poem in which he treated Socrates' adage, "Law is good but philosophy is better." Bar Hebraeus opens his poem with a description of law and philosophy and draws a comparison between them. He then reaches a conclusion incompatible with Socrates, preferring law to philosophy. Bar Hebraeus bases his conclusion on the fact that while law is available to many people, philosophy is only attainable by a few, namely philosophers. Furthermore, Bar Hebraeus reasons that philosophy is sufficient to lead people to perfection, yet its path is hard to traverse and its acquisition and comprehension are

beyond the intelligence of common people. Law on the other hand, is easy to acquire and is within the comprehension of ordinary people as well as those who do not possess a high degree of learning.

Bar Hebraeus was the first Syrian to devote several poems to the human soul. Behnam observes that Bar Hebraeus, in his poetry, did not study the soul or analyze it philosophically, but used it as an aesthetic theme. He admired its charm, beauty and spirituality and other similar qualities. In one of his poems, Bar Hebraeus calls the soul a dove striving to free itself from the state of materialism and becomes one with God. He exhorts the soul to fight the body and its lusts in order to free itself from its physical cage and fly to the highest heaven. He reminds the soul of the beauty of knowledge and sound thinking, which should be its greatest joy in this life. Only by attaining these goals, will she be able to look forward to the realm of the spirit.

Bar Hebraeus' *Anthology* also contains a few poems which Behnam translated into Arabic. Most exquisite is his poem which describes roses and the month of April. A great part of this poem is couched in the form of a dialogue between Bar Hebraeus and roses. In other poems, Bar Hebraeus describes a candle and a hand fan. He says that fan is not only a material object, but a companion which renders comfort and joy to those who use it.

Behnam's consummate knowledge of Syriac and Arabic poetry, and his artistic taste and talent, are demonstrated in his translation into Arabic verse of Bar Hebraeus' poem on *Divine Wisdom*. He devoted a great part of his book *Bar Hebraeus the Poet*, to this poem. He affixed the Syriac text of the poem and its translation on the opposite page. The poem and its translation cover pp. 70-113 of the book. It is appended by copious footnotes explaining the meaning of difficult terms.

Behnam states that Bar Hebraeus had been in love with wisdom since his youth. Although he composed several poems on wisdom, his *Divine Wisdom* is the greatest of them all. He describes it as "Bar Hebraeus' greatest epic; indeed the only epic in Syriac literature." Behnam explains the reason he translated this poem into Arabic was because that to the Syrian, this unique epic is comparable to the famous pre-Islamic *Mu'allaqat*, which Arabs so veneered that they suspended them on the walls of the Ka'ba. Yet he laments the fact that in later generations the Syrians knew nothing about it because "our educated young men and women have lost the language of their ancestors." Furthermore, no learned man was interested in translating it into Arabic save Butrus al-Bustani (d. 1883). But al-Bustani, says Behnam, translated only a few lines of this poem. He could not finish it because of the linguistic, philological and metrical problems he encountered. Behnam affirms that it is very difficult to confine the Syriac verse, no matter how efficient the versifier is, to a few lines of Arabic verse. Furthermore, al-Bustani deviated a great deal from the original Syriac. For these reasons, Behnam undertook the translation of the entire poem in less than twenty days with footnotes "while preserving its original meaning." Those who read Behnam's translation realize that he is master of both Syriac and Arabic knowledge combined with poetical aesthetic taste.

Behnam's translation of Bar Hebraeus' *Ethikon* (Book of Ethics) is a further demonstration of his erudition and scholarly proficiency. The endeavor was not only a mere translation of the *Ethikon*. His expansive Introduction to the book of ninety-five pages, covers the multiple aspects of the book beginning with the available manuscripts to the influence of its precursor, *The Book of Hierotheos*, on Eastern mysticism. After relating the known sources of the book, Behnam says that he used the version published by the erudite Rev. Paul Bedjan in 1898 based on five copies.

After a brief discussion of the *Ethikon*, Behnam proceeds to discuss at length the origin of mysticism in the East and gives a summary of *The Book of Hierotheos*. He also provides a summary of Bar Hebraeus' introduction to this significant book. Then, he moves to discuss Syriac mysticism writings which contain a genuine contribution to the field of mysticism. Behnam goes on to analyze *The Book of Hierotheos* together with the philosophy of Stephen Bar Sudayli to whom the book is attributed. He cites the opinion of the Syrian Patriarch Theodosius (d. 896), who wrote a detailed commentary on *The Book of Hierotheos*. The commentary of Theodosius, Behnam assays, is an indication that the mystical ideas of this book were probably known to Syrian learned men since the sixth century. They admired its teachings although some of them were contrary to Christian teachings. Behnam does not seem to mention the translation of *Stephen Bar Sudaili the Syrian Mystic and The Book of Hierotheos* by A. L. Forthingham (Leiden, 1886).

Further in his Introduction to the *Ethikon*, Behnam gives a detailed analysis of Bar Hebraeus' mysticism. He compares this book with Bar Hebraeus' *The Book of the Dove* which contains aspects of his spiritual life since youth. He touches upon the great Muslim mystic Abu Hamid al-Ghazzai (d. 1111) in his *al-Munqidh min al-Dhalal* (The Rescuer from Error), saying that Bar Hebraeus must have gone through the same spiritual crises that beset al-Ghazzali. I brought to his attention that he should consult the excellent book of the Orientalist A. J. Wensinck entitled *Bar Hebraeus's Book of the Dove, together with some Chapters of the Ethikon* (Leiden, 1919). This book contains Wensinck's translation of Bar Hebraeus' *Book of the Dove* together with several chapters of the *Ethikon* related to it, and a very detailed Introduction in which Wensinck compares Bar Hebreaus to Ghazzali and shows the influence of the latter on the former. Here I should state for the sake of history that Bishop Behnam sent me his Introduction to the *Ethikon* to read. After making some observations, I wrote back that he should consult Wensinck's book because it would be indispensable for his Introduction. He then wrote asking me to send him a copy of Wensinck's book immediately. I sent him a copy of the book but it did not get to him. He wrote back that he did not receive the copy, which he assumed was lost in the mail and that had no choice but to proceed with his translation of the *Ethikon* and Introduction without it. He was at that time in Jerusalem taking care of the Syrian diocese of the city. Years later, I understood from a student at the Seminary in Damascus, that a monk whose name he did not disclose who handled the patriarchate's mail, did not deliver it to Bishop Behnam. The student said that, much to the admiration of the seminarians, the monk, who taught Bar Hebreaus at the seminary, continuously referred to Wensinck's book. The students were surprised that the monk knew so much about Wensinck while he could hardly read English. Be that as it may, Bishop Behnam assumed that the copy was lost and continued writing his Introduction to the *Ethikon* without it.

Behnam makes a different contribution to this subject by analyzing the relationship between Hierotheos, Ibn Sina and Bar Hebraeus. He discovered that the principle of the mystic philosophy of Ibn Sina has a striking resemblance to those of Hierotheos. He reasons that since Bar Hebraeus knew *The Book of Hierotheos*, revised it and wrote an Introduction to it, and since he was influenced by the teaching of Ibn Sina, it is no wonder that these three philosophers, Hierotheos, Ibn Sina and Bar Hebraeus, should have a great deal in common with one another, especially mystical precepts. Behnam, however, does not explain how Ibn Sina was influenced by Hierotheos, or that he even read Hierotheos. We know that *The Book of Hierotheos* survived only in Syriac, and there is no evidence that Ibn Sina knew Syriac. Nevertheless, Behnam states that Hierotheos' mystical ideas were translated into Arabic at the beginning of the ninth century A.D., and spread among the Eastern mystics. Ibn Sina and other Muslim philosophers probably had read this translation and were influenced by its contents. As evidence of this influence, Behnam assays that if we compare the mystical ideas of Hierotheos, Ibn Sina and al-Ghazzali, we will find great harmony between them covering most of the mystical precepts they discussed. Behnam, not only bases his ideas on Bar Hebraeus' prose writings but also on his *Ode on Perfection* which he composed in Baghdad in 1277. In this context, we should admit that Behnam has an advantage over some other scholars by having access to Syriac poetry. Behnam, then, goes on to discuss the topics shared by these three philosophers, especially the Perfect and Perfection, the categories of the Perfect, and their strife to achieve the highest degree of Perfection, the ascent of the mind and the ultimate unity of the soul with God.

Since 1961, Behnam had been working on a Syriac encyclopedia which he called *Encyclopedia Orientalis*. He wrote asking me to provide him with necessary information. I wrote back that the composition of an encyclopedia of this nature is a life-long project and that it requires a team of scholars rather than one individual. I reminded him of the similar endeavor of the eminent Lebanese writer Butrus al-Bustani. He attempted to compose an encyclopedia but could not write more than few volumes and then then gave up the work. Even the volumes he achieved were inadequate and incomplete. Behnam, however, was determined to go ahead with the project. He wrote to me that, "God will help the weak man." In another letter, he said that he would soon send me the first hundred pages of the encyclopedia which he had written in English for my scrutiny. But late in 1963, he wrote again that he had temporarily stopped working on the encyclopedia in favor of more pressing subjects. He never continued the project. Fortunately, a copy of the pages of this encyclopedia he forwarded to me are in my possession. They constitute 113 pages of foolscap size and are neatly bound. They open with the Syriac letter A and end with Ahrun (Aaron), a thirteenth-century bishop of Laqbin. The pages contain more than three hundred entries including short biographies of prominent Syriac patriarchs, maphryone (prelates), bishops, writers and poets. They also contain short or long descriptions of towns, villages, churches, monasteries and famous historical sites in the Middle East. His major concern was his own Syrian Orthodox Church. But he did

not neglect to record the important events of other Syrian churches like the Nestorian, Maronite and the Syrian Catholic churches.

In the same year (1963), Bishop Behnam published the Syriac text and Arabic translation of *The History of Tur Abdin* by Patriarch Mor Ignatius Aphram I Barsoum (d. 1957). It was translated into English by this author (Matti Moosa) and published by Gorgias Press, 2008.

In 1966, Bishop Behnam was engaged in writing two projects: one about the *Assyrian Sage Ahiqar*, under the topic of *al-Hikma fi Wadi al-Rafidayn* (Mesopotamian Wisdom); the other was on the history of the Syrian Church and the Crusades. Let me begin first with the second project. I recall that I wrote to him proposing that both of us should collaborate on writing about the Crusades based on Syriac sources. He replied saying that this is a very important subject, and even provided a breakdown of the major topics which should be treated. But I never heard from him further about the subject and gathered that he was busy with other endeavors. Years after his death in 1969, I spent five years tackling the subject of the Crusades individually. It resulted in a massive book which was published by Gorgias Press in 2008 (*Crusades: Conflict between Christendom and Islam*).

As to the subject of Ahiqar, he had already written a lengthy article about him in *Lisan al-Mashriq*, Vol. 4, January-February, 1952. He dropped it for a time and then returned to it. The reason was that he was consulting and studying different sources and continued writing. I recall that toward the end of 1965, he wrote to me that he had already finished writing about Ahiqar. He also said that he had copied more than half of the manuscript on the typewriter and was intending to prepare it soon for publication. Then he submitted it to the Academy of the Syriac Language in Baghdad. But it was not published until 1976, seven years after the author's death.

In the Introduction, the Academy of the Syriac Language states that the copy of the manuscript which reached them constituted 180 pages written on the typewriter. They believe that the original manuscript contained forty more pages than what they received. They had no idea who excised it from the manuscript. They speculated that the author probably cut these pages which he deemed superfluous. Be that as it may, the Academy affirms that the manuscript they received carried the following title: *Ahiqar al-Hakim: Alaqatuhu bi Hukama' Sumer wa Akkad wa Ashur wa Atharuh fi al-Usur al-Taliya wa Buhuth for al-Lugha al-Aramiyya al-Qadima wa Alaqatuha bi al-Lugha al-Arabiyya* (Ahiqar the Sage: His Relations with the Sages of Sumeria, Akkadia and Ashor and his Vestiges in the Wisdom of the Following Generations, and Themes on the Ancient Aramaic Language and its Association with the Arabic Language.). The Academy says because it could not obtain the first section of the book and after dropping the last section, they found it satisfactory to title it *Ahiqar al-Hakim*. (Ahiqar the Sage).

In 1906-1907, the German archeological expedition uncovered the story of Ahiqar among other papyri written in Aramaic of 500 B.C. in Elephantine in Egypt. The story of Ahiqar was published and studied by the German Orientalist Eduard Sachau (d. 1930). Since then, Orientalists began to study the language and subject matter of this Aramaic text, its date and importance to world culture. Behnam lists no less than fifteen Western specialists and one Lebanese specialist (Anis Fraiha) who were involved in this study. In brief, Ahiqar was a Vizier of the two Assyrian Kings, Sennacherib 705-681 B.C. and his son Esarhaddon 681-669 B.C., both of whom are mentioned in 2 Kings 19:37. Ahiqar was a distinguished sage and counselor of kings. He had no son even though he married sixty wives. Finally, he adopted his nephew Nadan and raised him in his wisdom. But Nadan grew into a wicked man and betrayed his master. The story contains instructions meant to edify Nadan and teach him how to treat people and how to face the world. Behnam included in his study the version of the story which was published and studied by Eduard Sachau, and the Syriac version of the story of Ahiqar published by Mor Philoxenus Yuhanna Dolabani, Syrian Orthodox metropolitan of Mardin in 1962 in Jerusalem, after Syriac MS Cambridge 2020. Some Western Orientalists have shown that parts of the story of Ahiqar have similarity with apocryphal and canonical books of the Old Testament. Behnam remarks that the wisdom of the Assyrian Ahiqar was not a unique and isolated proposition. It was preceded by Assyrian and Babylonian wisdom tales. Until recently, a great number of Orientalists have maintained that the Greek philosophy is unique, and is the beginning of world knowledge from which other cultures are derived. This is not totally correct. Both Ahiqar and Greek philosophy are a continuation of ever-developing former world cultures. Behnam maintains that the story of Ahiqar was born in Mesopotamia and it preceded the Greek system of philosophy. He also maintains that the Mesopotamian philosophy is not a novelty in the history of mankind but must have been preceded by other philosophies not known to us.

Behnam produced Sachau's version of the story of Ahiqar and the Syriac copy published by Mor Philoxenus Yuhanna Dolabani. He translated both versions into Arabic with comments. After comparing the two versions he discovered that the Syriac version is more comprehensive than the Aramaic version of Sachau, of which some folios are lost. He also showed the points of difference and agreement between the two versions. He further produced several terms in the Aramaic text which Orientalists have misread or misinterpreted. The essential conclusion of his study is that the Aramaic language of the story of Ahiqar is one and the same Syriac language of Edessa and which we use until this day. Of course, Bishop Behnam realizes that, like other languages, Aramaic was inevitably subject to some changes. But, he insists, and with mastership of the language, that the Aramaic of the story of Ahiqar is Syriac and nothing else. Just compare it with the language of the Syriac vulgate version of the Bible called the Pshitto to see that they are identical. His conclusion is decisive and challenges the Orientalist linguists who maintain that the Syriac language is a dialect of Aramaic.

Another essential topic Bishop Behnam tackled is the treatment of Pope Dioscorus of Alexandria (444-454 A.D.) by the Council of Chalcedon (451 A.D.). His book is entitled *al-Papa Dioscorus al-Iskandari Hami al-Iman* (Dioscorus Pope of Alexandria: Protector of the Faith) was published in 1968, and reprinted in 1976 by The Coptic Bishopric of Culture, History and Learning in Egypt in 1976. The subject is not only historical but theological. It involves the dogmatic and theological controversies of the fifth century concerning the two natures of Christ, the human and the divine, and the manner of their existence in tandem. Unlike all human beings, Jesus is divine, the Son of God who eternally existed with the Father. But he is also a man taking a body from a woman, the Virgin Mary, with all the human characteristics except sin. Once the two natures of Christ are united in his Incarnation, they cannot be separated from each other. They are one united in one person with one act and one will. Moreover, if Mary gave birth to the God Christ, she is rightfully Theotokos or Mother or Bearer of God. Nestorius, who was a Patriarch of Constantinople in 428 A.D., would not accept this dogma. He separated the two natures of Christ and taught that Mary could not bear or give birth to the God Christ. She only bore Christ as a man and then he became divine later at his baptism. He preferred to call Mary Christotokos (Mother of Christ), meaning that she gave birth to a man and not God. Indeed, in a sermon, Nestorius' priest Anastasius, said that he could not call a child his Lord, thus rejecting the term of Theotokos. Thus, a controversy ensued between Nestorius and Cyril, patriarch of Alexandria (d. 444) over this belief. Cyril, basing his argument on the Gospel of John 1:14, "The Word became flesh," maintained the God (Christ) who became flesh is not distinct nature but "One incarnate nature of the divine Logos." The controversy became so troubling to the church that Emperor Theodosius II (408-450 A.D.) called a council to settle this controversy. The Council met in Ephesus in 431 A.D., presided by St. Cyril, and condemned Nestorius.

Soon, however, the church was rocked by another controversy caused by the old man Eutyches, an archimandrite of a monastery in Constantinople. While trying to defend Cyril's belief of "One nature of the divine Logos" Eutyches fell into heresy. He rejected the truth of the body derived from the Virgin which the Word (Christ) took from her. He taught that the Word became flesh as the atmosphere assumes bodily form and becomes rain or snow under the influence of the wind or as water by reason of the cold air becomes ice. In other words, Eutyches maintained that the divine nature of Christ absorbed the human nature. In 448 A.D., Flavian, Patriarch of Constantinople, convened a local council to discuss the case of Eutyches. Eutyches was condemned for being a heretic. He complained to church leaders at that time among whom was Leo, bishop of Rome. At the beginning, Leo understood that Eutyches' teaching was not heretical. But when he contemplated his teaching further, he discovered that he was indeed heretical. Meantime, to combat the heresy of Eutyches, Emperor Theodosius II issued a royal decree for a council to meet in Ephesus which came to be known as Second Ephesus. The council met in 449 A.D. under the presidency of Pope Dioscorus, who succeeded Cyril in 444 A.D. The fact that the presidents of the two Councils of First and Second Ephesus were Egyptians, indicates the supremacy of the Egyptian church and Episcopate in theological matters. Bishop Leo of Rome sent a letter, commonly known as the Tome, to the Second Council of Ephesus. He made it clear through his representatives that it should be used as the criterion for determining the case of Eutyches. Upon receiving the letter the council did not read it. Apparently, John, Secretary of Council, kept it among other documents to be read when the right time came for reading it. However, it is believed that it was not read because it contained expressions considered Nestorian in nature and were condemned by the First Council of Ephesus. Thus, if it was read, it would create unnecessary commotion and dissension specially that the council was determined to solve, in addition of Eutyches' case, the case of several church dignitaries of Nestorian proclivity. Eutyches was summoned to the Council and presented

his faith in writing which demonstrated that he stood on the dogmatic faith of the Council of Nicaea and the First Council of Ephesus. Thus, he was declared as Orthodox emperor and the Council's decision was presented to the Emperor Theodosius who endorsed it. Seeing that Leo's letter was not read, and that he was not recognized as "the religious leader of the entire Christian Church", Leo's representatives left the council and spread the false report that they were attacked and harmed by members of the council, and that even Flavian of Constantinople died having been trampled. When their report reached Leo, he felt humiliated and branded the council unjustly as "The Robbers Council." In 450 A.D., Theodosius died without issue and the throne passed to his sister Pulcheria and her husband Marcian, an army general. Pulcheria and her husband were staunch supporters of Leo, bishop of Rome. Using their friendship and support, Leo requested them to convene another council to annul the decisons of the Second Council of Ephesus which had humiliated him and his position by not reading his Tome. A council was convened by the two rulers at Chalcedon and thus was known as the Council of Chalcedon. The Council was basically made up of prominent bishops who were either Nestorians, like Theodoret, bishop of Cyrus, or pro-Nestorian. Obviously, they were supporters of Leo of Rome. Ostensibly, their main business was to redefine the faith which was already set by the councils of Nicaea, Constantinople and Ephesus; it needed no further definition. But their action reveals that they were bent on punishing and humiliating Dioscorus.

The purpose of giving this summary of events which preceded Chalcedon, is to prepare the way for the treatment of Dioscorus by Behnam. It is not intended to support or denounce the faith of Chalcedon. Such theological controversies have little impact in our time. They are only understood by a handful of systematic theologians. The whole point of Behnam's book is to show that from the outset the Council of Chalcedon treated Dioscorus as a culprit and condemned him not for his faith, as shown below.

Bishop Behnam further says that the Council of Chalcedon accused Dioscorus of embracing the belief of Eutyches, but could not prove it. In fact, he condemned Eutyches and held the same belief of Cyril of "One nature of the divine Logos." When the council tried to force him to reject this formula of faith and sign their own formula which holds "Two natures united in one person yet still separate after the Incarnation," Dioscorus responded saying, "If my hand is cut off and my blood run over the parchment, I will not sign."

Bishop Behnam continues that the council further accused Dioscorus of using violence especially against the representatives of Leo of Rome, Flavian of Constantinople and others. But this accusation proved groundless. As to the accusation that Dioscorus overlooked the reading of the Tome of Leo of Rome at the second Council of Ephesus, Bishop Behnam maintains that the accusation is untenable. He affirms that Dioscorus received the Tome with great reverence and twice ordered that it should be read mentioning Leo with due reverence as "the lover of Christ the chief priest of Rome." Bishop Behnam reasons that the problem, however, is that the Tome was not a doctrinal document in the full sense of the word. The greatest problem, however, is that it contained "Nestorian" expressions such that each of the natures of Christ operated according to its characteristic whether divine or human. In his Tome, Leo said that the divine nature acts divinely and the human nature acts as a human. This gives the impression that there are two separate Christs: one divine, the other human and there is no union between the two. Such expressions, maintains Bishop Behnam, must have caused the apprehensive members of Second Ephesus to delay its reading. Behnam asserts that when Dioscorus ordered that Leo's Tome be read, the chief notary said there were still several royal decrees to be dealt with first. Thus, and unintentionally, the Tome was not read.

Whatever the case may be, the Council of Chalcedon deliberately mishandled Dioscorus. From the outset, the members were determined to punish him. And when he appeared at the council, he was made to stand where the culprits usually stand. Seeing that he was treated as a culprit, Dioscorus refused to attend the council. The entire case of Dioscorus was evidence of a blatant abortion of justice. It was a farce which revealed itself in the verdict pronounced against Dioscorus: He was condemned not for his faith, but because he was summoned three times and did not respond.

The above account of the writings of Bishops Bulus Behnam is incomplete. He penned many other subjects which this writer did not discuss. He only concentrated on his major themes. Considering the short life of this erudite man, his literary output is highly impressive. He is truly a shining star in the firmament of the Syrian Orthodox Church in the twentieth century. As successive generations still remember with admiration the erudition of the thirteenth-century Maphryono (Prelate) Mor Gregorius Bar Hebraeus, future generations shall

also remember and appreciate the works of this twentieth-century luminary Bishop Mor Gregorius Bulus Behnam.

For more sources on the life and work of Bishop Gregorius Bulus Behnam, see:

1 Rev. Yusuf Sai'd, *al-Malphan Hayat Mar Gregorius Bulus Behnam, Metran of Baghdad and Basra* (Beirut, 1969).

2 Metropolitan Ishaq Saka, *Sawt Ninawa wa Aram: aw al-Metran Bulus Behnam* (Damascus: Dar al-Ruha, 1988).

"A Tribute to Bishop Mor Gregorius Bulus Behnam (1914-1969)," by Matti Moosa, published on the Internet, March, 2014. This article was written in 1969 and rewritten in 2014.